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THE AMERICAN MONTHLY REVIEW OF REVIEWS.

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW.

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LIEUT. RICHMOND PEARSON HOBSON, U. S. N.

From his latest photograph.

THE AMERICAN MONTHLY

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No. 1.

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD.

*Shaping
the
Campaign.*

A nation of unlimited resources, entering upon aggressive warfare against a much smaller and weaker nation, may take its choice of two methods. It may make a quick summoning of overwhelming force and advance by swift strokes to gain its objects with the least possible delay. Or else it may adopt just the opposite plan and proceed with the utmost caution and deliberation, on the theory that a certain sheer inevitableness may bring the enemy to terms, rather from the exhaustion caused by expense and delay than from the brutal slaughter of battle. There are plenty of arguments on paper in favor of either of these methods. But President McKinley and the men who are making our national decisions for us at this time have had to face conditions rather than theories. And so they have adopted the method of deliberate and careful action rather than that of impetuosity. If, indeed, we had taken firm hold of the situation last December, the swift plan of campaign would have been the more economical of men and money. Since, however, the war did not begin until the middle of April, when the Spaniards were far better prepared than they had been at the end of the preceding year, it was probably the part of superior statesmanship to allow the character of the campaign to be developed by circumstances. The past month has seen the gradual evolution of a perfectly logical military programme, and one which promises to prove effective.

*Cervera
at
Santiago.*

When our record was made up for the June number of the REVIEW, Admiral Cervera's squadron of cruisers was reported as having gone into the harbor of Santiago, on the south coast of Cuba, near the east end of the island. It took a number of days to make sure whether or not the Spanish fleet was really there or somewhere else. As recorded in our last number, the fleet which had left the Cape Verde Islands on April 29 had baffled us

as to its whereabouts, and thus delayed our proposed invasion of Cuba. At length it was heard of at Martinique, in the West Indies; then, a day or two later, at Curaçao, north of Venezuela; and finally, after two or three more days of uncertainty, it was announced by way of Madrid that cablegrams to the Spanish Government directly from Admiral Cervera reported his arrival in the harbor of Santiago in good condition and without incident on May 19. This seemed incredible in the United States; and it was not until May 29 that we were wholly convinced that the Spaniards had not in fact sailed for Porto Rico or elsewhere, but had really gone into the inner harbor of Santiago. Commodore Schley, in charge of our flying squadron, with eight vessels, was quickly in possession of the rumor, and had hastened from Cienfuegos to patrol the narrow entrance to Cervera's fatal retreat. It is unnecessary here to recount in detail the difficult and daring exploits by means of which Commodore Schley made it certain that Cervera and his ships were actually at Santiago. The harbor channel at Santiago is tortuous and rather difficult of navigation. At its narrowest point two large ships cannot go abreast. It was quickly perceived, therefore, that if Cervera should attempt to come out of the harbor his ships would have to proceed in single file; and the blockading fleet, with reasonably skillful gunnery, could almost certainly annihilate the Spanish vessels one at a time as they attempted to pass out of the narrow opening of the trap, or the neck of the bottle, to use the similes most generally adopted by the newspapers.

*A Supreme
Situation.*

The situation, it is hardly necessary to explain, was one of transcendent importance, for in this particular war almost everything was expected to depend upon the navies of the two countries. Many of the European experts at the outset of the war declared that Spain's navy was fully a match for

ours; while not a few naval writers set down our ships and our sailors as decidedly inferior to those of the Spaniards. While the Spanish navy was sailing the high seas it did not seem to President McKinley at all a safe thing for us to transport large bodies of soldiers to Cuba. And when the Spanish navy was discussed, men almost always had in mind this particular fleet of Cervera's; for the four swift cruisers, armed with heavy guns of the best modern type and protected by thick steel armor, were the chief pride and main dependence of the Spanish navy. They combined the swiftness of cruisers of the so-called commerce-destroying type with the offensive and defensive fighting capacity of battleships. There remained at Cadiz, it is true, several other vessels of considerable importance, one or two of them really formidable, this constituting the reserve squadron under Admiral Camara which had nominally been fitting out for the Philippines, in order to do for Admiral Dewey what Dewey had done for Admiral Montojo. But Camara's squadron was not in prime condition; and if Spain's ablest admiral and best warships were indeed penned up at Santiago, Spain's further continuance of the war would only be for political purposes at home, since all further resistance could only mean cruel and needless suffering for everybody concerned.

The Hour and Its Need. The supreme necessity of the hour for the United States, therefore—a necessity upon which scores of thousands of lives depended—was the prevention beyond all possibility of Cervera's exit from Santiago. Admiral Sampson, in charge of the heavy ships of the Atlantic squadron, at once proceeded to join Commodore Schley. He had, as our readers will remember, returned from Porto Rico, and had reported at Key West for the taking on of coal and fresh supplies. Sailing from Key

PLAN OF THE PORT OF SANTIAGO DE CUBA.

West, he arrived off Santiago on June 1, and almost at once, without blazonry or advertisement, there was attempted and successfully executed one of the most heroic deeds that are told about in all the annals of warfare. It must be borne in mind that there was a very real danger that Cervera might escape from Santiago—not by the bold method of fighting his way out, but by taking advantage of the darkness and fog of some thick, stormy night when the American ships, exposed to the fury of the tropical gale, could not safely lie close to the shore, and when, moreover, their search-lights could not possibly

BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF THE TOWN AND HARBOR OF SANTIAGO DE CUBA.

avail to discover Cervera's egress. It was believed that the Spanish admiral had found enough coal at Santiago to fill his bunkers, and that he was eagerly waiting for a night that would favor his desperate plan of escape.

*A Risk
to be
Avoided.*

Under the circumstances, therefore, Admiral Sampson considered that there was not a day to be lost in taking some measures to drive a firm stopper into the bottle, or—to use the other figure—spring-lock the door of the trap. Either Schley or Sampson doubtless would have been ready, if the emergency had required it, to sail boldly into the passage and to risk battle inside the harbor—this, although it was well known that the Spaniards had mined the channel and that they were prepared to launch torpedoes from the shore. Commodore Schley had on May 31 stormed the fortifications near the opening of the channel, and his shells were said to have done some damage to the ships in the inner bay. Nevertheless, it would have been at the risk of a great loss of men and of ships to have attempted to go into the harbor. Admiral Dewey in sailing into Manila Bay had passed through a very wide entrance, and moreover had found his enemy far less prepared and alert. Our men of Schley's flying squadron and of Sampson's fleet were perfectly ready to risk everything in the attempt to force their way through the channel and to attack Cervera under the protection of the Santiago batteries; but it was, obviously, much more desirable to find some means by which to obstruct navigation at the narrowest part of the channel, and thus to make it sure that the blockade could be maintained through fogs and dark nights. Such things are easy to talk about, but difficult to perform.

*The Man
for
the Hour.*

On shipboard with Admiral Sampson was a scholarly and modest young naval constructor, Lieutenant Hobson, who had graduated as a naval cadet at Annapolis in the class of '89, with the highest honors, and had gained some distinction abroad as well as at home by his studious devotion to naval architecture and the science of naval warfare in general. At his own request he had been permitted on the outbreak of the war to exchange his special duties as a naval constructor for service at sea. While en route for Santiago, Hobson presented to Admiral Sampson a scheme, elaborated in every detail, for sacrificing the coal-carrying steamer *Merrimac* by sinking her athwart the Santiago harbor entrance at the narrowest point—the channel being so narrow that if the ship could be made to lie crosswise at precisely the right place the passage would be effectually blocked for all large vessels. Hobson was of opinion that the thing could be done with only six men if properly led, and offered himself as the man to lead the expedition. Here was a proposition conceived in the scientific spirit, based in all its details upon a thorough knowledge of ship construction, the art of navigation, and the use of explosives. The utmost skill was required for the computation of all the factors entering into the problem; for it was desired that the ship should go to the bottom at a precise spot and should lie exactly at right angles across the channel. The plan was at once accepted by Admiral Sampson, as was Hobson's offer to lead in its execution.

*How Hobson
Sunk the
"Merrimac."*

Immediately upon the arrival of the ships off Santiago the sailors of the fleet were given an opportunity to volunteer to accompany Hobson. Only half a dozen

could be used. The expedition meant almost certain death. Hundreds of men immediately volunteered. It was intended to try the plan on the very night following the arrival of Sampson's fleet; but some delay in preparing the collier *Merrimac* made it necessary to wait until the following night. Just before 3 o'clock on Friday morning, June 3, Hobson set forth with his brave crew—of *seven* rather than *six*, for one man had smuggled himself in as a stowaway! Cadet Powell, in a launch, followed the *Merrimac* and hovered near the outer fortifications, hoping to pick up the survivors of the wreck if, as seemed improbable, there should be any survivors to rescue. The Spaniards were on the lookout, and the approach of the *Merrimac* was the signal for terrific firing from the batteries on both shores. Sampson and Schley, in return, poured forth an incessant storm of shot and shell in the direction of the Spanish batteries. Since modern guns were invented there has probably been no more furious use of them than was made for a little while by the Spanish forts and the American ships as Hobson and his men drove the *Merrimac*, in the gray dawn of the morning, over the deadly mines of the Santiago channel toward the desired spot. The thing most to be feared was that the Spaniards should sink the ship before it reached the narrow neck. But although the *Merrimac* was undoubtedly riddled by the Spanish guns, she kept afloat, went swiftly on, and was sunk in strict accordance with Hobson's programme by the explosion of the powder charges that he had skillfully arranged in her hold. And, precisely according to programme, the anchor was dropped and the ship veered about as she went down, until she finally settled herself exactly where Hobson had intended to place her.

Meanwhile Cadet Powell was sailing his launch close to the forts outside the entrance, and was eagerly watching for Hobson and his men—either swimming or rowing a boat; but none of them made appearance, and there was small hope in the fleet that any of the eight had escaped death. In the course of the forenoon, however, a Spanish boat emerged, carrying a flag of truce. It served to convey Captain Oviedo, Admiral Cervera's chief of staff, who was taken on board Admiral Sampson's flagship and explained that he had been sent by his own admiral to inform the American fleet that Hobson and his tars were safe and well, and that while they remained in Spanish hands as prisoners of war they would be treated with the consideration that men of such conspicuous bravery deserved. It seems that when the *Merrimac* went down Hobson and his seven had boarded

LIEUT. RICHMOND PEARSON HOBSON.

some sort of raft or catamaran, pulled straight for the nearest Spanish man-of-war, and offered themselves up as prisoners. Observations subsequently made by the Americans seemed to satisfy Sampson and Schley that the sinking of the *Merrimac* had actually resulted in the accomplishment of the thing intended—namely, the complete obstruction of the harbor so far as large vessels were concerned. The escape of all hands with their lives was not the least remarkable part of this dramatic incident.

*Hobson as a
Typical
American.*

Lieutenant Hobson's startling exploit has been universally praised for its bravery. It gave the country that best reassurance that comes from knowing that it can still produce men worthy of its illustrious founders. For the wealth of every nation in the last resort is to be measured in the character and quality of its young men and women. We are all ready to pay every possible tribute to Lieutenant Hobson's individual force of initiative, high sense of duty, and splendid patriotism. Nevertheless, what pleases us best of all is the belief that Hobson is an American type rather than a wholly unique personality—just as the handful of men who were selected to join him in

his hazardous enterprise were typical of the hundreds of other seamen in the fleet who were equally ready to go, many of whom shed tears of disappointment, according to the reports, because they were not selected. Admiral Dewey's work at Manila surprised the world by a swift dexterity—a combination of almost reckless daring with cool, scientific precision—which belongs peculiarly to the American people. The night entry of Manila Bay, the swift elliptical maneuvering of Dewey's squadron, the deadly accuracy of the shots as the ships circled past the Spanish fleet anchored under the shadow of the Cavite forts, remind one somehow of various operations on a smaller scale that we see at home every day of our lives. The locomotive engineer, with his flying switch, is a case in point. Many of our industrial operations combine skill with daring in a manner unknown to the rest of the world. Our great surgeons, with their nerves of steel and a quickness almost electrical, are every day performing wonders that show the same union of personal resources and qualities. Lieutenant Hobson at Santiago undertook a bit of work that required science, skill, and cool judgment in the highest degree, for it had to be performed upon a calculated plan under conditions of most extraordinary difficulty.

*The Pivotal
Deed
of the War.* If the *Merrimac* had gone down in the wrong place, the heroism of Hobson and his men would have been none the less fine and noble. But it is wholly unfair to Hobson to think for a moment that he was engaged in a spectacular performance for the sake of winning glory irrespective of the risk of human life. His mission was of an exactly opposite nature. It was the merciful project of a man who takes his own life in his hand (not desiring to throw it away—planning indeed to save it if possible) for an object the success of which might save thousands of lives. In its economy of life, indeed, Hobson's enterprise was the most notable and successful that can be found in the annals of modern warfare; for it was not intended merely to affect a single battle or to gain some momentary advantage, but rather was meant to be the essential pivot upon which the whole war should turn. So long as Cervera's fleet were either at large or had an appreciable chance of eluding the American patrol and gaining freedom in the open sea, we were of necessity without any fixed and definite plan of campaign, and the end of the war could not reasonably be regarded as even distantly in sight. But if the imprisonment of Cervera's fleet at Santiago could be made sure—if, so to speak, the harbor door could be made fast with a combination time lock—the main strategic

situation would have been clarified. Our coast would have been freed from the the menace of bombardment. The dispatch of powerful ships against Dewey in the Philippines would have been made impossible. The transport of Spanish troops from the home country to the colonies would have become impossible on any scale of importance. Montojo's fleet in the Philippines being annihilated and Cervera's fleet being securely impounded, there would remain nothing but Admiral Camara's reserve squadron at Cadiz. This fleet had some pretensions of a nominal

ADMIRAL MANUEL DE LA CAMARA.
(Commanding Spanish reserve squadron.)

character, but no formidable sea-going or fighting qualities. So inefficient was it that there was no reason for a moment to believe that it would venture to cross the Atlantic or that it would extend the radius of its cruising further than the Canary Islands.

*Spain's
Empire Now
Dismembered.* Obviously, an empire composed of a home domain that is itself almost an island, with its outlying possessions consisting in the main of islands scattered throughout all the seas, can be bound together only by its naval resources. And it can utilize these naval resources effectively only by the unrestricted use of submarine telegraph lines. If the telegraph lines are cut and the naval resources are destroyed, the empire loses its unity and its parts lie isolated and helpless, like so many scattered sticks when the rope has been cut that fastened the bundle together. All that remains to be done when the rope of sea power that bound them together has been destroyed is to take up the sticks and break them one at a time with

such deliberation as may seem advisable. Our war against Spain and her fortified colonial possessions was in its very nature a contest that divided itself into two parts. The first part had to be performed principally by our navy. To continue with our simile, that first part consisted in our effectually tearing away the band of naval power that held together the otherwise isolated possessions of Spain. While the Spanish navy was at large and in fairly good condition, troops, ammunition, and supplies could be convoyed from one place to another, and our aggressive measures could be greatly delayed, and to a large extent paralyzed by the necessity of using our resources to guard against Spain's counter aggressions upon our own extensive water fronts. After we had succeeded in depriving Spain of the effective use

ONE OF THE "MOSQUITO" FLEET UNDER THE GUNS OF MORRO CASTLE.
(An incident in the regular work of Watson's fleet blockading Havana.)

of sea power it was plain that we should be in a position to release our own navy from the work of coast defense. We could then proceed all along the line with great aggressive energy to cooperate with the army in the detailed work of the second half of the war—namely, the conquest of the various portions of the dismembered Spanish empire. So much for the strategic problem.

*Thus Ends
the
First Half.* The great distinction of Lieutenant Hobson's enterprise, from the point of view of the practical service rendered to the country, lies in the fact that (so far as one may venture to write history while it is in the very process of making) this deed at Santiago marks the transition clearly and sharply from the first half to the second half of the war. Without the loss of a single life, as it providentially happened, the sinking of the *Merrimac* across the only possible exit from Santiago harbor has removed Cervera's fleet from the theater of the larger operations of the war, almost if not quite as completely as if the ships had been sunk. And if the fleet had escaped there is no telling to what extent the fact of its regaining its liberty would have affected the duration of the war and its destructiveness of human life.

*Credit Due
Our Whole
Navy.* There is no reason to believe that in the praise awarded to Lieutenant Hobson there will be any lack of recognition of the honor due either to his superiors or to his inferiors in the naval service. The deed sheds glory upon the whole American navy. It will not, of course, be forgotten that the alertness

A SHOT ACROSS HER BOWS—A UNITED STATES CRUISER OVERHAULING A MERCHANTMAN.

(To illustrate the work of Commodore Watson's blockading fleet near Havana.)

of Commodore Schley's flying squadron had discovered the presence of Cervera in the Santiago harbor and had for a number of days cut off his escape. If the stopper had not been driven into the bottle in one way, there is plenty of reason for the belief that some other way might have been found. It simply belongs to every man in such emergencies to do the duty that falls to his lot; and it fell to the lot of Hobson by virtue of his admirable previous fitness and training to suggest a plan in detail. Having suggested the plan, he was accepted by the admiral of the fleet as the man best qualified to execute it. If Admiral Sampson had not previously arrived at Porto Rico, which he had bombarded just before Cervera's fleet obtained cable advices at Martinique, it is probable that the Spaniards would have succeeded in keeping out of the Santiago trap and would have reached the far safer port of San Juan. Thus the praise to be accorded Lieutenant Hobson is in no sense of the sort that would detach him from the navy to the disparagement of others. His part came to him wholly through the excellence of the combined work of Schley's flying squadron, the heavy fleet of Sampson, and the blockading fleet at the west end of Cuba. Our navy as a whole has conducted itself in the most admirable fashion; and the country in singling out one man or another for approbation, on the score of some notable action, will not by any means forget that such deeds of heroism are almost invariably the indication and the result of a high general state of efficiency and valor in the service. Commodore Watson's blockading fleet has had its full share of arduous work to perform; and the cable-cutting feats, among other things, have been plucky in the highest degree. Our navy is a brilliant success.

*Work of the
Army Now
Begins.*

President McKinley and the authorities at Washington had all along perceived that Cervera's fleet must be dealt with before their further plans could be laid down upon firm lines. Nobody, however, could have foreseen when, where, or how the Spanish squadron was to be rendered *hors de combat*. A number of tentative plans for the invasion of Cuba in the vicinity of Havana had been made from time to time, and had been abandoned at the last moment for reasons in every instance traceable directly or indirectly to the movements of the Spanish fleet. The sinking of the *Merrimac* on Friday, June 3, at length removed the chief element of uncertainty from the plans of the War Department. It became clear that the conquest of Cuba must of necessity begin at once, and must begin with the capture of Santiago. General Pando, next

in authority to Captain-General Blanco over the Spanish forces in Cuba, was known to be at Santiago with perhaps ten thousand troops, which were being considerably reinforced by arrivals from other garrison points in eastern Cuba. It was also known that the fortifications of the city were not to be despised, and that they were being strengthened in every way, Admiral Cervera coöperating with General Pando in plans for the defense of the town and the port. Santiago had become the war center.

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COMMODORE JOHN C. WATSON.

(In command of the Havana blockade.)

The necessity for our prompt investment of Santiago scarcely needs an explanation. In the absence of our patrol fleet outside the harbor entrance, it would not have taken the Spaniards long to remove the coal-laden hulk of the sunken *Merrimac*. But as the hurricane season approached it became increasingly difficult and perilous to keep watch and ward outside the rocky promontories that mark the mouth of the channel. It was not enough to have entrapped Cervera's ships. We had to proceed either to destroy them or to get them into our actual possession. The best way to accomplish this was to besiege the place by

*Santiago
Delenda Est.*

land, at the same time bombarding it with our fleet. While waiting for the military expedition which the War Department decided to send under the command of Major-General Shafter, the fleet busied itself all along the coast in that general vicinity. Communication was established with the insurgents, who are numerous in the hills surrounding Santiago; and large quantities of rifles, ammunition, and food supplies were successfully landed for their use. It was determined to take possession of Guantanamo Bay and its immediate surroundings for the purpose of a satisfactory American camp. The exploits of a part of our navy, including some of the young men of the naval reserve, were highly creditable and noteworthy in the occupation of this part of the Cuban coast and in the preliminary work of establishing a camp.

*General
Shafter's
Expedition.*

It had been expected that the military expedition would leave Florida ports about June 6, and arrive in the Santiago neighborhood after, say, four days of steaming—about the 10th. And so the fleet exerted itself to make a place for the troops. The harbor of Guantanamo has many advantages. As our map on page 12 would indicate, it is a well-protected inlet, capacious and far indented. It happens also that it has abundant depth of water, and at the port of Caimanera a long and excellent wharfage. The bay is some thirty-five or forty miles east of Santiago, and suited to afford an admirable shelter and rendezvous for the transport ships which were supposed to be at sea with the soldiers. On June 10, under Admiral Sampson's orders, some six hundred marines were landed and instructed to prepare ground for the army, which was expected almost hourly. As a matter of fact, however, the army had not sailed. Cervera had gone into Santiago harbor on May 19, and Schley had arrived there a few days later. Our regular army had many weeks previously been mobilized at points convenient for sailing to the West Indies, and the country supposed that the troops were prepared at any time on twenty-four hours' notice to embark for any point to which they were ordered. There was every reason why the military expedition for Santiago should have been on the sea just as soon as the news of the sinking of the *Merrimac* had reached the War Department. There had been the most ample notice, and there was no reasonable excuse for the delays that followed. Although its departure was announced almost every day, the expedition (which was in the main assembled at Port Tampa, on the west coast of Florida) was not fairly off from Key West, under the convoy of the battleship *Indiana*, until the afternoon of the

Photo by Prince.

MAJ.-GEN. W. R. SHAFTER.

15th or the morning of the following day. The expedition comprised what is designated as the Fifth Corps of the United States army, under command of Maj.-Gen. William R. Shafter. It included about sixteen thousand troops embarked upon some thirty-five transport steamers. The men were for the greater part infantry of the regular army, although the expedition also included some cavalry squadrons and batteries of artillery. The volunteer army was represented only by the Seventy-first New York Regiment, the Second Massachusetts, and a part of the First Volunteer Cavalry, commonly known as "Roosevelt's Rough Riders."

*The Task
of Creating
an Army.*

No good purpose could be served at this time by an attempt at criticism. The officers of our army are skillful, the men are brave, and they will all give a good account of themselves when it comes to fighting. But our army has from the Civil War until now, a period of more than thirty years, been handled in very small, isolated fragments, doing garrison or post duty throughout a continent. For a whole generation there has never been such a thing in the United States as army maneuvers or the assembling or handling of an army corps. It took some experience in 1861 to discover and develop men capable of handling an army. The excellent survivors of the Mexican War did not prove to be the leaders destined to deal with the military problems that arose in the early 60s. The interval between the Civil War and the pres-

ent Spanish war is a good deal more than twice as long as the interval that had elapsed between the Mexican War and the crisis of 1861. We have in the United States a great number of business men—railroad administrators, contractors, and others—accustomed to the equipment and handling of bodies of men and the execution of important enterprises, with due regard at once to the large factors of the problem and to the multitudinous details. It is not unfair or unkind to the men who hold the high ranks in our army to say of them in general that it would be hard to select a group of men of any prominence in the United

been trained to handle our ships in squadrons; and they know their work. Our generals, on the other hand, are men who have not led an army, nor even seen one, since they took a valiant part in a war of stupendous dimensions when they were young—a war that was under full headway thirty-seven years ago. It is no more the fault of these gentlemen—most of whom have come to the front by the process of seniority promotion in our small army in times of peace—that they are generals in name only, and not in deed, than it is their fault that we have not maintained armies and have not been a military country. Our regular army has been a series of detached regiments, very many of which have been still further broken up for post and garrison duty in detached companies or small squads. Our generals have been men who have held that rank because the army law provides that there shall be a certain number of men so designated. We have suddenly, within a few weeks, expanded the United States army to nearly three hundred thousand men, all of whom it has been necessary to bring together in a few large camps and to equip for actual warfare.

The Where-fore of Delays.

Every day of their lives our railroad managers and heads of other enterprises requiring large organization have to deal with executive problems that would not make it seem a particularly difficult task to provide shoes for, say, twenty thousand men—when in any event the American shoe factories are regularly supplying shoes for a nation of seventy-five millions. Nevertheless, these little problems—the fitting out of the army with uniforms, ammunition, and tents, or with the picks, spades, and shovels needed for use in throwing up intrenchments on the Cuban coast, with ordinary food from day to day, with medicines, and so on to the end of the chapter—have been at the outset quite too unfamiliar for our army organization to manage well. It was disappointing, but it ought not to have been surprising. Our excellent regimental officers, who appear so well in their full-dress uniforms and who would fight with a dash and courage that would make us all proud of them, could not be expected to succeed at once if they were put without warning into the management of a department store.

The Worst is Already Past.

In short, the sudden organization and equipment of about three hundred thousand men has involved what are practical business problems, for which our army does not as yet possess the men of a sufficiently trained capacity. All this will come of itself in due time. No individuals are to be blamed for

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL ROOSEVELT WITH TWO OF HIS
"ROUGH RIDERS."

(Photographed in front of old Spanish mission near San Antonio, Texas.)

States who are much less qualified than they are, by any reason of actual experience, for fitting out, transporting, and handling large bodies of men.

Learning a New Business.

For riding at the head of regiments and for actual fighting our army officers have not their equals, probably, in the whole world. But none of them has had more than the slightest degree of experience which could have fitted him for organizing large expeditions or shaping campaigns; and some of them are probably too old to learn what for them is an entirely new business. The problem of the navy is an entirely different one. Our admirals have

THE UNITED STATES DYNAMITE CRUISER "VESUVIUS."
(Tried last month at Santiago.)

Santiago, and commanding an ore wharf which would be of great use to the American fleet and transport ships for the landing of artillery, etc. The insurgents of Santiago province have already been rendering very material assistance to the American forces, and it should be the policy of the Government to provide them with ample arms and supplies. Admiral Sampson had on the 13th made trial of the pneumatic dynamite guns of the cruiser *Vesuvius*—the first trial, be it said, ever made in warfare of any vessel throwing dynamite as a projectile. It was not known how great damage the *Vesuvius* inflicted, but the trial was thought to be successful. She waited until the cover of night, and then ran close up to the mouth of Santiago harbor, throwing three great masses of dynamite almost simultaneously from her three great guns. She then immediately retreated, before the Spanish fortifications should fairly open fire. These pneumatic guns have not, of course, a very long range, but under favorable circumstances their destructiveness must be almost indescribable. Our narrative for the present month must leave the military expedition of General Shafter safely landed and the siege of Santiago begun.

*Porto Rico
Next on the
Programme.*

The next step in the military programme was expected to be the conquest of the island of Porto Rico. It was hoped by the War Department that Santiago could not hold out many days, and that it would be feasible to employ perhaps half of General Shafter's corps as a part of the Porto Rican expedition. It was believed that General Shafter could readily maintain possession of the whole eastern part of Cuba, with Santiago and Guantanamo as the principal bases of supplies and with the coöperation of General Garcia's insur-

gent army. Meanwhile an expedition intended primarily for Porto Rico was in process of equipment, and transports were being assembled for it after the middle of June at Jacksonville and at Fernandina, Fla. It was expected that this expedition would be under the command of Major-General Coppinger, and that Maj.-Gen. Fitzhugh Lee would very probably be associated with him in the enterprise. The conquest of Porto Rico is looked upon as a necessary movement in the progress of the war. The possession of the city and harbor of San

Juan will at once give us a most admirable base of supplies far to the eastward, and will leave Spain without any place of refuge, if indeed she should venture to send a fleet across the ocean.

*Emerson's
Adventures.*

We beg to call the attention of our readers to an excellent article upon Porto Rico, its conditions and general situation, which we publish elsewhere in this number, from the pen of Mr. Edwin Emerson. All newspaper readers who had not been previously acquainted with the name of this versatile and scholarly young journalist will have read accounts of his remarkable exploit only last month in crossing Porto Rico in behalf of the United States Government as a temporary member of the secret service. Mr. Emerson's trip was exceptionally daring and, of course, perilous in the highest degree. Indeed, nothing but his presence of mind, ready wit, and high pluck got him out of difficulties which would certainly have resulted, in the case of any man less clever, in the deplorable fate of being shot as a spy. The newspapers throughout the country have published the story of Mr. Emerson's adventures under the guise of a German correspondent named "Emerssohn." On one occasion he was detained on suspicion, got past the door of the guard-house by bribing his jailer, helped himself to a horse that was standing in a neighboring blacksmith shop while the blacksmith was taking his midday *siesta*, and made his escape from the interior town where he then was by unfrequented country roads. This is merely an allusion to only one of a series of most exciting experiences. Mr. Emerson's observations on his safe arrival in this country last month were immediately communicated to the President and the War Department, and they will have been of material value

country with any news. Mr. Emerson is at present a member of the staff of *Leslie's Weekly*. The special correspondents who have been living in the Tampa hotels have been under strict military censorship, and have evidently been in the least favorable place in the whole country for the collection of war news. They have now gone to Santiago in some force, however, with General Shafter's expedition, and all they need is a chance. Thus far Washington, New York, and London have been the centers of war intelligence.

The Plan of Campaign. The Porto Rican expedition is expected to be made up of perhaps twenty thousand men, and to sail from

Fernandina in the early days of July. Thus we shall have made a fair beginning with the second half of the war, which must belong principally to the army, as the first half belonged entirely to the navy. The taking of Porto Rico may prove no child's play, for the Spaniards have there a considerable force of peninsular troops and local volunteers who could make a tedious guerrilla warfare in the interior. But with the aid of Admiral Sampson's great guns it will be easy to make and hold a safe landing in one or more of the Porto Rican seaports. A large part of the Porto Rican population is ready to rise against the Spanish at the first opportunity, and Generals Copping and Lee—if indeed they are to lead the expedition—will in due time make their work of conquest complete. As for Cuba, the island will have to be dealt with in sections. The Spaniards will easily be cut off from the eastern or Santiago end of the island, which has no railroad connections with the western end, and which will be readily brought under full American control as soon as Santiago is conquered. The excellent work of the fleet and the marines in Guantanamo Bay had by the middle of June completely silenced the batteries at Caimanera and the immediate neighborhood, and the Spaniards seemed for the most part to have become concentrated within the defenses of Santiago.

EDWIN EMERSON, JR.
(Who crossed Porto Rico last month.)

to our military expedition by reason of their up-to-date information about roads suitable for artillery and similar matters.

The Unhappy Correspondents. There has been since the war began a fair-sized army of newspaper correspondents hovering about the camps at Tampa and elsewhere. They have been enabled to contribute some incidental details about matters at those points, and have diverted the country with a controversy over the question whether the army showed a high state of efficiency or a scandalous lack of it. Mr. Poultney Bigelow has led in the attack on the army organization, and Mr. Richard Harding Davis has led in the attack on Mr. Poultney Bigelow. Meanwhile Mr. Edwin Emerson is one of the few so-called war correspondents who have thus far in the war done anything, found out anything, or supplied the

Spaniards in a Row of Coops. Meanwhile, the cables having been cut, all that portion of Cuba was entirely severed from communication whether with Havana or with Madrid. The Spanish sea power having been shattered except in the immediate vicinity of Spain itself, there remained four isolated Spanish colonial armies, not one of which could be either reinforced or withdrawn. The Porto Rican army could only await the inevitable arrival of the American army and navy, after the army of eastern Cuba had been dealt with at Santiago. The Philippine army, with Admiral Dewey holding the harbor and the na-

tive insurgents pressing in great force upon the town from the land approaches, could only try to hold out long enough to surrender to the American general rather than to Aguinaldo, the insurgent leader—all hope of reinforcements from Cadiz having finally been given up. The principal colonial force remains at Havana, under Captain-General Blanco, and it will be dealt with, according to present plans, when the autumn brings less deadly weather.

The Philippine Insurgents. The Philippine situation has continued to be one of intense interest, although the news has been rather meager. The Spanish army in the Philippines, as our readers are aware, has been composed in very large part of native regiments, officered by Spaniards. Some months ago the insurrectionary war that had been in progress for a year or two was brought to an end through the promise of the Spanish Government to give immediate effect to a series of just and necessary reforms demanded by General Aguinaldo and the insurgent leaders. The insurgents had been unable with their limited resources to defeat the Spaniards, while on the other hand the Spaniards had not been able to stamp out the insurrection. The compromise had been entered into by the insurgent leaders as the best thing under the circumstances that they could do for their country. Part of the agreement had been that

Aguinaldo and some other insurgent leaders should leave the Philippines, the Spaniards allowing them a certain sum of money for their expenses. It is by no means necessarily true that the taking of this money is to be regarded in the light of a venal act on the part of Aguinaldo or an abandonment of the cause for which he had fought. On the contrary, the evidence, so far as it has come to our attention, would indicate that Aguinaldo's conduct had been consistent and patriotic. The insurgent leaders had withdrawn to Singapore and Hong Kong. This was some weeks before the opening of the war between Spain and the United States. The Spanish authorities, having gotten rid of the insurgent leaders, deliberately broke their solemn promises and abandoned the reforms that the insurgents had demanded.

Aguinaldo's Return. Under these circumstances Aguinaldo and his friends held themselves not only justified in opening the revolution again, but in duty bound to cooperate with the Americans in every possible way for the final overthrow of the hated Spanish rule. Accordingly, certain Englishmen who knew Aguinaldo brought him into conference, through the American consulates at Singapore and Hong Kong, with Admiral Dewey himself. And so it happened that there came to be a good understanding between Dewey and the Philippine insurgents, and Aguinaldo returned to the Philippines with Dewey's fleet. After the destruction of the Spanish ships in Manila Bay, the insurgents took on fresh courage and rose against the Spaniards in all parts of the Philippines in greater numbers than ever before. Aguinaldo took his old position at their head. It is reported that there has been a very large desertion of native soldiers from the Spanish to the insurgent camps, and that there will be few vestiges of Spanish power remaining in the Philippine Islands, except in the city of Manila alone, when the American troops have arrived. Dewey accords high praise to Aguinaldo.

Our Army of Occupation. The advance guard of the military expedition to the Philippines, consisting of about 2,500 men in three transport steamships under command of General Anderson, and under the convoy of the cruiser *Charleston*, was expected to reach Manila by June 24. The second expedition, consisting of 4,200 troops, left San Francisco on June 15. This second fleet, of four ships, was under command of Brigadier-General Greene, an officer of great ability and popularity, well known as a writer on military subjects, formerly an officer in the regular army, and now taken from private life and from



GENERAL MACÍAS,
Governor-General of Porto Rico.

very efficient service as colonel of the Seventy-first Regiment of the New York National Guard to serve as a brigadier-general of volunteers. It is said that Capt. Charles King, the well-known military writer and novelist, who has now been made a brigadier-general of volunteers, may go with the third section of the Philippine force. General Merritt has asked for 20,000 troops in all. His forces may go even beyond that number, through the plan which has been adopted of recruiting all the regiments—including those which have already sailed—to the full strength of the new three-battalion system which has been adopted for the army. This system makes every full regiment consist of 1,226 men. The President's second call for volunteers (75,000 men) fills up the existing regiments. The third and principal expedition to the Philippines is expected to consist of from 12,000 to 15,000 troops.

*Easy Work
in
Prospect.*

Our soldiers are not likely to suffer any immediate hardships upon their arrival at Manila, inasmuch as Admiral Dewey is prepared to make them very comfortable at Cavite and on Corregidor Island in the harbor. These points are in his full possession and are already supplied with barracks and accommodations for soldiery, in connection with the captured fortifications. It is by no means improbable that Governor-General Augusti, who had early in June sent word to Madrid that his situation was hopeless, may surrender without any fighting after the American soldiers are on hand to take possession and

Photo by Prince.

BRIG.-GEN. F. V. GREENE, U. S. V.

protect all interests. European merchants and other foreigners at Manila will naturally expect from the Americans full and complete protection of all their interests. It is likely that they will insist that the Spaniards shall not, through sheer stubbornness, bring on a useless bombardment of the city. It will be very fortunate indeed if the work already accomplished by Admiral Dewey and by the insurgents under General Aguinaldo shall have prepared the situation for full Spanish surrender without any further fighting.

*Peering into
the
Future.*

The discussion of the future of the Philippines has gone on apace and has brought out a great variety of opinions. The surprising thing in the discussion has been the remarkable vigor and extent of the American sentiment in favor of the permanent retention of the islands as an American possession. It is coming to be understood throughout the country that annexation of Hawaii or the Philippines or Porto Rico does not by any means imply, either now or at any time in the future, admission into the sisterhood of Federal States whose government is provided for under the Constitution. It is precisely as reasonable and possible that the United States should exercise general sovereignty over a distant island without bringing that island into the Federal Union as for Holland to exercise dominion in Java without bringing the people of that remote realm into domestic relation with the Netherlands. The question is not, after all, a theoretical one. Nobody



BRIG.-GEN. CHARLES KING, U. S. V.

need trouble his mind about its constitutional aspects. It is a strictly practical question, and one that must be considered boldly and fairly in the light of the interests of everybody really concerned. The people primarily affected are (1) the native inhabitants of the Philippines, (2) the Spanish whom we are dispossessing, and (3) ourselves. We need not hesitate for a moment about the rights of the Spaniards. They have brought this war upon themselves, and the sun

extend an inch beyond their ability under the existing circumstances to carry on for themselves a peaceful, orderly, and beneficial régime. We do not know as yet what their capacity may be. The simple fact that we have sent thousands of American soldiers already, and are about to send many more, counts for a heavier argument than all the opponents of America's so-called imperial policy could possibly frame in a whole year. In other words, the thing is already done. We did not instruct Dewey, after smashing the Spanish fleet, to bid the insurgents Godspeed and sail away from the Philippines as fast as possible; but on the contrary we have sanctioned his continuance at Manila and his demand that Governor-General Augusti should surrender the Philippine Islands to the United States. And now we have sent the soldiers to make good that demand, and have commissioned Gen. Wesley Merritt to serve as provisional military governor of the Philippines, with an authority that is understood also to extend to the Ladrões and the Carolines. We do not intend to hand the people of the Philippines back to the Spaniards; and our sense of decency and respect for the enlightened opinion of mankind will not permit us to abandon them. Nor will the rivalries and conflicts of the European and Asiatic powers make it possible for us to select England or Holland or any other power as our residuary legatees.

DON BASILIO AUGUSTI,
Governor-General of the Philippines.

is setting upon their colonial empire. We shall put ourselves in their place in the Philippines, and we must then consider our own interests and the interests of the native population. We shall have to maintain a military occupation for a good while, no matter how eager we may be to rid ourselves of the whole business. It may be possible that under the friendly auspices of our military government there may be nursed into life some tolerable sort of native republican system.

*We Have
Some Plain
Work to Do.* Meanwhile we shall have to enforce and make good the reforms that the Spaniards falsely promised to the insurgents. If those reforms are accomplished by us in good faith, we shall have rendered the native population the most enormous benefits. Further than that, we need not for an instant concern ourselves about the inherent rights of the natives of the Philippines to govern themselves. Their rights of self-government do not

*Our Position
at Manila
Now Assured.* Last month the circumstances were such that it was fair to say to those who were discussing the annexation of the Philippines that we had not yet captured them, and the question of their future might well be postponed. Everything, however, in the whole situation has been changed by the bottling up of Cervera's fleet. That circumstance made it necessary to retain Camara's reserve squadron for purposes of home defense, with the Canaries as a possible rendezvous. We were reënforcing Dewey by sending two powerful monitors and one or two additional cruisers to join his fleet, and there was no further possibility that any reinforcements would be sent from Spain to the Philippines. This fact, together with the overwhelming victories of the insurgents under Aguinaldo and the progress of our own military expedition, has made the complete American conquest of the Philippines a matter of the immediate future. In May there was some possibility that the insurgents might commit outrages which would give the German and other foreign warships an excuse for landing marines and assuming to dispute Admiral Dewey's position. There have come to us many rumors that the Germans do not intend to allow the United States to dis-

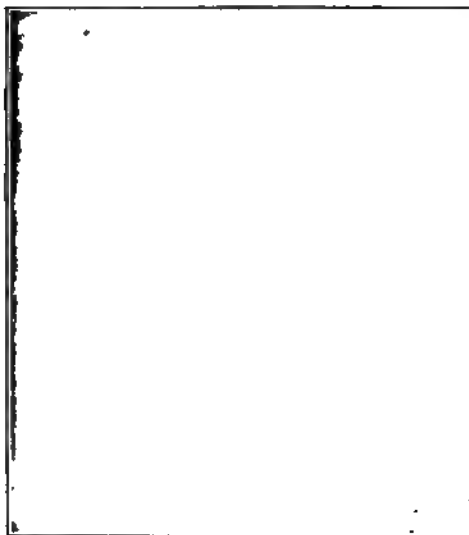
pose of the Philippines without taking European advice. There is small truth, however, in these dispatches. There will be no interference from any quarter with the plans of the United States.

America is Equal to the Occasion. There is no possible reason to find fault with the many highly intelligent and patriotic men who view with deep apprehension our entrance upon so radical a departure from our traditional policy as the assumption of sovereignty over possessions so distant and so alien in every sense as the Philippines. But if we are actually there to stay, as seems likely, it is much better to make the best of it than to fill our minds with gloomy forebodings. We may as well accept the fact, and simply make the task of managing the Philippines a part of the regular day's work. It will certainly be a most fortunate thing for the Philippines themselves. Any American who denies this statement is a subject either for pity or for indignation. If, therefore, it should prove a troublesome thing for us to exercise authority over the Philippines, it will at least be some consolation to know that we are doing a great deal of good to others. We need not be afraid that there will be any lack of capable men to do the necessary work. There is Consul-General Williams at Hong Kong, who has coöperated with Dewey and is a man who, like Hobson, is equal to his job whatever it may be. Then there is Mr. John Barrett, lately our exceedingly popular and successful minister at Bangkok, Siam—himself, like Dewey, a Vermonter. Barrett has made an astonishingly brilliant record in Siam, and is said to be the most

popular representative of any government ever sent to that region. If we mistake not, he is now with Dewey at Manila. He could serve the United States Government as a colonial administrator just as well as young men like Sir Alfred Milner can serve the British Government.

Our Representatives Abroad. It is the fashion to find a great deal of fault with our consular and diplomatic service. It needs, therefore, to be said of our representatives in positions of this sort that "when they are good they are very good, and when they are bad they are horrid!" All that is necessary to make our diplomatic and consular service equal to the first in the world is to bring the whole service up to the level of its best part. And this can be done if the politicians will be a little more patriotic and will allow the President to appoint the best men he can find. We possess already a body of men, either now or at some former time in diplomatic and consular posts in the Orient, who could furnish plenty of talent for the reorganization and satisfactory government of a region like the Philippines. Gradually we are coming to the point of eliminating politics from these appointments to foreign service.

Mr. Straus Goes Back to Turkey. A good instance of this has just been afforded by the appointment of the Hon. Oscar Straus, of New York, to be United States Minister at Constantinople. President Angell, of the University of Michigan, took the appointment at the beginning of Mr. McKinley's administration, with the understanding that his university could not well lend him to the Government for a much longer time than one year. Mr. Straus is a Democrat, and was our minister at Constantinople during President Cleveland's first administration. It is the opinion of many people who are well informed, including educators and missionaries throughout the Turkish empire, that Mr. Straus was a conspicuously able and successful minister and a most faithful guardian of all proper American interests. He goes back to Turkey with the good wishes of the whole country. His former experience and his ripened powers will assure for him at once a place of high influence in Constantinople. It is true that the American minister does not participate in those everlasting conferences that the ambassadors of the six great powers at Constantinople are constantly holding, but there is some reason to believe that Europe will from this time on entertain a higher respect for the international position of the United States than heretofore, and that Mr. Straus will find himself in a place to exercise a certain wholesome moral influence even in matters that do not



HON. JOHN BARRETT.

of our nation. It was a matter of great moment for our small country in Jefferson's day to consummate that mighty territorial acquisition; but it was probably, all things considered, the safest and most conservative bit of statesmanship that our history can show. Not to have made that investment when Jefferson had the opportunity to do it would have been a blunder that posterity could not well have pardoned. Let those who would know what we have done with the Louisiana purchase visit the Omaha exposition, now in session, as described elsewhere in this number.

The Wise Men Who Never Understand. Upon all questions of this sort, that particular school of moral and intellectual pharisaism which has somehow managed to make the country think that it represents Boston has almost invariably been

wrong—just as it was wrong about the Louisiana purchase and wrong in thwarting President Grant's sound and conservative plans for West Indian acquisition. It does not in the least follow that this distrust of one's own country and its policies makes for peace and safety. Not to have purchased the Louisiana territory would almost inevitably have meant a war at some

subsequent period to gain the land that we were sure to need. On the other hand, the success of President Grant's policy for the purchase of St. Thomas and the acquisition of Santo Domingo would in all reasonable probability have led to a solution of the Cuban question without the present costly and disturbing war.

The Compelling Facts of the Case. The Hawaiian Islands have for a great many years been under the virtual protection of the United States, and we have acquired a title to the best harbor in the islands as a coaling station. A variety of reasons, racial and commercial, local and international, have made it highly desirable for the islands themselves that they should be placed under the flag of the United States. Most people in this country who possess a sense of the moral fitness of things have been of opinion that we should either let the Hawaiian Islands alone, relinquishing all peculiar claims of every character,

MON. OSCAR S. STRAUß.

(Who succeeds President J. B. Angell as United States Minister to Turkey.)

strictly relate to our own country. Great Britain, by the way, is also to be represented by a new man at Constantinople in the person of Sir Nicholas O'Connor. Sir Nicholas has earned promotion from time to time in the diplomatic service, and will be a worthy successor of the talented men who have preceded him at Constantinople. England's ambassadors know their work.

The Hawaiian Question Again.

The opponents of the American policy of expansion had, by a more or less common consent, agreed to make their stand on the question of annexing the Hawaiian Islands. Their solemn warning and their prophecies of dire disaster to follow Hawaiian annexation will undoubtedly form one of the curiosities of American politics when raked up in the *Congressional Record* and the libraries by the future historian. Boston has been somewhat of a headquarters for the anti-Hawaiian movement, precisely as Boston was a vociferous headquarters in Jefferson's time for the movement against the Louisiana purchase. There was celebrated late in June the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of Iowa College, at Grinnell—the oldest college west of the Mississippi River. It is not uninteresting to remember that Iowa, as a part of the Louisiana territory, was for a time owned by the Spaniards, who subsequently transferred the territory back to the French, who in turn sold it to the Americans. The Louisiana purchase gave us what is to-day the very heart

SIR NICHOLAS O'CONNOR,
British Ambassador at
Constantinople.

or else that we should allow them the very reasonable privilege of floating our flag and relying upon us for a secure political future. The awful state of nervous apprehension to which some of the opponents of Hawaii have wrought themselves up has evidently interfered with the easy exercise of their every-day judgment. It was, after all, a question of stable equilibrium; and various events of the past six years—culminating in our open and frank use of the Hawaiian Islands in the present war as a naval base, totally regardless of Hawaiian obligations of neutrality toward Spain—have made annexation simply inevitable. Our war with Spain is a serious business, carried on in the presence of great nations that know their own minds and are dead in earnest. Circumstances have compelled us to go to the Philippines and are going to keep us there for some time to come. We cannot manage our Philippine business without the use of Hawaii as an intermediate station. In addition to this fact of our present war necessity, is the further fact that Hawaii had wished to be taken, while no other country was raising the slightest objection.

Passage of the Newlands Resolution. To have rejected the Newlands resolution under all these circumstances would have been a topsy-turvy performance well calculated to delight the imagination of the late Lewis Carroll, and that could be likened in its queerness only to the sort of thing one reads about in "Alice in Wonderland." The Newlands joint resolution, which was designed to accomplish by a simple vote of both houses of Congress precisely what would have been accomplished by the Senate's ratification of the annexation treaty, passed the House of Representatives on Wednesday, June 15, by a vote of 209 to 91. The negative vote included only three or four Republicans, Speaker Reed maintaining his opposition to the very last. The Democratic Representatives, under the leadership of Mr. Bailey, of Texas, had held a caucus for the sake of whipping in the men on that side of the chamber who were inclined to follow the sentiment of their constituents and vote for annexation. A considerable number, however, refused to be controlled by the caucus. The question had no true party bearing, whatsoever, and it was a serious mistake on the part of Mr. Bailey and other Democrats to crack the party lash. Mr. Henry U. Johnson, the eloquent Republican orator of Indiana, made the chief speech against annexation, while the Republican Speaker, Thomas B. Reed, had for a good while past been the really determining factor in the combination that was keeping Hawaii out. In the Senate, on the other hand, the most active promoter of annexation

has been a Democrat, Mr. Morgan, of Alabama; and he has by no means been alone on his side of the chamber. The question was not, therefore, one to be taken up in the partisan spirit. The practical unanimity of the Republicans in the House was not due to party pressure, but to the desire to support President McKinley in a policy which he considered necessary for the welfare of the country in this period of war. The Newlands resolution went promptly to the Senate, where it was referred to the Foreign Relations Committee and reported back favorably on June 17. It was expected that the debate would continue for several days, but it was understood that the resolution was quite certain to prevail.

The New War Taxes. Apart from the Hawaiian joint resolution, the great matter before Congress last month was the war-tax question. It was not to be expected that anybody would find his own pet views and theories fully reflected in any bill that could be carried through two chambers as dissimilar in their prevailing sentiments on financial questions as are the present branches of our Congress. It seems to us wholly creditable to the patriotism of both houses that a measure so well devised in many respects was at length agreed upon and inscribed in our statutes. The nature, intention, and expected results of this war-revenue measure are well explained in an article published elsewhere in this number which we have secured from the pen of Dr. Max West, of Washington, a well-known student of taxation and finance. Most parts of the new measure go into effect on July 1, the very day when this magazine makes its appearance. The tax provisions are elaborate, and their working will inevitably give rise to much future discussion. Almost everybody in the country will find that he is affected in one way or another. The most conspicuous innovation will be the use of revenue stamps on bank checks and on various documents and papers. Telegraph and telephone messages will be taxed in a way that is likely to be paid by the use of stamps on the part of the sender of messages. The increased taxes on beer and tobacco will afford a good deal of revenue. The tax on tea will of course be added directly to the price per pound. The new taxes are supposed to be capable of producing from \$200,000,000 to \$300,000,000 of additional yearly income.

The War Loan. The new finance measure authorized the issue of \$500,000,000 of 3-per cent. bonds for war purposes. The President and Secretary of the Treasury deemed it necessary to offer \$200,000,000 of these bonds at once.

The law carefully provided for a popular loan, and the Secretary of the Treasury took steps to make it easy for small investors in every part of the country to subscribe if they so desired. Meanwhile two large syndicates of banking houses, acting independently, each on its own account informed the Government that it would be prepared to subscribe for the entire amount of \$200,000,000 or for any part of the amount that might not be absorbed in the popular subscription. A peculiar feature of the issue was the provision that the smallest subscriptions were to receive first attention. It seems to us that this is not merely good politics, but also sound policy. It is much better for the country that its bonds should be held in small amounts by its own people, as in France, than that they should be taken in large blocks by New York banking syndicates for European investors. It was certain from the very start that the loan would be a success, and probable that it would be several times over-subscribed. The people of the United States are perfectly ready to take not merely \$200,000,000, but \$2,000,000,000 of United States obligations if the Government should need the money for legitimate purposes. The measure as adopted also provides for the coinage at the rate of \$1,500,000 a month of the silver bullion owned by the Government.

Sentiment of the Western World.

Our war with Spain, which is the one absorbing topic in our own country, has assumed a leading place in public discussion everywhere else. It is not surprising that the western hemisphere should be keyed up to a keen pitch of interest; and in point of fact the Mexicans are perhaps watching it with a livelier concern than any other body of men. There is a considerable Spanish colony in Mexico that has been doing everything in its power to keep in touch with Blanco and the Spanish authorities in Cuba, and is thought to have been carrying on a blockade-running business in spite of the vigilant and conscientious efforts of President Diaz and the Mexican Government to maintain neutrality. The migration of Spanish refugees from Cuba to Mexico has been quite large. The nearness of Mexico and the identity of language and customs would suffice to give the Cuban situation a foremost place in the minds of our neighbors south of the Rio Grande. The Spanish-speaking republics of South America, though they do not forget their own hard experiences under Spanish colonial rule, have nevertheless some of the same ties binding them to the Spanish peninsula that bind the United States to Great Britain. They have an identical literature that is by no means confined to Cer-

vantes and the classical Spanish authors, but is very fertile, fresh, and abundant, even in our own day. Their sympathy, however, has not extended to any serious degree beyond a natural and easily pardonable race feeling. The great Portuguese-speaking republic of Brazil has, of course, so much less in common with Spain than have Chile and the Argentine, for example, that the very general sympathy of the people as well as of the government has from the beginning been with the United States. The Canadians have been most cordial in their good-will toward our Government. The islands of the West Indies, whether English, French, Dutch, or Danish, have been careful to observe the duties of neutrality.

When we turn our eyes toward Europe, on the other hand, we do not discover any reason for serious complaint. Our English friends have certainly been kindness itself. If anything, they have been somewhat too effusively kind in their speechmaking and public expressions. We enjoy these friendly words; but undoubtedly they have irritated the continent a good deal, and possibly it might have been just as well if somewhat less had been said. This suggestion, however, is meant in no ungracious spirit. The attitude of British public opinion has had a most steadying effect upon the vague cravings of the continental powers to intermeddle in our little affair with Spain. Our European friends should make haste to believe that we do not intend to do anything in any part of the world that would run counter to their reasonable interests. If we remain for some time in charge of the administration of the Philippines, we shall immensely improve the opportunities of the German, French, and other foreign merchants who have business in that quarter. As for the West Indies, we shall not swerve an iota from the principles of the Monroe doctrine as interpreted from time to time since the days of John Quincy Adams, and as notably set forth in the official papers of the Hon. Richard Olney when Secretary of State. The people of France at the outset of this war were a good deal humbugged by the mercenary newspapers of the city of Paris. They are rapidly seeing their mistake in siding so eagerly with the Spanish; and the veiled hint that the people of the United States might neglect the exposition of 1900 has already had a useful influence. The French this past month have indulged in an upset of the very able cabinet of M. Méline, after an almost unprecedentedly long continuance in office. Our readers next month will have the pleasure of learning from the pen of the Baron Pierre de Coubertin a great many things that will interest them con-

cerning recent French politics, the progress of plans for the great fair of 1900, and the attitude of the French people toward Spain, America, and international affairs in general.

*Gladstone's
Character as
a Race Bond.*

The death of Mr. Gladstone, which we announced last month, has continued to be the foremost theme in England. The noblest statesman of all British history was buried with the highest public honors that Parliament and the Queen could confer. His grave is in a part of Westminster Abbey devoted to statesmen of many generations. The praise of Gladstone unanimously expressed during these past weeks in every part of the English-speaking world has somehow blended most agreeably with the general expressions of friendliness and goodwill toward each other of the two principal English-speaking countries. The character of the venerable Gladstone is a common possession that we shall all cherish even as we cherish the writings of Shakespeare. Mr. Gladstone had at one time written to President Potter (apropos of Dr. Potter's book about Washington) that he had almost idolized George Washington for sixty years. And on some other occasion Mr. Gladstone had spoken of Washington as "the purest figure in history." Mr. John Morley has lately alluded to our revolutionary attitude of 1776 as a necessary step in the development of British liberty. From Morley's broad point of view, George Washington fits as readily into the scheme of English constitutional progress as Cromwell, or Pitt, or Mr. Gladstone himself. It is a new idea, this claiming of George Washington as an English statesman and leader.

*The
Anglo-American
Era of Good
Feeling.*

Our English friends are welcome by all means to include in their galaxy of great figures of the race such Americans as Lincoln, Grant, and Robert E. Lee; while we on our part will claim the right to set up statues to John Bright and William E. Gladstone in our political pantheon. The greatness of Washington, as Gladstone so clearly perceived, lay in the nobility and purity of his character; and in England during the past month the political followers and the political opponents of Mr. Gladstone have vied with one another in saying that the greatness of England's grand old man also lay above all things in those same high personal qualities. Our readers will be glad to find Mr. Stead's character sketch of Gladstone in this number. We have also thought it timely, as an expression of what is really the best American sentiment, to publish some recent poetical expressions of friendliness and good-will toward

England from American pens. There is no doubt whatever about the very general friendliness of the British people toward the United States; whereas, on the other hand, there has been a very considerable doubt about the sentiment of this country toward Great Britain. For that reason it has seemed to us at this moment better worth while to publish these American evidences of *rapprochement* between the two English-speaking nations than to give space to English tributes to America.

*Some Notes of
the English-
Speaking World.*

The past month has seen the conclusion of an arrangement for the adjustment of all unsettled questions between Canada and the United States. It has also witnessed the payment by our Secretary of State, Mr. Day, to Sir Julian Pauncefote on behalf of England, of a check for half a million dollars, more or less, in final payment of the amount of the awards to Canadian claimants for damages on account of our seizure of sealing vessels in the Bering Sea. It is pleasant to have this incident thus finally closed. The Australians have been busy discussing their great project of federation, and the question has been voted upon in several of the colonies. Great progress has been made toward the final adoption of the scheme of an Australian commonwealth, but the task is not yet wholly completed. Mr. Cecil Rhodes has gone back to South Africa after a visit to London that has strengthened his hold upon all the elements of his problem.

*The
Month's
Death-Roll.*

Last month we printed an excellent portrait of Capt. Charles V. Gridley, who commanded the *Olympia* in the naval fight at Manila. Soon after our number had gone to press there came the sad news that Captain Gridley had died in Japan on his way home. His death was probably due in part to the strain of the great fight in which he had so honorably participated. It was just at the moment of our going to press, also, that the death of Edward Bellamy, the well-known writer and reformer, was announced. Mr. Bellamy's devotion to the progress of humanity was sincere, and his high personal character had won for him a host of loving friends. Among Englishmen who have recently died are to be mentioned the distinguished artist, Sir Edward Burne-Jones; the eminent scientist, political economist, and liberal statesman, Lord Playfair; and Mr. Samuel Plimsoll, of Bristol, known the world around as the sailor's friend. The names of other men worthy to be remembered for public services of various sorts will be found in our obituary list

THE FUNERAL OF MR. GLADSTONE—THE PRINCE OF WALES OFFERING CONDOLENCES TO MRS. GLADSTONE IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS.

(From May 21 to June 20, 1898.)

WAR BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND SPAIN.

May 21.—The United States monitor *Monterey* is ordered to Manila to reinforce Admiral Dewey's fleet. . . The United States cruiser *Charleston* leaves the Mare Island Navy Yard for the Philippines. . . The United States District Court at Key West orders the sale of four captured vessels. . . The Sixth Massachusetts Regiment receives a warm welcome in Baltimore.

May 23.—The First Regiment of California Volunteers is embarked at San Francisco for the Philippines. . . The first brigade of troops to be included in the Manila expedition is placed under the command of Brig.-Gen. Thomas M. Anderson, U. S. V. . . At Camp Thomas, Chickamauga Park, 9,000 troops, constituting the First Division of the First Army Corps, are reviewed by General Wilson.

May 24.—The Adjutant-General's Office at Washington announces that 112,000 volunteers have been mustered in. . . All the troops encamped at New Orleans are ordered either to Florida or to San Francisco. . . Duke Almodovar del Rio accepts the portfolio of foreign affairs in the new Spanish cabinet.

May 25.—President McKinley issues a proclamation calling for 75,000 more volunteers. . . The transport steamers *City of Peking*, *City of Sydney*, and *Australia*, carrying about 2,500 men, with a year's supplies and ammunition and naval stores for the fleet at Manila,

leave San Francisco for the Philippines. . . The battleship *Oregon* arrives at Jupiter Inlet, Fla., in good condition, after a voyage of 12,000 miles from San Francisco.

May 26.—Orders are issued completing the formation of the troops in Florida into corps, divisions, and brigades; the Fifth Corps, commanded by Major-General Shafter, includes nearly 18,000 men; the Seventh Corps, under Maj.-Gen. Fitzhugh Lee, includes the volunteer troops at Tampa and Jacksonville—nearly 9,000 men.

May 27.—President McKinley nominates twenty-eight brigadier-generals. . . Maj.-Gen. Wesley Merritt takes charge of the Manila expedition at San Francisco. . . Four captured Spanish steamers at Key West are condemned as prizes, two are ordered to be released.

May 28.—President McKinley nominates Matthew C. Butler, of South Carolina, to be a major-general of volunteers; many minor army appointments are made. . . The Spanish reserve fleet leaves Cadiz for a practice cruise.

May 29.—Commodore Schley definitely locates the Spanish fleet under Admiral Cervera in the harbor of Santiago de Cuba. . . A night attack of the torpedo-boat destroyers *Pluton* and *Furor* is successfully repulsed.

May 30.—The British collier *Restormel*, seized while trying to enter the harbor of Santiago de Cuba with coal for the Spanish fleet, is brought to Key West. . .

Vincente Romero Girón,
Secretary of Colonial Affairs.

D. Ramón de Aulón,
Secretary of the Navy.

D. Germán Gamazo,
Secretary of Agriculture.

THREE MEMBERS OF THE NEW SPANISH CABINET.

Additional land for camping purposes is secured at Chickamauga.... General Merritt's force in the Department of the Pacific is increased to 20,000 men.

May 31.—The battleships *Massachusetts* and *Iowa* and the cruiser *New Orleans*, in Commodore Schley's squadron, engage the Spanish flagship *Cristobol Colon* and four strong land batteries guarding the harbor of Santiago de Cuba; three of the batteries are silenced and some damage is done to the flagship.... The Philippine insurgents are victorious in battle with the Spanish troops on the Zapote River.

June 1.—Admiral Sampson joins Commodore Schley off Santiago de Cuba, taking command of the united American fleets, comprising sixteen warships.

June 2.—Under Admiral Sampson's orders, Lieut. Richmond Pearson Hobson and a volunteer crew of seven men run the collier *Merrimac* into the mouth of the harbor at Santiago de Cuba, blow up the ship and sink it across the channel, and are taken prisoners by the Spaniards.

June 4.—The United States secret service officials make public a letter from Lieutenant Carranza, formerly a Spanish naval attaché in Washington, revealing the existence of a Spanish spy service with headquarters in Canada.... The transports carrying the first expedition of American troops to the Philippines leave Honolulu.

June 5.—The United States hospital ship *Solace* arrives at New York with 54 sick and wounded sailors from the seat of war in Cuban waters.

June 6.—Admiral Sampson bombards and silences the outer fortifications of Santiago, without injury to any of the vessels of his fleet.

June 7.—The auxiliary cruiser *St. Louis*, protected by the *Marblehead* and the *Yankee*, cuts the French cable off the port of Caimanera in the bay of Guantanamo, Cuba, and the Americans bombard the shore.

June 9.—President McKinley nominates J. Warren Keifer, of Ohio, to be major-general of volunteers.... News of insurgent successes in the Philippines causes consternation in Madrid.

June 10.—A landing is effected by 600 American marines from the transport *Panther* near the entrance to Guantanamo harbor, Cuba.

June 11.—The battalion of marines under Lieut.-Col. R. W. Huntington encamped on Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, is attacked by Spanish troops: 2 officers and 2 privates are killed.

June 12.—The American marines at Guantanamo change the location of their camp and repel another Spanish attack, in which 2 of their number are killed and several others wounded.

June 13.—President McKinley signs the war-revenue bill and a treasury circular is issued explaining the provisions for bonds

....The American dynamite cruiser *Vesuvius* fires three effective shots at the Santiago fortifications.

June 14.—Scouting parties of marines and Cubans pursue the Spanish troops on Guantanamo Bay; the Spanish loss is estimated at 300 killed and wounded; the Cuban allies render effective aid to the American troops.

June 15.—The fort at Caimanera, on Guantanamo Bay, is bombarded by the United States warships *Texas*, *Marblehead*, and *Suwanee*....More than 15,000 soldiers on transports convoyed by eleven ships of war

May 25.—The Senate passes the pension deficiency appropriation bill....The House passes a bill granting public lands to New Mexico.

May 26.—The House concurs in the Senate amendments to the pension deficiency appropriation bill.

May 27.—The Senate continues discussion of the war-revenue bill....The House unanimously passes the Senate resolution awarding a sword to Admiral Dewey and medals to his men....The bill amending the internal revenue laws is also passed.

May 28.—The Senate, by a vote of 41 to 27, lays on the table the Democratic corporation-tax amendment to the war-revenue bill.

May 31.—The House passes a bill authorizing life-saving stations to be kept open through June and July.

June 1.—The House passes a bill to remove political disabilities under the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution.

June 2.—The House passes an urgent deficiency appropriation bill carrying nearly \$18,000,000 for war expenses.

June 3.—The Senate adds to the war-revenue bill a provision for the issue of bonds and adopts an amendment providing for the coinage of the silver bullion in the Treasury.

June 4.—The Senate passes the war-revenue bill, in amended form, by a vote of 48 to 28....The House passes a bill granting American registry to the steamship *China*, to be used in the Manila transport service, and a bill granting homestead privileges to soldiers and sailors in the present war.

June 6.—The Senate passes the urgent deficiency appropriation bill (\$17,745,000)....The House refuses to concur in the Senate amendments to the war-revenue bill, which is sent to conference....The bill revising the classification of patents is passed.

June 7.—The Senate passes the bill for the protection of Indian Territory and the post-office appropriation bill....The House debates the bill permitting volunteer soldiers to vote at elections of members of Congress.

June 8.—The Senate passes bills to organize a naval hospital corps and to prepare for the twelfth census.

June 9.—The Senate passes the "omnibus claim" bill and many private pension bills....American registry is granted to a number of ships desired for transport service....The House, by a vote of 153 to 111, adopts the conference report on the war-revenue bill.

June 10.—The Senate, by a vote of 43 to 22, adopts the conference report on the war-revenue bill....The House passes the bill to enable volunteer soldiers to vote for members of Congress.

June 11.—The House begins debate of the resolution for the annexation of Hawaii.

June 12.—The House passes the bill appropriating \$478,151 to pay the Bering Sea award.

June 14.—The Senate passes a joint resolution to pay the Bering Sea award and a resolution to investigate the disposition of the money received by the Methodist Episcopal Church South in payment of a claim against the Government.

June 15.—The Senate passes a bill to incorporate the International American Bank....The House, by a vote of 209 to 91, passes the resolution for the annexation of Hawaii.

MAJ.-GEN. ELWELL S. OTIS.

(Who will command the army corps to be concentrated in the Philippines.)

sail from Florida waters for Santiago....The transport ships *China*, *Colon*, *Zealandia*, and *Senator*, carrying 4,900 men under command of Gen. F. V. Greene, sail from San Francisco for Manila.

June 16.—The Spanish fleet at Cadiz, under Admiral Camara, sails south.

June 17.—Sweeping victories of the Philippine insurgents under Aguinaldo are reported from Manila.

June 18.—Admiral Camara's fleet arrives at Cartagena, Spain....The leading merchants of Catalonia, Spain, issue a manifesto in favor of peace.

June 20.—United States troop-ships reach Santiago.

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS.

May 23.—The House passes bills providing for the payment of volunteer troops and to fix the status of regular army officers appointed to commands in the volunteer army.

May 24.—The Senate debates the corporation-tax provision of the war-revenue bill....The House passes a number of bills pertaining to army and navy routine.

ticket, headed by T. T. Geer for governor....The first official primary elections under the new law are held in New York City.

June 13.—The Canadian Parliament is prorogued.

June 15.—The success of the war loan is fully assured.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—FOREIGN.

May 22.—The second balloting for members of the French Chamber of Deputies results in the election of 66 Moderates, 34 Socialists, 50 Radicals, and 2 Monarchists....Ex-President Harrison is selected by Venezuela to represent her in the boundary arbitration with Great Britain.

May 23.—Second Zola trial is begun and adjourned at Versailles.

May 24.—Great Britain takes possession at Wei-Hai-Wei.

May 28.—The Italian Cabinet resigns.

May 31.—Marquis Rudini succeeds in forming a new Italian Cabinet.

June 1.—The French Chamber of Deputies elects M. Paul Deschanel president of the Chamber by a majority of one vote.

June 3.—An insurrection in San Domingo is put down by the government....The Australian federal constitution is carried in Tasmania, Victoria, and South Australia, and rejected in New South Wales.

June 5.—Representatives of Japan and Russia sign a protocol guaranteeing the independence of Corea.

D. EUGENIO VALLARINO.

(Commander of the Porto Rico station.)

June 16.—The House begins consideration of the general deficiency appropriation bill.

June 17.—The Senate Foreign Relations Committee makes a favorable report on the Hawaiian annexation resolution received from the House....The International American Bank bill is passed by a vote of 26 to 23.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—AMERICAN.

May 21.—Mayor Van Wyck, of New York City, removes the two Republican police commissioners and appoints a successor of one of them; the three then retire Chief McCullagh on a pension and appoint Deputy Chief Devery as acting chief.

May 23.—Governor Wolcott, of Massachusetts, vetoes the bill providing that each Boston ward elect one alderman and two councilmen.

May 26.—The Common Council of Philadelphia passes the bill creating a loan of \$11,200,000 for permanent improvements.

May 30.—President McKinley issues a proclamation announcing the conclusion of a reciprocity agreement with France....An arrangement is made at Washington for the appointment of a commission to settle existing differences between the United States and Canada.

May 31.—President McKinley nominates Oscar S. Straus to be Minister to Turkey in place of President Angell, who resigns the post.

June 2.—Pennsylvania Republicans nominate William A. Stone for governor, John Wanamaker having withdrawn his name from consideration in the convention.

June 6.—Allen D. Candee carries the Democratic primaries for Governor of Georgia by an overwhelming majority.

June 7.—Republicans win a sweeping victory in Oregon, electing both Congressmen and the entire State

June 6.—A serious riot occurs at Belfast; the militia is called out.

June 11.—The Japanese Diet is dissolved.

June 12.—Lieut.-Gen. Julio A. Roca is chosen President of the Argentine Republic for the six years beginning October 12, 1898. . . . The Venezuelan rebel leader, General Hernandez, is surprised and captured; the revolution is regarded as ended.

June 13.—The Anglo-French convention relative to the Niger boundary dispute is signed. . . . The Austrian Reichsrath is prorogued.

May 25.—The American mission at Tong-Chow, China, is looted and burned by a mob.

May 26.—Mr. Gladstone's body lies in state in Westminster Hall, London.

May 28.—After a public funeral Mr. Gladstone is buried in Westminster Abbey.

June 2.—The city of Peshawar, India, is nearly destroyed by fire.

June 3.—A Russian military post in Turkestan is attacked by natives and 20 soldiers are killed.

June 8.—Ernest T. Hooley, the London stock speculator, is declared a bankrupt on his own petition.

June 11.—A new comet is discovered at the Lick Observatory, California, in the constellation of Scorpio.

June 18.—Joseph Leiter's wheat operations in Chicago collapse.

June 14.—Philip Armour agrees to take the Leiter wheat in this country, estimated at 10,000,000 bushels.

OBITUARY.

May 21.—Presley Blakiston, the Philadelphia publisher, 85.

May 22.—Edward Bellamy, the popular socialistic writer, 48. . . . Thomas Towndrow, the veteran short-hand reporter, 88.

May 23.—Rt. Hon. Spencer Horace Walpole, British statesman, 91. . . . Sir John Thomas Gilbert, author of works on Irish history, 69.

May 24.—Signor Benedetto Brin, Italian Minister of Marine in several cabinets, 65.

May 26.—Capt. Milton Haxtun, U. S. N., 71.

May 28.—Mr. Madeline Vinton Dahlgren, of Washington, a well-known writer, 63.

May 29.—Baron Lyon Playfair, British chemist, political economist, and parliamentarian, 79. . . . Sir Thomas Dyke Acland, 80. . . . Ex-Gov. Cyrus C. Carpenter, of Iowa, 69.

May 30.—Gen. Erastus Newton Bates, first United States Senator from Minnesota, 70.

May 31.—Prince Kung, head of the Chinese Foreign Office.

June 1.—Thomas W. Keene, the actor, 58. . . . Charles E. Emery, the well-known engineer, 60.

June 2.—Eric Mackay, English author, 47.

June 3.—Samuel Plimsoll, known as "the sailors' friend," 74.

June 4.—Capt. Charles V. Gridley, U. S. N., who commanded the flagship *Olympia* in the battle of Manila Bay, 58. . . . Stephen P. Nash, New York lawyer, 77.

June 5.—Ex-Congressman Elijah A. Morse, of Massachusetts, 57.

June 7.—Sigourney Butler, a well-known Boston lawyer, 40.

June 8.—Ex-Judge Julius S. Grinnell, who prosecuted the Chicago Haymarket anarchists, 56. . . . Benjamin Tyler Henry, inventor of the Winchester rifle, 77.

June 11.—Rev. Dr. Theodore W. J. Wylie, of Philadelphia, religious editor and author, 79.

June 13.—Sir Joseph Adolphe Chapleau, French Canadian statesman, 58.

June 17.—Sir Edward Coley Burne-Jones, the English painter, 65.

THE LATE SIR EDWARD BURNE-JONES.

June 14.—The French ministry is defeated in the Chamber of Deputies.

June 15.—The French ministry resigns office. . . . The Peruvian Congress is opened at Lima.

June 17.—President Faure, of France, requests M. Ribot to form a new ministry.

June 18.—M. Ribot declares his inability to form a new French ministry. . . . The Italian Cabinet resigns office.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH.

May 22.—Thirty-five persons are drowned from the schooner *Jane Gray*, bound for Alaska; most of the passengers lost are gold-seekers on their way to the Yukon country.

May 24.—Queen Victoria's birthday is celebrated in Tampa, Fla.

INTERNATIONAL CARTOON COMMENTS ON OUR WAR WITH SPAIN.

THE most striking cartoon work for the past month that has fallen under our notice has been that of our unique Mexican contemporary *El Ahuizote*. The drawings on this page and the opposite one have been reproduced from its recent weekly issues. They represent in a very striking way a number of phases in the military and political situation. For example, the cat-and-mouse cartoon on the relative positions of the American and Spanish fleets at Santiago certainly tells the whole story at a stroke. There is much humor in the drawing which represents Admiral Montojo and Governor-General Augusti at Manila as discussing the delivery of Dewey as their war prisoner to the little King at Madrid.

There has been a considerable tide of migration from Cuba to Mexico, chiefly on the part of Spanish non-combatants, who have done everything in their

STRATEGICAL POSITION OF UNCLE SAM.

According to the last information from the seat of war.
From *El Ahuizote* (City of Mexico).

YANKEE MECHANICS.

Uncle Sam's application of familiar physical laws.—From *El Ahuizote* (City of Mexico).

AUGUSTI: "Your majesty, we have here a prisoner."

ALFONSO XIII.: "Bring him here."

MONTOJO: "He will not let us out to catch him."
From *El Ahuizote* (City of Mexico).

the bags fairly arrive in Blanco's hands they turn out to contain coal, which he passes on to

THEY WERE, THEY GO, THEY WILL GO.

Showing the change from neutral beans and necessities of life to coal on their arrival in Cuba.—From *El Ahutzote* (City of Mexico).

Cervera. The cartoon at the bottom of the page represents Prime Minister Sagasta as discussing with the Spanish king how to lay hold upon the wealth of the Church for war expenses. It has undoubtedly been a question of nobody's caring to bell the cat.

El Ahutzote is, all things considered, the best-informed cartoon paper that is dealing with the international situation caused by our war with Spain. Its nearness to Cuba and the United States gives it a comprehension of affairs on this side of the Atlantic, and it has that intimate knowledge of Spanish politics and of conditions in the peninsula that nobody in the English-speaking countries can well hope to possess. Moreover, Mexican neutrality gives uninterrupted mail facilities with both of the belligerent countries.

SAGASTA IN THE IMPOSSIBLE.

SAGASTA: "Dear majesty, I believe there are resources, but there is no one who cares to bell the cat."—From *El Ahutzote* (City of Mexico).

GENERAL MILES.

From *Blanco y Negro* (Madrid).

GENERAL MILES AND HIS VETERAN SOLDIERS.

From *Comica* (Barcelona).

GENERAL LEM.

From *Blanco y Negro* (Madrid).

The cartoons on this page and the one facing it are all of them reproduced from recent copies of Spanish papers. They do not indicate any realizing sense of the position in which that country is placed, and are as full of the Spanish braggadocio as ever. In the Spanish point of view Uncle Sam is all bluster and cowardice, and his soldiers ride laths and little tin horses on wheels. They are still representing Dewey at Manila as having been cleverly caught in a Spanish trap, which to say the least is grossly humorous. As indicated by Sileno's drawing reproduced from *El Gideon* on the next page, it is the hope of the Spaniards that the

THE SPANISH SOLDIER IN CUBA.

"Come on, you coward!"—From *Blanco y Negro* (Madrid).

onlooking powers may be implicated in the row, and that Spain before fairly meeting the horns of the bull may leap into the balcony. The same artist, however, in a later cartoon, which we reproduce at the bottom of that page, represents Spain as being stripped and robbed by Uncle Sam and John Bull, while the continental powers, in the guise of policemen, are—as is too frequently the case with policemen and their kind—not very eager to assist the victim. The Sampson cartoon involves at once a pun and a chapter in the history of a certain famous Old Testament character. The artist is at least clever, but he has evidently confused the biblical facts. It was the bombasts of the enemy who perished as the victims of the biblical Samson's feat of strength, and not his own countrymen. The Spanish cartoonists will be doing a

IN THE TRAP.

"Enter, enter. You may find it easier to go in than to come out."
From *Comica* (Barcelona).

A TALK TO THE PEOPLE (MADRID).

different kind of work in a few weeks, and it will be at the expense of the fatuous political and military leaders at Madrid and in Cuba who have been responsible for this war. The Spanish people after another month or two will not be in the humor for jokes about Uncle Sam and the American hog.

"THE TAMBOURINE IS IN GOOD HANDS."

Old Spanish Proverb.

An obscure allusion to the withdrawal of American insurance companies from business operations in Spain. From *Ghat Negro* (Madrid).

LA GUERRA CONTINUA

ROBBERY IN THE DARK.

The police are late in rendering assistance, as usual.
From *Gedeón* (Madrid).

As Sampson is shorn of his locks his strength is wabbling, and if reason triumphs he is sure to perish with all his Philistines.—From *Gedeón* (Madrid).

THE WOLF AND THE LAMB.

Will might be right yet another time?
From *La Silhouette* (Paris).

SPANISH NATIONAL SHOE STORE.

SPAIN: "These shoes are too short for you."

MCKINLEY: "How about the others?"

SPAIN: "The others are too large."

From *El Marrano* (Madrid).

The Parisian cartoon from *La Silhouette*, which comes first on this page, is quite too much in line with the feeling that is found in a majority of the French newspapers. The same idea is expressed in a different way in the cartoon from *Kikeriki*, of Vienna. The Parisian paper *Post* represents Uncle Sam and Brother Jonathan as discussing a combination against the Russian bear and the French rooster.

AT THE EDGE OF THE WOOD.

JOHN BULL: "Friend Jonathan, what would you say to bear steaks and grilled cock's comb?"—From *Post* (Paris).

UNCLE SAM WISHES TO ADD ANOTHER STAR TO HIS FLAG.

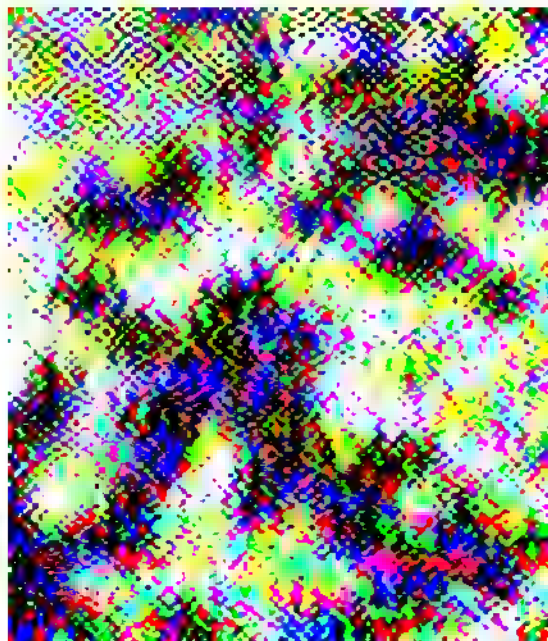
From *Kikeriki* (Vienna.)

ALLIANCE WITH THIS FOR A BASIS—YES.
From the *World* (New York).

The four cartoons on this page, two of them appearing in English papers and two in American, are fairly representative of a great many that the past month has produced in both countries which point to the mutual and beneficial growth of friendly feeling between England and the United States.

DISENGAGED.

MISS BRITANNIA (meditatively): "I think Uncle Sam would be a good partner; and so would little Jap! I wonder if my 'cousin-German,' William, will ask me too!"—From *Punch* (London).



COUSINS.
From the *Herald* (New York).

BOTH: "My long-lost brother!" From *Black and White* (London).

"GOD SAVE THE KING!"
From *Punch* (London).

The Hungarian papers continue to view the situation with a refreshingly clear sense of the facts, as is evidenced by the cartoon that we print on this page from the leading comic paper of Budapest. *Punch*, of London, is never effusive toward America, but at least admits that Spain

THE PROUD DON: "I've been thrust out, it's true, but I still remain a Spaniard for all that." (It will be continued—on the island of Cuba.)—From the *Bornem Yankó* (Budapest).

is in a dire predicament. Mr. Bowman, of the *Minneapolis Tribune*, records the Canadian exposure of the Spaniard Carranza as a spy at Montreal, and further testifies to John Bull's strict management of the coal question.



R.C. *Continued*

PAPA GOT AFTER HIM.

JOHNNY BULL: "Git out, you rascal! You're not fit to keep company with any of my daughters."—From the *Tribune* (Minneapolis).

- D. *Continued*

DON CAN'T COAL IN JOHN BULL'S YARD.

J. BULL: "Hi, there! Drop that coal and git, or I'll kick your bloomin' head off."—From the *Tribune* (Minneapolis).

CLUCK! CLUCK! CLUCK!

From the *Journal* (Minneapolis).

VERY KIND OF HIM.

PRESIDENT DOLE: "Accept a little gift from me. You might need it in your business."

From the *Tribune* (Minneapolis).

The Minneapolis cartoonists have recognized the successive phases of the Hawaiian question. In very well-conceived cartoons both the *Journal* and the *Tribune* predicted a few days before the surprisingly strong vote in favor of annexation was taken in the House of Representatives that little Hawaii would manage somehow to get past big Tom Reed. Their predictions have certainly been justified. The *Tribune* depicts President Dole as presenting Uncle Sam with a very useful strategic outpost, and the *Journal* gives Hawaii her place in the new brood of American eaglets.



"HEAVY, HEAVY HANGS OVER YOUR HEAD."

The chances are two to one that little Hawaii effects entrance.—From the *Tribune* (Minneapolis).

WILL THE BIG SENTINEL LET HIM SLIP IN AT LAST?
From the *Journal* (Minneapolis).

LIEUTENANT HOBSON.

BY WILLIAM HAYES WARD.

HOW the privilege we call chance comes to a man and what use he can make of it are illustrated in the achievement of the most dearly admired young hero of the present war. It has been most true in our Southern States that quality and character mark choice families; for the patrician rights are there not yet lost, if, indeed, they can fail to make their claim anywhere.

Assistant Naval Constructor Richmond Pearson Hobson, the hero and the prisoner of Santiago, is the nephew of a distinguished ex-minister to Spain, another uncle of his is member of Congress from North Carolina, and others of the family have held the highest public office in the gift of a State. To serve the public was his hereditary instinct, and he accepted it as both duty and pleasure.

He went to the Naval Academy at a very early age, and there settled down to duty and study in a serious, conscientious way. He was, indeed, too conscientious to be a favorite. He gave offense early in his career—so the Academy tradition relates—to his classmates by his strictness, and up to his senior year could hardly be called popular. Curious stories are remembered which tell of his retiring nature, if not his isolation. But his faithful scholarship gave him the first rank in his class, and that in an institution where rank of scholarship tells more than in any other institution in the world; for all through a naval officer's life his official rank depends on his scholarship as a boy in the Naval Academy. Until he passes out of the service at the age of sixty-two, the first scholar in the boyhood's studies is one step in rank above the second, and the second one step above the third, and so on; and nothing can change the order afterward if one is decent enough to escape court-martial, except it be some special service in time of war. The most faithful or brilliant service in thirty years of peace cannot advance him a grade to pass the man above him, who may have maintained just a passable mediocrity. Young Hobson not only led his class and became its senior officer, but he was not ashamed of his Christian profession and is said to have been president of the Young Men's Christian Association of the Academy.

Very much more is required of a student in the Naval Academy in these late days than of old. The course of study must be adapted to the duties that may be required of an officer in the

JUDGE J. M. HOBSON AND MRS. HOBSON.
Lieutenant Hobson's Father and Mother.

navy, and he, and not the officer in the army, must be all the time representing the Government abroad. Thus, says an expert in this subject, "every line officer is now required to be an expert seaman, navigator, gunner, torpedoist, international lawyer, diplomat, electrician, engineer, geographer, astronomer, and surveyor." Most of the graduates go into the line, where only is the coveted opportunity of command. Only those in the line can pass, like buckets out of a well, by maintaining "the negative virtue of keeping clear of courts-martial," through the honorable succession of authority as ensign, lieutenant junior grade, lieutenant, lieutenant-commander, commander, captain, commodore, and rear admiral. But a chosen few of the graduates of the Naval Academy, the very best scholars, are put into the staff, where special duties are required of them as constructors of ships, professors of mathematics, astronomers, constructors of ordnance, or civil engineers. These men are out of the line; they may have a relative nominal rank which governs their pay,

but no officer in the staff, no matter how high his rank, has the power of command. He may be relatively a commodore, but so long as there is even a naval cadet of the line aboard serving the two years before he becomes an ensign, he cannot command a ship.

Young Hobson stood at the head of his class, and he went into the staff and into the bureau of naval constructors, who design and attend to the repairs of the ships' steel hulls. Now he was a specialist. He graduated only ten years ago, in 1889, at the age of seventeen, so young and yet at the top of his class. He was then sent abroad for several years of study in the ship-yards of England and France. He was to be a naval architect. It must be kept in mind that there are several corps in the naval staff, and the construction corps is something different from the engineer corps. Its work is highly specialized and of a late development.

There are hundreds of men in the line and scores of men in the staff whose lives run along comfortably in the easy routine of ordinary faithfulness. Young Hobson had in him that restless genius which would not allow him to be satisfied with doing his required duty, but also imposed on him the obligation of improving things. He had that dangerous and most valu-

able of all gifts, that of initiative. One stung by this gadfly can never be satisfied with what is, what has been laid out for him by others, but wants to make things better. Hobson had entered into a corps whose duty it is to see to it that the United States has the best ships that can be constructed. But ship construction was not then taught at Annapolis. He urged that there should be a school of naval construction at the Academy for post-graduates, and when it was established he was sent there as its first professor.

Now we had for the first time in this country a school provided for by the Government where young men could learn all about the building of a ship of war. Yet who knows certainly how a ship of war should be built? It is not an exact science. It is yet experimental and tentative. The new battleship is utterly different from the old, and this war is providing, if we ever get into a real engagement, the first actual test of its merits and defects. Who knows whether the extreme cellular construction in hundreds of water-tight compartments will work in actual combat, or what complications of misfit the elaborate machinery of exquisite nicety and untried multiplicity may develop even in the ordinary service of times of peace? The naval constructor should see the ship in operation. He should serve on

shipboard and observe its faults and merits and be able to attend to its repairs. So Hobson made the very sensible, but yet extraordinary, proposition that naval constructors should be sent to sea on cruising ships. Washington did not understand it at first, for a naval constructor had never been to sea. He had always been over a

port and had been speedily discovered by Commodore Schley. It was of the utmost importance that it should not escape. A cyclonic storm, due at any time in summer, might drive our ships away, and before they could return the swift Spanish cruisers might escape, and then no offensive operations would be safe until it had again been cooped up or been destroyed. The plan to hold and stopple it where it was bottled was that of the young staff officer who held the relative rank of lieutenant. As it was Lieutenant Hobson's plan, Admiral Sampson very properly allowed him to carry it out.

The channel into the harbor of Santiago was narrowest near its mouth, only some four hundred feet wide. Hobson's plan was to take the collier *Merrimac*, a vessel between three and four hundred feet long, loaded with two thousand tons of coal, and sink it right across this part of the channel. If this could be done it is evident that it would block the channel as effectually as would a reef of rock, so that no vessel, unless of the lightest draught, could get out. He hung an anchor at the bow and another at the stern, and arranged them so that they could be let go at once. He then fastened a dozen torpedoes along the sides of the vessel in such position that when exploded they would not only blow in the sides, but would also break down the partitions separating the compartments of the vessel and allow it to sink immediately. He had replaced the sixty-odd men who composed the crew of the *Merrimac* with less than a dozen volunteers. Because the channel was completely covered by the hostile batteries he timed his attempt for the earliest dawn. He steamed directly into the channel, and when he had reached the narrowest part he dropped the bow anchor. The ship, under her own momentum and the influence of the tide, swung on the cable and turned across the chan-

THE BOY HOBSON WITH A PLATMATE.

drawing-board with pen and ruler. Yet Washington can see what has common sense, even if it is new, and Hobson prevailed; and to this initiative of his we owe the fact that he was ordered on board the *New York*, in no position of command, a member of the staff belonging to the construction corps, to watch how ships work in actual service of war, and in matters of this sort an adviser of Admiral Sampson.

Here came to him, in the ordinary course of duty, the opportunity for which he had prepared himself all his life, and which will make his name always remembered in the annals of naval warfare. The Spanish squadron, under Admiral Cervera, was in Santiago harbor. After long dodging in the Caribbean Sea it had put into

nel. At that moment he dropped the stern anchor, so that she was held directly across the channel by the two cables. Then he opened the valves, which let water into the ship, and he and his men jumped into their raft and rowed away, but holding the electric wires which connected with the torpedoes. When at a safe distance he turned on the electric current and the torpedoes exploded, sinking the ship immediately just where it was wanted. The top of the masts and funnel showed where it lay under water. Now there was an impassable bar across the channel, and the blockading fleet could go off for a day or a week, with no fear that the obstruction could be removed. The stopple was in the bottle.

Now this would only have required nice and exact seamanship if it had been done in time of peace. But all this was done under the concentrated fire of several batteries of heavy guns. Hobson believed he could do it, but he knew the chances of escape were small. The harbor was mined, and he had to take the risk of being blown up. He knew that every gun would be turned on his defenseless ship, and that it would very likely be sunk before it reached the desired spot. The crew might all be killed before they came to the narrow channel, and if they succeeded what hope was there that they could escape to the launch that was waiting to pick them up? As it was, they were compelled to row to Cervera's flagship and give themselves up as prisoners. Their magnificent courage won him unstinted praise, but who knows when they will be exchanged? They were shut up in Morro Castle as their prison, as if to protect it with their bodies against the fire of our fleet.

Park Benjamin, one of our best authorities in naval matters, himself a Naval Academy graduate, says:

There is no parallel to the achievement in the history of naval warfare. Somers showed a like magnificent daring when he blew up the ketch in the harbor of Tripoli; and Cushing's dash upon the *Albatross* was superb. But these men had simply to go to a definite point and destroy quickly, trusting to good fortune to escape with their lives. Both of them crept to their destination in little vessels under cover of the night. Hobson steamed into that channel with a huge four-thousand-ton ship in plain view of the batteries, moved to a particular spot, maneuvered his vessel in a particular way, and sank her in a particular position under a hail of shot and shell which rendered the chances of success apparently infinitely remote. To conceive that the thing could be done at all was an inspiration; to be willing to attempt it argued a degree of personal courage which is heroic; to do it coolly, deliberately, and with professional certainty under that fearful fire showed an intelligent intrepidity which is marvellous.

And now the English Admiral Colomb won

ders how a naval constructor, a round-shouldered landsman, came to be selected to do a job that required the nice seamanship of a trained officer of the line. He did not understand how our naval architect was trained. He had learned seamanship as well as shipbuilding. He was the best-trained man of his class at the Naval Academy and had served his time at sea. His close scientific study made him just the man to do with exactness what he had planned. Of course it seems incongruous to a foreigner for one of the staff to navigate a ship in perilous waters, but as Annapolis trains men there is nothing strange about it. A naval officer is supposed to be qualified to do anything about ships, although some officers may devote themselves specially to the details of a single branch of their profession.

Now, what can the United States do for the young hero? Very little. He did not do it for money, like a soldier of fortune, nor for glory, like a Frenchman, but for the prosaic, yet heroic reason that he wanted to do a good service to his

RICHMOND PEARSON HOBSON AS A CADET AT THE NAVAL ACADEMY.

country. It was mere duty. Yet his country will want to reward him. We have not any legion of honor in which he could be made commander and whose button would everywhere advertise his distinction. We cannot gazette him a baronet, nor even give him any order or decoration, for we have no such things and ought not to. Congress can thank him; it might even order

a special medal, but it could not give him a ribbon or a grant of money. The President can advance him as much as thirty numbers in his grade, which would give him a few hundred dollars more salary, but that would be very little, and, indeed, hardly right. There are in his construction corps only seventeen numbers in all above him, two of the rank of captain, three of the rank of commander, and twelve of the rank of lieutenant. To jump him to the top would not be wise, even if it were fair, for it would put on a man of twenty-seven responsibilities which properly belong to men of twice his age. We have created as good fighting machines for our navy as the world has seen, but a battleship is the most complicated of all machines, one whose perfection is the task of the maturest skill, as it is tested by the most terrible impacts that explosives may produce, and on

The great lessons of the war thus far have not been those which have been desired by naval experts. No two armor-clads have met in fair duel. The problems involved in the new style of navy which has sprung up during the last thirty years have not been solved. Thus far we are only learning over again the old lesson, which this exploit of Hobson illustrates, that however excellent the machines of war, it is the men behind them on whom victory depends. That lesson is older than Thermopylae, older than Gideon's pitchers and trumpets. The naval battles between Japan and China solved no problems because the Chinese would not fight. The Spaniards have personal bravery enough; not a vessel in Manila harbor lowered its flag; but their officers did not have the training to fight; they had not been drilled as our men had, who made an art of their business. They were neither competent nor honest. When Cervera's flagship was in New York harbor contractors were compelled to double their bills for repairs and supplies for the enrichment of the officers in charge. It is said that the European players of *Kriegspiel*, who are following the game of our present war, have again and again given the advantage to the Spanish fleets, only to be disappointed in the event. They were planning for men of equal skill on the two sides. They did not calculate for Hobson's exploit in shutting up the Spanish fleet in Santiago harbor.

It is the business of the Annapolis Naval Academy and of the West Point Military Academy to produce men like Hobson. It is the privilege of men like Hobson to set the type for the imitation of the youth of the country. Of course training does not give capacity; that comes through hereditary privilege. And of course the first bent which capacity takes, its direction and in good part its purpose, are acquired in the home. But every people has its standards—what may be called its ethical and practical ideals—which its schools impress and develop. Fortunately for our own country our ideal standards are those set by our religious training, standards of real, not fictitious, honor, of truth, of service, of quality, of character, not of seeming or show or pretension. The accomplishment of honest service by a graduate of Annapolis or West Point whose highest possible rank cannot give him wages over five or six thousand dollars a year, wins more honor with our people than the starling wealth of multi-millionaires. Hobson was the typical conscientious student of Annapolis, the type of the young American of capacity, conscience, and love of country who can be relied upon for the new emergencies which our policy of expansion will create.

RICHMOND PEARSON HOBSON AT HIS GRADUATION FROM THE
NAVAL ACADEMY.

its success the history of a nation may depend. Lieutenant Hobson will hardly desire to be advanced many numbers in his grade, and Congress allows the President to consult the young hero's own desire, and, if he wishes, transfer him to the line, where his ability to plan, organize, and command may have fuller play.

may have plenty of faults, but it is a mere question of direction, whether we are moving forward or backward. We can dare any responsibility if we have plenty of men trained to do their duty with faithfulness and energy. There is a city problem—yes; but we are at work on it and are determined to solve it. There is a negro problem and there are lynchings numerous and abominable, but we are at work on that problem, and success is surer every day. We shall have to take our larger part, and we ought not to shrink from it, in the deliverance of the world from its survivals of ignorance and oppression and into the safe liberty of the coming century. If our institutions are good for us we ought to be willing to give them to others, and we ought not to imagine that only Americans are fit or can be fitted for liberty.

People get frightened when they see how many more the ignorant or the indifferent or the vicious are than the strenuously virtuous and wise. They forget the difference between nobodies and somebodies. In a nation's history the worthless are forgotten and the worthy are held in remembrance. Not only in Annapolis and West Point, but in every school and college there are many youth of intense purpose fitting themselves by hard work to give honest service, their best possible service, to their country or the world. There will be a place for them, and no possible responsibility put upon our country will alarm us so long as such types and such standards as Hobson shows us are produced and illustrated by the hundreds and thousands, learning in home and church and school, as Hobson learned, to fear God and fear nothing else, and then to add to such capacity as nature gives all the training that hard work can supply. The possible problem of the Philippines need not seem hard to such men, and if for a moment their faith failed, they would need only to look across the channel to the neighboring Chinese coast, and there see the finances of a great, corrupt, effete empire strictly and soundly administered by one honest man named Hart. One who walks through the streets of Cairo will meet here and there a modest, unassuming Englishman, in no show of epaulet, and he would never suspect that he had seen the officers who are creating a new Egypt richer than any since Rameses. To such work our country calls our young men from university and college and high school; but they must have the sullen courage and the toilsome patience and the high purpose which made Lieutenant Hobson fit to meet his opportunity.

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LIEUT. RICHMOND PEARSON HOBSON.

If the typical young man of our country is to be like that which characterizes the Spanish army and navy, no words of warning can be too strong to scare us from the new national duties which seem to confront us. We hear it croaked a thousand times by the same birds of evil omen that the problems already before our country are more than we can solve; that there is an Indian problem, a negro problem, a currency problem, a problem of city government, and that while these are not settled it is insanity to take up new problems. Whether it is insanity or not depends on our dominant national character. It is an old and sound rule of nature that to him that hath shall be given, and that from him that hath not shall be taken that which he hath. The rich soil enriches itself; the poor soil becomes a desert. Lord Salisbury, without quoting Scripture, applies the principle to the strong nations that are becoming stronger and the weak nations that become weaker. Each gets its desert. Our nation

FORTIFICATIONS AT THE ENTRANCE TO THE HARBOR OF SAN JUAN, CAPITAL OF PORTO RICO.

PORTO RICO AS SEEN LAST MONTH.

BY EDWIN EMERSON, JR.

WHEN Columbus on his return trip in 1493 discovered the island then called Borinquen, it was a happy inspiration on his part to change its Indian name to Puerto Rico. A "rich port" he certainly found when his *caravels* came to a safe anchorage at the northwest point of that fertile island, in a harbor which has fittingly been rechristened "Aguadilla" by the subsequent mariners who have watered their ships from the rich supply of sweet water gushing forth from its palm-shaded fountain source.

"Puerto Pobre" the Spaniards call it now that a manifest destiny has virtually turned the island into the last jumping-off place for the Castilian *conquistador* of old. But this is purely a Spanish play of words, since a mere glance at the colony's annual statistics of exports and imports would show that annexation to America means new wealth and prosperity for Porto Rico.

By its geographical position Porto Rico is peculiarly adapted to become the center of an extensive and flourishing commerce. The fourth in size among the Antilles, it lies to the windward of Cuba, Santo Domingo, and Jamaica, and of those important commercial outlets the Gulf of Mexico and the Bay of Honduras. It is within easy reach of all the other islands of the West Indies, only a few hours' sail from the Danish colonies St. Thomas and St. Croix, and a few days' sail from the coasts of Venezuela and the United States. As a coaling station, and as a strategic center as well, it is an all-important key to the western hemisphere. All that has been said for the oft-mooted purchase of the Danish West Indies, only sixty miles away, applies with far greater force to the acquisition of

Porto Rico, with its dozen good harbors and safe roadsteads, as compared to the one miniature port of St. Thomas. In fact, the whole coastline of the island is indented with harbors, bays, and creeks, where ships of the heaviest tonnage may come to anchor. Most of these ports have the additional attraction of general healthfulness and abundant water-supply. Few countries of the extent of Porto Rico are so richly watered. Seventeen rivers and untold creeks and streams, taking their rise in the mountains, cross the valleys of the north coast and fall into the sea. Some of these are navigable for several miles from their mouth, at least for schooners and coasting vessels of moderate draught. Thus the rivers of Bayamo and Rio Piedras, which flow into the harbor of San Juan, the capital, are deep enough to allow small brigs to discharge

GATEWAY AT SAN JUAN.

statistics, American trade with Porto Rico has been gaining at the rate of \$3,000,000 each year. The colony's annual exports to Spain, for instance, have amounted to something like \$6,000,000 of late, while those of America amounted to \$75,000,000. Yet all this while there has been an undoubted depression of trade, partly because of the war and the unsettled state of business preceding it, and partly because of the recent changes in our tariff which have seriously affected the sugar trade of the West Indies, already suffering acutely from the development of the beet-sugar industry.

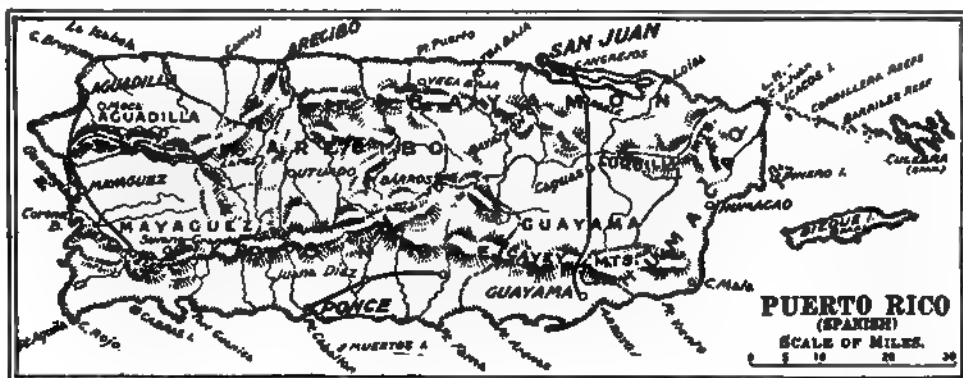
THE BAY AND WHARF OF SAN JUAN.

their cargoes on their banks, while the rivers of Arecibo, Manati, Loisa, and Trabajo are of such astonishing breadth and depth that it is difficult to realize how such large bodies of water could gather in so short a course. This facility of water carriage is of great importance to the Porto Ricans, who can thus safely and cheaply export the produce of their fertile hills and valleys. In a country where it does not rain occasionally for six months at a time, moreover, such abundant water-supply is invaluable for purposes of irrigation and for watering the stock.

No wonder, therefore, that Porto Rico has long been a more productive colony for Spain than even Cuba itself, and has steadily been growing in commercial and agricultural importance. The greater part of this commerce, let it be remembered, has long since veered over to the United States. According to the latest available

This summer an unusually rich sugar harvest has only served to emphasize the state of affairs.

Porto Rico has had to suffer with the others, for there as well as elsewhere in the West Indies the staple products are sugar and molasses, though the cultivation of coffee and tobacco is said to be encroaching upon the profits of the sugar planters. Other lucrative exports are fruit, guano, live-stock, and hides. The live-stock, and particularly the horses, are justly famous all over the West Indies. Wherever I went on a recent cruise through the Caribbean Sea, at all events, I found that Porto Rico ponies were preferred to all others. Personally I can attest that I have never ridden a better horse than the cream-colored little pacer on the bare back of which I rode over the mountainous trails of eastern Porto Rico this summer, sparing neither man nor beast and stopping for nothing but necessity.



MAP OF THE ISLAND OF PORTO RICO.

Happily for myself, the condition of the roads did not come under this head. Though for reasons of personal safety I was compelled, for a good part of the time, to avoid all well-traveled roads, skirting them as best I could over country byways and cattle trails, I still had sufficient opportunity to test the quality of several of the larger roads traversing the island, among them the famous military highway connecting the one fortified city of San Juan with the center of the island and the port of Ponce on the other side. This road is not surpassed by anything I have traveled over in America or Europe. A bicycle corps could go over it without dismounting. The roads of Porto Rico are clearly not meant to be temporary affairs, but were built to stay. Their original construction must have been the work of unusually competent engineers, and the island authorities make it a point, evidently, to keep the condition of all the roads up to their first high standard of excellence. Macadamized as they are, they are kept in condition by the municipal authorities of each separate district, and their convex central road-bed is constantly brought up to its original level by fillings of gravel and cement, while the bridges and other stone masonry along the way are maintained in lasting good repair. Much of this labor is done by convicts. Almost all the bridges I had to cross impressed me as unusually solid and well built. Their arches were generally strengthened by stone abutments where the current was strong, and where wood was used pains had been taken to select only such timber as would not rot under water or fall a prey to the wood worm. Crossing the river Loisa, near the capital in particular, I rode over a magnificent wooden bridge. From San Juan to Rio Piedras likewise I saw three splendid stone bridges, with piers and abutments. One of these crosses the branch of salt water which runs from the lagoon of Congrejos to the harbor of San Juan; the other bridge, with a redoubt at one of its ends, crosses the branch of the sea which communicates with the harbor and cuts off the island on which the city is built.

Before leaving San Juan I had opportunities to study other matters besides roads and bridges.

Indeed, my presence there after war was declared and shortly after the abortive bombardment of the city rendered it imperative for me to justify my visit by indulging in the usual peaceful pursuits expected of an inquisitive foreign traveler.

Thus I did not fail to visit the quaint ancient house where Ponce de Leon is believed to have dwelt after he moved the seat of his bloody government from Pueblo Viejo to San Juan. Nor did I neglect to make the customary pious pilgrimage to the Dominican cathedral, where the bones of Don Juan the Lion Heart are kept in a

LANDING-PLACE IN THE HARBOR OF PONCE, PORTO RICO.

lead casket. I was more than glad, furthermore, to visit the old castle built upon the promontory above the mouth of the harbor by this same blessed saint when he was planning his famous quest after the Fountain of Youth which resulted in the discovery of Florida; for this gave me a long-coveted opportunity to make certain military observations which would not have been possible from any other point. From this castle, bearing the common Spanish designation of Casa Blanca, the openings between the waving fronds of palms that screen the crenellated wall of Ponce de Leon's ancient garden present a magnificent view over the land-locked bay and harbor.

Visiting the place, as I did, so shortly after the bombardment by the American fleet on May 12, at which I had assisted from the outside, it was my inevitable lot to hear no other talk but bombardment from morning till night. The time from night till morning was spent by the well-nigh panic-stricken people in a state of agonized

fear whenever the lookout at the signal station reported the lights of any passing vessel. The phantom fleet of fancied Spanish ships which harassed the minds of some hysterical people along the American coast earlier in the war was here offset by an equally hysterical dread of *El Jumby*, the "ghost ship" believed to be an American cruiser about to force its way into the harbor.

From all this talk, however, I managed to pick up a few occasional references to past history, which proved sufficiently attractive to prompt me to buy a venerable copy of Father Inigo's authoritative work, "*Historia de la Isla de S. Juan Bautista de Puerto Rico*." In this old tome I read how Porto Rico in 1529 was invaded by French pirates, and how the Carib cannibals were wont to harry the coasts in revenge for the atrocities committed on their native island brethren by the ruthless Spaniards. I was reminded of present times when I read of the great Spanish victory achieved over that cruel pirate "Don Francisco Dragon" in 1595, an event known to us English-spoken folk as the great sack of Porto Rico by Sir Francis Drake. Another attack by a Dutch admiral, it seems, was repulsed in 1615. The English in 1678 had no better luck, and had the added misfortune to lose many

PLAZA DE LAS DELICIAS, PONCE, THE SOUTHERN SEAPORT OF PORTO RICO.

of their ships in a hurricane by way of quits for the fate that overwhelmed the great Spanish Armada. Subsequent rash attempts by an overbold fleet of filibusters were likewise frustrated by the brave Spanish garrison of San Juan, and the great final victory came just a hundred years ago, when the gunners of old Castillo Morro beat off Admiral Abercrombie with his British fleet after a three days' siege. What wonder the Spaniards declare San Juan to be impregnable!

All this historical lore, however, passed out of my mind when, a few days later, I found myself a victim of modern events, spurring my way along the central mountain ridges of the island as a

lone fugitive of war. Then it was that the living phenomena of nature impressed themselves upon my mind with all their vital insistence. I learned, for instance, that the life of man and beast can be sustained in Porto Rico by living on naught else but the various fruits, yams, and nuts that grow so abundantly on the sunny hillsides of that fertile island. By the stern lesson of experience I learned to distinguish between plants and insects whose properties are poisonous and those which are good. It was with relief that I found out that some of the reports I had heard con-

VIEW ON THE RIVER JACAQUE.

cerning the prevalence of pestiferous gnats and mosquitoes were grossly exaggerated and that there were no poisonous reptiles whatever. Of wild or indigenous animals I saw but little. One evening, to be sure, I surprised a little bob-tailed beast, with springy hind legs, moving along after the jerky manner of a jack-rabbit, and was told by a boy that it was an agouti. Another time, while clambering my horse up a steep hillside I came face to face with an object that looked like a vastly enlarged ball-bug—a quadruped armored cruiser, as it were—which I took to be an armadillo. Of bats and lizards there was no end; also of cooing mountain doves, cuckoos, fly-catchers, and bright-plumed humming-birds, while the plantations were infested with the honey-creeper, a greedy bird that thrusts its bill so voraciously into the banana and cocoanut blossoms it devours that unsightly lumps of wax and pollen settle on the top of its beak. In the deserted sections I was often startled by the piercing cries of the green Amazon parrot or the wild peacock signaling with his magnificent tail feathers in answer to the harsh notes of some distant lady bird, but more often my way was made lively by the beautiful singing of the pretty mountain solitaire and other songsters such

as warblers, orioles, West Indian whip-poor-wills, and mocking-birds. From the youthful son of an Irish planter, who was possessed of an unholy passion for eggs, I ascertained the full identity of these and other birds.

Would that I had found as good a guide to teach me the names of plants and herbs and of all the innumerable corals, conchs, and water-fowl that I found littering the beach when once I had made my way down to the seashore.

Down at the coast, as it happened, other matters proved more engrossing. There, for the first time, having fallen into the hands of friends, I had a chance to form some estimate of the strength of the Porto Rican insurrection and of Spain's power of resistance against this hidden canker. Though some effort was made to throw dust into my eyes by surrounding me with a more or less formidable escort and by some valiant deeds of arms while I lingered among the *insurrectos*, I could not but admit the truth of the Spanish contention that the revolution in Porto Rico is such only in name or for purposes of blackmail. True, the sympathies of the large creole population of Porto Rico are plainly with their Cuban brethren and with our cause, and there is much well-merited resentment among the native planters of the island

against their Spanish and *gachupin* over-lords. But, on the other hand, the so-called *insurrectos* have made themselves scarcely less odious by their unceasing levies of blackmail, under threats of fomenting incendiarism and mutiny among the *peons*. What seems to dissatisfy the planters most is that so little is accomplished with their money. Yet it must be clear to any one who knows the topography of the island that it is ill adapted to any successful system of guerrilla warfare, such as that which has so long rendered Cuba a thorn in the side of Spain. Above all, the small size of the island is against it. Its entire length is but 108 miles, while the widest breadth is less than 50 miles, giving a limited area of 3,600, or nearly 500 square miles less than Jamaica. The square shape of the island, resembling the bulky trunk of a bull, together with the high mountain formations rising up in the interior, to culminate in the anvil peak of El Yungue in the east, seem to do their share toward making the country even more compact.

While it would be an easy matter, therefore, for an outside foe to seize and subdue the island from almost any one of its numerous harbors, excepting only the strongly fortified capital, San Juan, it is all but impossible for an ill-organized band of insurgents to strike the one decisive blow which might make an end of Spanish misrule in this garden spot. In case of failure there are no swamps or fastnesses to flee to, nor are the slight inconveniences of a short rainy season calculated to put a stop to hostilities or pursuit. For this reason, and others as well, all revolutionary movements in Porto Rico have always been doomed

to failure, as was the first uprising of the original Indian *disgustados* against their Spanish oppressors.

Considering these adverse circumstances and the undoubted loyalty and good fighting discipline of the Spanish garrisons and the loyal *Guardia Civil*, indeed, it redounds to the credit of the revolutionary junta in New York that they have been able to maintain even the semblance of an organized opposition to the strong rule of the present governor-general at San Juan.

Personally I enjoyed the experience of meeting some of the picturesque brigands who hope to see their acts dignified under the ægis of war, and I was glad to note the hopeful strain with which the well-to-do planters and their thrifty *peons* looked forward to the expected occupation of Porto Rico by our troops as the brightest event of their future.

As it was, though glad to avail myself of the first opportunity for getting out of the island, which was then still a stronghold of Spain, I could not but regret that my stay there had been so hurried and disconcerting in many of its features that it was almost out of the question to make even the most casual inquiries into many of the attractive things that are apt to come under the observation of any ordinary traveler who has the eyes to see and the ears to hear.

My one solace as I sailed away from the east end of Porto Rico on a certain dark night of last month (June) lay in the thought that events might even then be shaping themselves so as to permit me to return at no distant date.

OUR NEW WAR TAXES.

BY MAX WEST.

ON April 25, the very day war was formally declared against Spain, Mr. Dingley introduced in Congress "a bill to provide ways and means to meet war expenditures." It provided for doubling the internal revenue taxes on malt liquors and tobacco, increasing in less degree those on cigars and cigarettes, increasing the tonnage tax, and imposing new taxes on tobacco dealers and manufacturers, on business documents, and on patent medicines and certain other articles; and it also provided for a bond issue and for temporary loans which together would yield \$600,000,000. The bill was reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means on the day following its introduction, and was called up for general debate the day after that, under an agreement which allowed but three days for debate and amendment.

The feature of the bill chiefly objected to by the Democratic minority was the provision for issuing bonds, although they were to be offered as a popular loan; and for this several substitutes were proposed, among them taxes on certain kinds of corporations and an issue of legal-tender treasury notes. But the proposed substitute most strongly insisted upon was an income tax of 3 per cent., with an exemption of \$2,000. Several members expressed a hope that the Supreme Court might reverse its decision against the income tax of 1894, upon which this was modeled, except in the points mentioned, but it was generally recognized that a tax necessitating so much litigation would be useless for the purposes of the war, and the proposition was defeated by a vote of 143 to 123 and again by a vote of 171 to 134. Another favorite proposal from the Democratic side was that silver certificates be issued to the amount of the seigniorage on the silver bullion in the Treasury, and that silver dollars be coined as fast as practicable for the redemption of the certificates. On April 29 the bill passed the House substantially as it was introduced by a vote of 181 to 131.

THE SENATE AMENDMENTS.

The measure reported by the Senate Finance Committee on May 12 differed widely from the bill as passed by the House. The taxes on malt liquors and tobacco were retained without question, except as to details. The stamp taxes were also retained, with some additions and amend-

ments, but instead of the stamp tax on probates of wills and letters of administration, the committee inserted a progressive inheritance tax on personal property. The committee also struck out the increased tonnage tax, and inserted business taxes on bankers, brokers, foreign insurance agents, theaters and other public exhibitions, and bowling alleys and billiard-rooms, and a general tax of one-quarter of 1 per cent. on the gross receipts of nearly all corporations. Even more radical amendments were made in the last part of the bill, for the provisions for bonds and temporary loans were stricken out and replaced by a section providing for the coinage of the silver seigniorage, amounting to \$42,000,000, for the issue of silver certificates in advance of such coinage, and for an issue of \$150,000,000 in greenbacks.

The introduction of these radical amendments, more than one of which had already been rejected by the Republicans in the House, was due largely to an unusual situation in the Finance Committee, where the Democratic members, with the assistance of Senator Jones, of Nevada, were able to out-vote the Republicans. Thus it became necessary for Senator Allison to report a bill which he and a majority in each house disapproved of in certain important particulars, and so on behalf of the Republican minority of the committee he proposed an amendment substantially restoring the House provision for loans, except that the amount of bonds authorized was reduced from \$500,000,000 to \$300,000,000. He also explained that the committee was divided in regard to the corporation tax, objection being made especially to the taxation of small corporations competing with unincorporated establishments. On the other amendments the committee was nearly unanimous except in matters of detail.

The Senate sustained the Republican minority of the committee by restricting the corporation tax to petroleum and sugar refineries and pipeline companies and allowing an exemption of \$250,000 a year, and by rejecting the greenback issue in favor of public loans. On the other hand, the provision for the coinage of the silver seigniorage was retained by the Senate, but the silver certificates were to be issued only as the silver should be actually coined. Two important additions were made on the floor of the Senate:

one placing an import duty of 10 cents a pound on tea, and the other taxing manufacturers of mixed flour in proportion to the amount produced, in addition to a uniform annual tax on the business. Bills regulating the manufacture and sale of mixed flour, for the purpose of preventing adulteration, or at least requiring the mixed product to be sold under its proper name, had been introduced both in the Senate and the House, and Senator Mason succeeded in getting one of these incorporated in the revenue bill the same day it was passed by the Senate. No less than 213 amendments were made to the House bill before it passed the Senate, most of them of course relating only to matters of detail, and many others were introduced, including provisions for a system of postal savings-banks and for funding the greenbacks and treasury notes into 2-per-cent. bonds, introduced respectively by Senator Marion Butler and Senator Platt, of New York.

THE BILL IN ITS FINAL FORM.

The bill as amended passed the Senate on June 4 by a vote of 48 to 28 and was promptly sent to conference. The conferees agreed to retain the great majority of the Senate amendments. The only ones relating to taxation from which the Senate was obliged to recede, aside from matters of detail and certain changes in rates, were those providing for the stamp taxes on receipts for the payment of money and on certain unenumerated proprietary articles and for a tax on insurance agents. For the coinage of the seigniorage there was substituted a provision directing the coinage of silver to the extent of at least \$1,500,000 a month. This was consented to by the Republican conferees because it was about the amount that was actually being coined under the law of 1890, and no more than could be readily absorbed into general circulation. The conference report was agreed to in the House late on the evening of June 9 and in the Senate on the following day, and the act was signed by both the presiding officers and by the President on June 13.

The internal revenue taxes imposed by the act as finally passed fall naturally into four divisions: (1) Business taxes on individuals and corporations engaged in certain kinds of business; (2) stamp taxes on business documents; (3) excise duties on specified commodities, also levied by means of stamps; (4) the legacy tax.

BUSINESS TAXES.

Under the first head bankers are taxed \$50 a year on the first \$25,000 of capital employed and \$2 for each additional \$1,000; brokers, \$50; pawnbrokers and commercial brokers, \$20; custom-house brokers, \$10; proprietors of theaters,

museums, and concert halls in cities of more than 25,000 inhabitants at the last national census, \$100; circuses, \$100 for each State in which they do business; other public exhibitions, \$10 in each State; bowling alleys and billiard and pool rooms, \$5 for each alley or table. Dealers in leaf tobacco and manufacturers of tobacco and cigars must pay from \$6 to \$24, according to the quantity sold during a year; but dealers in manufactured tobacco, snuff, and cigars are taxed only when their annual sales exceed 50,000 pounds, and are required to pay in that case a uniform tax of \$12.

The tax on refiners of petroleum or sugar and on pipe-line companies is fixed at one-quarter of 1 per cent. on the excess of gross receipts above \$250,000 a year; that on manufacturers and packers of mixed flour is a uniform charge of \$12.

STAMP TAXES, SCHEDULE A.

Under the heading "Schedule A" the rates of taxation on various business documents are fixed as follows: Corporate bonds, certificates of indebtedness, and certificates of stock, except those of building and loan associations, 5 cents on each \$100 or fraction thereof of the par value; transfers of stock, 2 cents on each \$100 or fraction thereof of the par value; sales of products or merchandise on 'change, 1 cent on each \$100 or fraction thereof; bank checks, drafts, non-interest-bearing certificates of deposit, and orders payable at sight or on demand, 2 cents; inland bills of exchange, interest-bearing certificates of deposit, time orders, promissory notes, and domestic money orders, 2 cents for each \$100 or fraction thereof; foreign bills of exchange, letters of credit, and other orders for the payment of money abroad, if drawn singly, 4 cents for each \$100 or fraction thereof, and if drawn in sets, one-half that amount on each bill; bills of lading or receipts for goods to be exported, 10 cents; inland bills of lading, express receipts, parlor-car and sleeping-car tickets, telegrams and telephone messages for which the charge is 15 cents or more, each 1 cent; passage tickets to foreign ports, if costing \$30 or less, \$1; if costing from \$30 to \$60, \$3; if costing more than \$60, \$5; charter party, from \$3 to \$10, according to the tonnage of the vessel; manifest for custom-house entry or clearance for a foreign port, \$1 to \$5, also according to tonnage; bonds of indemnity, 50 cents; certificates of profits and transfers thereof, 2 cents on each \$100 or fraction thereof; certificates and other documents issued by port wardens and marine surveyors, 25 cents; other certificates required by law, 10 cents; brokers' notes or memoranda of sale, 10 cents; conveyances of real estate ex-

ceeding \$100 in value, 50 cents for each \$500 or fraction thereof; mortgage or pledge of real or personal property or conveyance in trust as security on amounts from \$1,000 to \$1,500, 25 cents; on each additional \$500 or fraction thereof, 25 cents; lease for one year or less, 25 cents; for one to three years, 50 cents; for more than three years, \$1; entry at a custom-house for consumption or warehousing, 25 cents to \$1; entry for withdrawal from a bonded warehouse, 50 cents; life-insurance policies, 8 cents on each \$100 of the amount insured; policies issued on the industrial or weekly payment plan, 40 per cent. of the first weekly premium; fraternal beneficiary societies, farmers' local coöperative companies, and employees' relief associations, exempt; fire, marine, and inland insurance policies and all other forms of insurance policies, one-half of 1 per cent. of the premium charged; power of attorney or proxy for voting at an election of a business corporation, 10 cents; power of attorney for other purposes, 25 cents; protests, 25 cents; warehouse receipts, except for agricultural products deposited by the grower for sale, 25 cents. The duties on manifests, bills of lading, and passage tickets do not apply to vessels plying between the United States and British North America.

STAMP TAXES ON COMMODITIES.

The tax on beer, ale, and porter is increased from \$1 to \$2 a barrel, with a discount of 7½ per cent. The tobacco taxes are increased to the following amounts: Tobacco and snuff, 12 cents a pound; cigars and cigarettes weighing more than three pounds per thousand, \$3.60 per thousand; cigars of less weight, \$1; cigarettes of less weight, \$1.50. The new tax on mixed flour is fixed at 4 cents a barrel and proportionate amounts for fractional parts of barrels.

The other taxes on commodities are levied under Schedule B. On patent medicines and proprietary toilet articles, including perfumery, vaseline, dentifrices, etc., the tax begins at one-eighth of 1 cent on 5-cent packages and increases gradually to five-eighths of 1 cent on 25-cent packages, with a further addition of five-eighths of 1 cent for each additional 25 cents. The tax on chewing gum is practically 4 per cent.; that is, it is 4 cents for each package of not more than \$1 retail value, and a like amount in addition for each additional dollar of value. Bottled wines are the only other goods included in this schedule, and they are taxed 1 cent on bottles containing a pint or less and 2 cents on larger bottles. When the articles taxed under Schedule B are exported, there is a drawback equal to the amount of the tax.

THE LEGACY TAX.

The tax on legacies and distributive shares of personal property applies only when the whole personal estate of the decedent exceeds \$10,000 in value. On personal estates from \$10,000 to \$25,000 in value the following rates are imposed: Direct heirs, brothers and sisters, three-fourths of 1 per cent.; nephews and nieces and their descendants, 1½ per cent.; uncles and aunts, first cousins, and their descendants, 3 per cent.; great-uncles and great-aunts and their descendants, 4 per cent.; more distant relatives, strangers in blood, and corporations public and private, 5 per cent. For estates of from \$25,000 to \$100,000 these rates are increased one-half; they are doubled for estates of from \$100,000 to \$500,000, multiplied by two and a half for estates of from \$500,000 to \$1,000,000, and multiplied by three for those exceeding the last-named amount; so that in the event of very large amounts passing to remote relatives the tax might be as high as 15 per cent. The surviving husband or wife is exempt.

OTHER PROVISIONS.

Besides these internal revenue taxes, the act provides for an import duty of 10 cents a pound on tea, bond issues of \$400,000,000, and temporary loans to the amount of \$100,000,000, both bearing 3 per cent. interest, and the coinage of silver bullion to the extent of \$1,500,000 a month.

The administrative features of most general interest are perhaps those relating to the taxes on corporations. For example, in order to prevent evasion of the tax on bills of lading and express receipts, companies receiving goods for shipment by freight or express are required to issue such receipts in all cases, the penalty for failure to do so being \$50 for each offense. The Senate committee proposed a similar rule with reference to receipts for telephone messages, but as it was impracticable to apply the rule either to slot machines or to other than public pay stations, the provision for receipts was stricken out and the telephone companies required to make monthly sworn statements showing the number of messages for which the charge was 15 cents or more, and to pay 1 cent for each one. This is no longer a stamp tax, therefore, though it is still included under Schedule A; it would be more properly classified with the business taxes. But for that matter all the stamp taxes are in one sense business taxes; the distinction between a stamp tax and other taxes is purely administrative.

Similar monthly reports are required from petroleum and sugar refineries and pipe-line companies, except that these must show the amount

of business done in terms of the gross receipts. The administration of the beer and tobacco taxes was already provided for, and these taxes, together with that on the gross receipts of refineries and pipe-line companies, went into effect the day after that on which the bill became a law. The other business taxes and stamp taxes take effect July 1, except those on mixed flour, which will not be enforced until sixty days after the passage of the act. In view of the increased work thrown upon the Bureau of Internal Revenue, the act makes an appropriation of \$100,000 for the employment of additional deputy collectors, clerks, and agents. In order to facilitate the distribution of stamps by inducing shopkeepers, bankers, and others to keep them on sale, it is provided that the collectors of internal revenue shall sell them in large quantities at a discount of 1 per cent. Heavy penalties are provided for evasion of the stamp taxes, either by the use of unstamped business papers or by the manufacture or sale of any of the commodities taxed without affixing the proper stamp.

WHO WILL PAY FOR THE WAR?

An interesting question in connection with this law is how far the new taxes will be really borne by those who pay them in the first instance, and to what extent they will be shifted to the great body of consumers. The act facilitates the shifting of the tobacco tax by providing for packages containing one-sixth less than those formerly used, and doubtless the customary size of a glass of beer will also be reduced in many cases. On the other hand, the tax on patent medicines and other proprietary articles is almost too small to increase retail prices, except by checking in some degree the tendency to sell these goods at cut rates. The act specifically provides that the tax on sleeping-car and parlor-car tickets is to be paid by the companies issuing them, and there seems to be little chance that either this or the tax on bills of lading will be shifted; but the tax on passage tickets to foreign ports will doubtless be found to increase the expense of trips to Europe this summer. Of more importance is the effect on prices of sugar and oil, of the tax on gross receipts of refineries. Professor Seligman, in his work on "The Shifting and Incidence of Taxation," says, "It is plain that a tax on monopoly gross receipts can never be shifted," because prices of monopoly articles are already such as to produce the maximum profits. From this reasoning it follows that so far as the Sugar Trust and the Standard Oil Company are monopolists and not subject to the laws of competitive trade they will have to bear the burden of the taxes levied upon them.

But it is never safe to predict the precise result of a tax or of any other one of the many elements which determine prices. It is possible, for example, that the prices of sugar and oil might be increased temporarily in the present emergency for the purpose of discouraging a resort to the gross receipts tax as a permanent source of revenue.

THE PROBABLE REVENUE.

As the bill was originally drawn and reported to the House it was intended to increase the internal revenue about \$90,000,000 or \$100,000,000 a year. As it was reported by the Senate Finance Committee the estimated yield was something over \$150,000,000, exclusive of the tax on corporations, which the Senate refused to vote. Throwing out the tax on receipts and the changes in the taxes on proprietary articles made a difference of some \$15,000,000 in the probable revenue, so that the bill as it returned from the conference committee was estimated to produce from \$138,000,000 to \$150,000,000. The entire internal revenue for the next fiscal year was conservatively estimated as follows:

Fermented liquors	\$58,906,120
Tobacco and snuff.....	43,840,560
Cigars and cigarettes.....	17,340,382
Tobacco manufacturers and dealers..	307,102
Bankers and brokers.....	4,108,004
Theaters, circuses, etc.....	1,820,447
Bowling alleys and billiard-rooms...	166,967
Stamp taxes, Schedule A.....	48,267,922
Proprietary articles and perfumery..	15,000,000
Chewing gum.....	1,000,000
Legacies	9,275,475

Total	\$200,033,069
Taxes unchanged by the new law....	84,087,830

Total internal revenue, 1898-99...	\$284,100,899
Subtract internal revenue of 1896-97.	146,619,598

Provided by the war revenue act. \$137,481,306

To this should be added the proceeds of the tax on refineries and pipe-line companies, which were not included in the statement, but were roughly estimated at from \$1,000,000 to \$2,000,000, and the taxes on the manufacture of mixed flour. If these aggregate \$2,000,000, the new law will increase the internal revenue by at least \$140,000,000; for the estimates given in the table are minimum estimates, and in some cases probably much too low. For taxes not heretofore levied only rough estimates are possible, and it would not be strange if the maximum estimate of \$150,000,000 should turn out to be nearer the truth than the more conservative figure given above. In addition to the internal revenue taxes, the import duty on tea may be expected to yield about \$10,000,000.

NO VERY GRIEVOUS TAXATION.

The taxes imposed by the act will not be burdensome. In so far as they are taxes on consumption, they are levied mainly on articles of voluntary use rather than on the necessities of life, and to some extent upon articles which are more or less injurious to health. It would be strange if a measure prepared so hastily and amended so extensively in such a short space of time were wholly consistent in all its parts or otherwise above criticism. It has been pointed out that the tax of 12 cents a pound on tobacco amounts to about 25 per cent. of the price of the article, while that on cigars is less than 8 per cent.; but this inequality is due partly to the rates previously in use, which the new law merely aggravates somewhat instead of reforming. Much satisfaction has been expressed with the dropping of the tonnage-tax provision, although it was explained that the rates proposed were only slightly larger than in Great Britain and precisely the same as in France. The only serious objection made to the legacy tax was that several of the States now impose inheritance taxes, and it was suggested that the national Government ought to leave that source of revenue exclusively to the States. The progressive feature did not excite the opposition that might have been expected, especially considering the severity of the schedule. The maximum rate of 15 per cent. is the same as that of the New York bill of last year which failed to receive the governor's signature, and is much higher than any similar tax which has been levied heretofore in this country. But for direct heirs the rates are very moderate, the highest being $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Whether this tax will check the tendency to impose State inheritance taxes or lead to the repeal of any already in force remains to be seen.

The tax on mixed flour is for regulation much more than for revenue, being in this respect analogous to the tax on oleomargarine. Evidence was presented that flour was adulterated by the use of such articles as "mineraline," or ground clay, and barytes flour, or ground rock, as well as by mixing with corn flour bleached with sulphuric acid. Senator Mason stated that as much as 75 or 80 per cent. of all the flour in the market was adulterated in one way or another by the addition of articles either positively injurious to health or at least much less nutritious than wheat flour. The only way in which the national Government could regulate the manufacture of the mixed product and require it to be properly labeled, unless the regulation were to be confined to flour shipped from one State

to another, was by the exercise of the taxing power.

COMPARISON WITH THE LAST WAR.

The main features of this law will naturally be compared with the successive revenue laws of the civil-war period, and nothing will be more noticeable in such an examination than the large number of possible sources of revenue which have been passed over on the present occasion. The greatest similarity between the revenue systems of that war and of this is in the stamp taxes. Nearly all the business documents formerly subject to duty have been included in the present act, though in many cases at lower rates than before, and a few additions have been made. But instead of the few articles now taxed under Schedule B, the excise formerly applied to a long list of manufactures and other products, including such articles of common use as coal and oil, gas, candles, ground coffee and spices, cotton, sugar and confectionery, chocolate and cocoa, salt, slaughtered animals, furniture, umbrellas, and photographs; and the rates were high enough to make a decided difference in retail prices. Over against the business taxes now imposed upon a few occupations must be set a long list of corporations which were formerly taxed from 1 to 5 per cent. on their gross receipts, and a still longer list of occupations reached by means of license taxes. Thus the tax on gross receipts applied to railroads, steamboats, ferry-boats, toll-bridges and toll-roads, telegraph, express, and insurance companies, lotteries, theaters, and museums, while the license taxes applied under the act of 1864 not merely to the occupations previously enumerated, but also to every other trade, business, and profession. In addition to the tax on legacies, there was a succession tax applying to real estate. Finally, besides the income tax, there was a whole system of direct-consumption taxes on such articles of pleasure and luxury as yachts, carriages, pianos, private billiard tables, gold and silver plate, and watches.

It has been said that "contemporary budgetary history makes no like exhibit of unopened resources and unemployed powers." The new law serves rather to emphasize this statement than otherwise, by showing that even in war it is not necessary to tax everything taxable, or even everything which might easily bear taxing. The taxes imposed are certainly not excessive, and it is quite possible that some portions of the act will be found so satisfactory that it will be advisable to retain them as permanent sources of revenue in time of peace, to take the place of the income tax, which has been declared unconstitutional.

THE GREAT FAIR AT OMAHA.

THE TRANS-MISSISSIPPI AND INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITION,
JUNE 1 TO NOVEMBER 1, 1898.

BY HENRY WYSHAM LANIER.

IT is but natural that public attention should be much taken up at present with the "exposition" which these United States have had in hand during some months: the showing to the world that our lack of a standing army and of a vast navy may make us slow to strike, but cannot be safely counted on by an enemy, and that a nation with such inexhaustible resources is none the less formidable because its people are normally peace-loving. But it would be a great pity were such preoccupation to prevent a hearty and general recognition of the notable achievement just wrought at Omaha by our Western brethren under the title of the "Trans-Mississippi and International Exposition." Rarely have the distinctive Western qualities of enthusiasm, pluck, audacity, and undaunted perseverance been so strikingly displayed. The very conception and consummation of this great fair at such a time of business depression is a more enduring monument to the trans-Mississippi country than any

architect in wood or stone could devise; and it is safe to say that the feeling of sympathetic pride in one's fellow-countrymen produced by an exploit of this sort is only second to a foreign war, evoking feats like those of Dewey and Hobson, in its awakening and strengthening of national feeling.

WHAT THE CENTURY HAS DONE FOR OMAHA.

It has been less than a century since the great Louisiana Territory, stretching from the Mississippi to the Pacific Ocean, came into our possession, and there were many thousands of people then who thought the "Great American Desert" but a poor equivalent for the millions paid to France for it. The name of Omaha commemorates the aboriginal owners of this particular locality (whose Chief Blackbird is so renowned in Indian history), and fifty years ago the savages hunted buffalo where now rise the great white buildings devoted to the arts, sciences, and industries that have attained such ample

growth within the recollection of many men still living. Not till 1845 was the first white settlement made, and the Mormons who then came under the leadership of Brigham Young left two years later for Utah. In 1854 a number of pioneers located here, and their rude cabins were the first permanent residences of the whites in

Photo by Rinehart, Omaha.

MAIN SECTION OF GOVERNMENT BUILDING.

Nebraska. Soon designated as the territorial capital, the young city entered at once upon the career of steady growth of which the exposition is at once the official sign and the culmination. It is not difficult to understand the absolute self-confidence, the instinct of doing a thing entirely without regard to the "impossibilities" which marks all this region, when one realizes that there are dozens of men working for the success of this exposition who have watched Omaha grow around them from a collection of log cabins in 1854 to a city of 16,000 people in 1870, to 30,000 in 1880, and to 140,000 in 1890; who have seen the "Great American Desert" transformed into a vast farming region with hundreds upon hundreds of towns and cities; who have assisted in promulgating through their exposition the fact that to-day the "West" in the old sense no longer exists; for Omaha, which has seemed to dwellers on the Atlantic even further away than San Francisco, is almost exactly half way between Eastport, Maine, and Cape Flattery—in the very center of our country. It seems destined from its location to become the metropolis of the great plains lying between the Mississippi and the Rockies—and what this means the citizens have endeavored to set before the world in the exhibition that opened, on June 1, with impressive functions which President McKinley and many other dignitaries, besides 100,000 visitors, helped to render memorable.

THE STORY OF THE EXPOSITION.

The exposition idea has taken very firm hold of us during the last quarter century. Since the patriotic Centennial of 1876 at Philadelphia, New Orleans, Atlanta, Louisville, and Chicago have each successfully carried through a similar demonstration of progress. It is a colossal sort of advertising, and there is no doubt but that our nation has a genius for advertisement. So when the common interests of the States between the Rockies and the "Father of Waters" called together in 1895 a Trans-Mississippi Congress, it might have been foreseen that the movement could have no other logical outcome. It is said that the suggestion was first put into tangible form by the editor of the leading Omaha newspaper—a fact which can be closely paralleled in most of our undertakings of this sort. At any rate, the time proved to be ripe for the scheme. It was taken up enthusiastically, and the last week in November the president of the congress, William J. Bryan, introduced a resolution requesting the aid of the United States in establishing an "exposition of all the products, industries, and civilization of the States west of the Mississippi River, to be made at some central gateway where the world can behold the wonderful capabilities of these great wealth-producing States." The resolution was promptly adopted, and a few weeks later a corporation was formed, the directors being authorized to proceed as soon

Photo by Rinehart, Omaha.

AN INTERIOR VIEW OF THE FINE ARTS BUILDING.

as \$10,000 had been subscribed. Five minutes after the passage of this article they were proceeding. They did not have too easy an undertaking, however, for the country was then undergoing a business depression almost unprecedented in its universality and its delayed reaction. Congress, with an eye to the future, was calling for strict economy. But the Western Senators and

Photo by Rinehart, Omaha.

LOOKING WEST FROM LIBERAL ARTS BUILDING.

Representatives are thoroughly typical of their constituents, and some months of vigorous work ended in securing an appropriation of \$200,000—contingent upon the corporation's obtaining another quarter of a million. This was in June, 1896. Every merchant and financier will remember what a disagreeable month that was for any one trying to raise money. Silver and gold were at it, hammer and tongs, and every one who had any money was waiting to see the results—and gripping his cash hard meanwhile. It certainly did not seem like a time when the idea of spending hundreds of thousands on a venture whose financial prospects were less than problematical would be popular. But these Omaha enthusiasts had fought too many difficulties even to doubt their ability. "We'll raise three hundred thousand," said they, "just to show that we're in earnest." And they did. They formed soliciting committees and started them out among every class of society, from the capitalist to the workman. Thousands of the latter as well as small farmers, clerks, and all sorts of struggling bread-winners attested their faith in the enterprise by taking from their scanty incomes enough to purchase at least one of the ten-dollar shares, and their example finally reached upon some of the millionaires who had previously held back. In less than

four months \$330,000 had been contributed, and before the Congressional appropriation of \$250,000 was actually made, in the following February, another hundred thousand had been added to this.

Meanwhile an energetic campaign was being carried on in the various State Legislatures. In spite of the fact that the workers were seriously hampered by the failure of Nebraska herself until the last minute to provide the funds for a State exhibit, their proselytizing was most effective, and when the delinquency was finally made good half a dozen other States at once gave assurances of coöperation. The long fight was won, and the real work of construction could at last be started. Thirty-two States and two Territories, England, Canada, China, Mexico, Venezuela, Costa Rica, Bolivia, and many other foreign countries finally signified their interest and intention to coöperate, thus greatly broadening the scope of the plan and causing the "international" part of the official title to have real significance.

THE SITE SELECTED.

The location of the great cluster of fair buildings was finally chosen by a unanimous vote of the board of directors, the advocates of various other sites realizing at once its ideal fitness as

soon as the matter was formally canvassed, although previous balloting had resulted in the designation of an entirely different spot. The grounds occupy about 200 acres of land, forming a great L, one side of which stretches along the "Bluff Tract." From this portion the visitor has a noble view up and down the valley of the Missouri and out across the superb sweep of plain as far as the Iowa bluffs. Here are the State buildings, the concessions, and the like. Stretching back from this river strip and connected with it by a viaduct is what is known as Kountze Park, admirably adapted to the more pretentious architectural structures flanking the main court, and forming altogether a most attractive setting for the monuments of human ingenuity which dot its surface. The whole is a scant two miles from the heart of Omaha, the scores of tramways and railroads whirling visitors thither in ten or fifteen minutes.

ITS REPRESENTATIVE NATURE.

Indeed, the promoters of the enterprise have been influenced throughout by the belief that concentration was essential to the success of their plan. Not only is it close to the city, but the buildings themselves are more accessible than

were those at Chicago. The magnificent but utterly exhausting distances have been abandoned, so that it is really possible for a stranger to grasp much more of the vital idea of the exposition, to get with a reasonable expenditure of effort what it is designed to give—a comprehensive summing up of the progress and resources of the trans-Mississippi States.

While the members of the Executive Committee* (the six heads of the various departments: Zachary T. Lindsey, Ways and Means; Edward Rosewater, Publicity and Promotion; Freeman P. Kukendall, Buildings and Grounds; Edward E. Bruce, Exhibits; Abram L. Reed, Concessions and Privileges; and William N. Babcock, Transportation) have of course availed themselves of all the experience gained at former expositions, and especially at the Chicago World's Fair, they have very wisely seen that the true aim was to make the presentation first of all representative of their section, and the intelligent pursuance of this principle has resulted in giving the fair a distinctive character and many uniquely interesting features.

* Unlike all former enterprises of the sort, the exposition has had no director-general, but has been entirely managed by this board of six members.

On April 22, 1897, the corner-stone was laid, the festivities of Arbor Day being much extended in honor of the occasion. The plans for the larger buildings were not then completed, and practically none of the contracts had been let. Yet on June 1, 1898, only thirteen months later, the "Magic City" stood in all its beauty amid a series of transformed gardens so artistically effective that it was difficult to believe the larger portion of the work had been accomplished during the last two months. Miles of gravel walks and neat drives now wander between parks where the art of the landscape gardener has been exercised to the full. Nearly 20,000 trees and shrubs—maples, catalpas, cottonwoods, elms, evergreens, and dozens of other varieties—100,000 plants and flowers, and innumerable decorative vines are scattered over the velvety sward, 23,000 square yards of which had to be sodded. Flower-beds and vases, aquatic plants, and stretches of smooth grass levels and terraces present a varied and wonderfully attractive background to the buildings.

THE PRINCIPAL STRUCTURES.

The general plan of the main exhibition buildings is novel and very effective. The Grand Canal stretches in the center for nearly half a mile, spanned by several picturesque bridges, with an island in the center, and forming, with the broad esplanades, a central court around

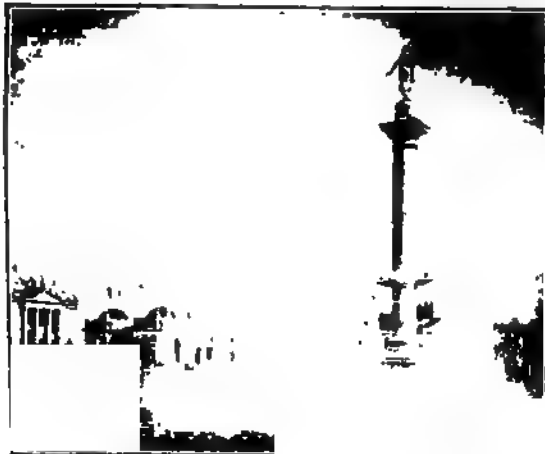


Photo by Kluehert, Omaha.

THE FOUNTAIN OF NEPTUNE.

which are grouped the buildings devoted to the United States Government, Agriculture, Mines, Machinery, Art, Liberal Arts, Manufactures, and the Auditorium, as well as the Administration Arch and the Arch of the States. All these edifices are connected by continuous promenades of vine-shaded columns, much after the fashion of

the Pompeiians, and offering a really charming walk from one attraction to another. The design, grouping, and color-scheme are all thoroughly original. The buildings are all tinted to the hue of old ivory, the staff-work being carefully colored to the exact shade, and the sculptures and carvings, the porticos, columns, bas-reliefs, and pedestaled lions all harmonize in one great scheme of color and design.

The entrance to this court is through the Arch of the States, whose twenty-four courses of stone come one from each of the trans-Mississippi States and Territories, Nebraska stone also providing a foundation. These States also display their coats of arms in color on a broad frieze of arches in double arcade, and above the whole on the surmounting parapet is the great shield and golden eagle of the United States. The arch will make a fitting memorial of the exposition when the latter's course is run, and will form the future entrance to Kountze Park. Immediately opposite this entrance is the Administration Arch, and to the left, at the extreme western end of the court, rises the Government Building. The center of its three sections is capped by a colossal gilt dome bearing a reproduction of the Bartholdi statue of Liberty, whose electric torch is held 178 feet above the ground. This structure's 500 feet of length incloses a floor space of 50,000 square feet, over which is spread a collection of exhibits never before equaled by the central government. Not only are the functions and the administrative powers in war and peace amply demonstrated, but the work of every department is skillfully presented. What is being done by the laborers in the State, Treasury, War, Navy, Post-office, Interior, Judicial, and Agricultural branches; the achievements of the Fish Commission, the Smithsonian, the Patent Office, the Geological Survey, the Indian Bureau, and the Bureau of Education are all spread out for the public to view. A series of special commemorative postage stamps, bearing typical designs ranging from a representation of Père Marquette on the Mississippi to a modern harvesting scene in the farming regions of the great North west, will especially interest philatelists.

Broad steps lined with sculptures lead down from this Ionic pile to the Mirrors, as this portion of the lake is called. A noble fountain and many other artistic features, as well as the surrounding park, the pleasure boats, the water-fowl, and the aquatic festivities, will undoubtedly combine to make this one of the most frequented portions of the grounds.

In the buildings devoted to electricity, machinery, and manufactures are gathered together collections that may well astonish even a people

Photo by Rinehart, Omaha.

THE MACHINERY AND ELECTRICITY BUILDING.

so hardened to inventions and novelties as ourselves. Mr. Edison will show his new method of separating metals in low-grade ores, along with scores of the other discoveries which have made him famous; Nikola Tesla illustrates the progress which has been made in wireless telegraphy and the ingenious methods by which Niagara has been made to contribute a portion of her power for utilitarian ends; Lieutenant Squiers, the authority on the electrical side of our coast defenses, and Prof. Elihu Thompson, well known for his electrical type-setting machines, search-light, and the like—these and hundreds of others have laid before every casual visitor the fruits of their life-work as an impressive object-lesson in our country's mechanical growth.

In the Mines and Mining Building one can see every phase of the working of this important industry, while the agricultural exhibit has probably never been equaled before. One entire building is given up to an apiary, another to dairying, one to horticulture, poultry, stock, etc. The Western farmer, who is practically the American farmer now (for his Eastern brother is exceptionally fortunate to-day if he can make a mere living out of purely agricultural pursuits), is for the first time adequately put before the world in solid facts that cannot be denied. It is surely a very appropriate time for such a jubilant display, since the recent high prices of wheat have brought such prosperity to the farmer as he has not known for many years.

ÆSTHETICS AND ETHNOLOGY.

Omaha may seem to the scornful European rather new to have developed any decided art

impulses, but there is no denying the fact that the managers of the fine arts section have made excellent use of the funds at their disposal. The inevitable disappointments and misfortunes attending some of the artists who exhibited at the World's Fair made the task of getting fine paintings and sculptures unusually difficult, but the assured appropriation of \$5,000 for the purchase of such exhibits and the probability that this amount would be greatly increased by private buyers assisted the managers somewhat, and they now point with pride to a collection which is in itself a great educative feature. For in those cases where it proved impossible to secure originals fine reproductions were made to do duty instead, and the consequent completeness of view—almost every school and stage of art being gathered together—makes the exhibition an exceedingly valuable one.

Closely connected with some branches of primitive art is the striking ethnological exhibit. Delegations of Indians representing every tribe in the country, with their typical costumes, tents, weapons, utensils, and ceremonial objects, will be encamped over many acres. Relics of the prehistoric races will be shown side by side with these remnants of a past civilization and the modern training-school Indian with his printing presses and newspapers. At the Passing Show, analogous to the Chicago Midway Plaisance, Moorish villages and Cairo streets, African savages and Southern darkeys, with their cake-walks, songs, and varied old-time plantation activities, Chinese, Japanese, and other Eastern peoples—examples of all these will help the Caucasian to a clearer under-

standing of the many races and civilizations besides his own, while the European countries are almost without exception brought to the visitor's attention.

MUSIC, EDUCATION, AND CONGRESSES.

There will be many rare treats for the music-lover during the five months of the exposition's existence. For five weeks after the opening Theodore Thomas' orchestra will play the greatest orchestral works in the style of which only that famous conductor has the secret. In September and October Bispham, Ysaye, Joseffy, and all the other available musical stars will lend their labors to the success of this branch, and it is probable that the seating resources of the splendidly built great auditorium will be many times taxed to their utmost. Never again, moreover, will the American composer dare to say that his own people have not given him a fair chance. The happy idea of a three days' rendering of new original manuscripts by all the representative American composers should provide a most interesting experience for every student of music. Macdowell, Nevin, Mrs. Beech, Margaret Lang, Chadwick, Huss, Kelley, and many other well-known Americans are to do their best for American music on this occasion. The National Congress of Musicians, too, will meet here in June, and their programme includes for each day four essays on musical topics, two recitals, and an evening concert. They also will exploit the native musician to the best of their ability, and July 2 and July 4 will be devoted entirely, the first to music as it exists or existed among the aborigines of Alaska, the United States, and

Mexico, the second to our own state of musical culture and productiveness.

The educational features of the exposition, as well as the management of the philosophical and scientific congresses, will be in the hands of a board composed entirely of women. Their bureau will show the condition of the public schools, kindergartens, manual-training, industrial, and reform schools, and instead of a woman's building these ladies are to erect a handsome one-story structure for the boys and girls. This will contain rooms for mothers and children, a model nursery, and a *crèche* where the little ones can be cared for while their mothers are sight-seeing elsewhere. There is even a shallow wading-pond and a sand-pile for the delectation of these temporarily orphaned youngsters.

There will be many conventions and congresses during the exposition term, some of them purely local, but a number really notable gatherings whose meeting and discussion cannot fail to produce important results. The Chicago fair showed how much influence could be exerted by such a collocation of great thinkers and scientists as may in many cases be expected.

Altogether it looks as if Omaha had already made its success. The financial ends may or may not meet; that is, after all, a matter of secondary importance, and the promoters of the exposition deserve additional credit for their disregard of the possibilities of financial loss. Certainly the rest of the United States and the rest of the world will henceforth feel entirely differently toward this trans-Mississippi country, and the effect upon these twenty-four States and Territories themselves must be incalculable.

MR. GLADSTONE IN HIS LIBRARY.

MR. GLADSTONE.

BY W. T. STEAD.

THE greatest Englishman of our time is no more. With Mr. Gladstone's death the curtain may be said to have been rung down upon the epoch in which for nearly half a century he has been the most conspicuous figure. After him there may rise up some son of Anak like unto him, but it cannot be said of him as of the risen sun, as yet that "far off the promise of his coming shone." Prince Bismarck, who still lingers superfluous on the stage, is the only other statesman who can be named in the same breath with Mr. Gladstone. The two sum up fairly well the two great tendencies of our era. The one represents the pacific, the other the military side of the development of the Teutonic race. As was natural, men of such strong antagonistic temperaments never appreciated each other. The man of blood and iron never admired the man of the silver streak. Yet both were emphatically men of their century. Both commanded for thirty years the love, the gratitude, the devotion of a mighty nation. Both had the destinies of empires in their hands, both experienced the difficulties of managing monarchs, and both were marvelously adroit, although in very different ways, in managing their Parliaments. Personally, Bismarck and Mr. Gladstone resembled each other in their love for the open air, their dislike of town, their devotion to their family, and, strange though it may seem to some to say it, in their deep religious spirit in which they approached their daily duties. Mr. Gladstone's religion was quite as conspicuous as his politics. He was at various seasons of his life more of an ecclesiastic than a secular statesman. Prince Bismarck is a Doctor of Divinity of the University of Giessen, and the present Pope made him a Knight of the Holy Order of Christ. Orders and titles, however, had no charms for him, but he was never slow to assert his "living evangelical Christian faith." "Were I not a stanch Christian," he declared in the middle of the Franco-German war, "you would never have possessed a federal chancellor in my person. Sever my connection with God, and I am the man to pack up my trunks to-morrow and be off to Varzin to reap my oats." These two eminent Christians did not have much communion of spirit. Mr. Gladstone's church, it is to be feared, Prince Bismarck would have described as "nothing more than a totality of priests, their rights

and their pretensions;" while Mr. Gladstone would probably have expressed himself as strongly about the pronounced evangelicalism of the doughty German. Both of them, however, had enough in common to make separate onslaught upon the papacy, and although neither the May Laws nor the pamphlet on "Vaticanism" did the Roman Church much harm, they testified to the vigor of their protest against the pretensions of the infallible one. Each in his way was his own pope, and neither brooked a superior. Both statesmen had an intense love of power. Ambition, the last infirmity of noble minds, was theirs to the full. Not a low or unworthy ambition, but a lofty and daring ambition, the ambition of men who, knowing that they were greatly gifted with faculties rarely possessed in such fullness by mere mortals, were impatient of all obstacles which restrained them from the exercise of their faculties in the service of their fellows.

These two, Bismarck and Gladstone, were until the other day the compendium of the Anglo-German genius in the difficult art of the government of men in the second half of the nineteenth century. Now Mr. Gladstone has gone and Bismarck alone is left—for a little time. Before the twentieth century is out of its swaddling-clothes Bismarck also will have been summoned home. The old generation is rapidly passing away, and the new generation, no longer under the old leadership, stands confronting the new problems of the new time.

THE PASSING OF MR. GLADSTONE.

There is something extremely pathetic, with a pathos almost too deep for tears, in the spectacle which the world has witnessed for the last few months in the sick-chamber at Hawarden. There are very few now living to whom Mr. Gladstone has not been the most familiar symbol of constant and superb physical vigor. Other men far his juniors might be knocked up by the strain of constant and exciting work. Mr. Gladstone never wilted. He always came up to time, always seemed to have inexhaustible stores of energy as yet untapped. He rested himself in doing harder work than most men perform in their ordinary labor. For eighty-nine years he lived and labored among us, a splendid example of the sound mind in the sound body, the envy and despair of his rivals, the admiration and wonder of his friends.

And now this superb physique has itself been made, if not the instrument, then the prolonger of his sufferings. The inquisitor who racked the heretic to death did so in the recesses of the torture chamber. Mr. Gladstone has been slowly tortured to death before the eyes of the whole world. Cancer is a terrible malady, and of all forms of cancer, few are more terrible than that which, eating into the bone of the nose, daily expels the eyeball from the socket, and dooming its victim to blindness, drives him sightless to the grave as with the torturing thrusts of red-hot spears.

The story of the maiden martyrs of the Solway who were bound to stakes at low tide and left to be drowned by the slowly rising water has often been told as one of the more piteous episodes in the annals of martyrdom. The slow creep upward of the ice-cold waters, the visible rising as it were of the river of death to engulf the life of the victim—who has not shuddered at the memory of the scene? But at Hawarden for months past mankind has witnessed a scene not less terrible. The aged statesman, nearing his ninetieth year, but still stalwart and strong, chained down by an inexorable decree to a bed of torture, to wait day after day, night after night, the slow and ruthless march of the living death. No wonder that Mr. Gladstone, when the truth first broke upon him that the end was at hand—and such an end!—is said to have prayed with plaintive earnestness that the merciful Lord would mercifully end his days. As other men pray for life, Mr. Gladstone prayed for death. And yet death came not. For some time there was even a reluctance to administer opiates, but the racking torment of fierce pain overcame the scruples which at first forbade the use of anæsthetics. From that time onward it was but a slow, steady sinking into the grave, the dulling of the pain being purchased by almost continuous lethargy, from which in the last

days the mind regained consciousness for an hour or two and then relapsed into coma. During these periods of awakening Mr. Gladstone was seldom heard to speak save of the other world which he was slowly approaching, and of the Almighty Infinite and Invisible God to whom he was conscious that he must render an account for all deeds done in the body. The affairs of this world no longer possessed for him any significance. It is doubtful whether the painful silences of Hawarden were broken by the echo of the American guns that thundered on the Philippines and in the West Indies. At times he would slowly raise his right hand and declare in solemn tones as of one giving testimony which might not again be repeated: "My faith is strong! My faith is strong!" To those old and intimate friends who were admitted to take the last farewell he spoke ever with unfaltering confidence, not merely of the reality of life after death, but of the certainty that those who parted in tears would meet hereafter in another and better world.

MRS. GLADSTONE.

Behind the dying statesman stretched a vista of the longest and most brilliant Parliamentary career that mortal man has ever boasted. Around him stood the whole nation, and not this nation only, in reverent sympathy. The voice of detraction has stilled. Opponents and friends vied with each other in paying tributes to his genius, his patriotism, his virtue. But in the solemn vigil in the valley of the shadow of death his mind dwelt on none of the incidents of his glorious record, nor was he concerned with the verdict of his contemporaries. Their criticism or their eulogies he recked not of, but he was intensely grateful for their prayers. When the Nonconformists sent him an affectionate message, assuring him of their prayers, he expressed his intense gratitude for this very practical sympathy of earnest intercession, and repeated, with that thrilling emphasis which he alone could impart

to the familiar words, the concluding verse of the Psalter: "Let everything that hath breath praise the Lord!"

Seen from the standpoint of a death-bed, the perspective of affairs varies greatly from that of the busy world. Mr. Gladstone had made wars, maintained peace, had built navies, and helped in the founding of empires, but none of all these things of his past dwelt with him in the chamber of death.

"Its mighty clamors, wars, and world-noised deeds
Are silent now in dust,
Gone like a tremble of the huddling reeds
Beneath some sudden gust."

What Mr. Gladstone dwelt on to the exclusion of almost all other things was that which is shared in common with the poorest peasant in the land—the consciousness of the loving presence of his Lord. "Though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death I will fear no evil, for thou art with me; thy rod and thy staff they comfort me."

That which cheered him most of all the news he heard during the last trying months was the report that his granddaughter, a bright spirituelle young maiden of twenty, had decided to dedicate herself to the work of a Christian missionary to the heathen who sat in darkness. The dying statesman thrilled with joy at the thought that his granddaughter had chosen the better part. To his illumined eye nothing in this world was worth talking of or living for save the great commission to preach Christ and him crucified as the living witness of the love of God for man. There is nothing better than that, nothing indeed to be compared to it. Again and again would he revert to it, but always with complacent triumphant joy. So it was with him as it was with one even greater than he, who, when he went down with steady foot into the chill waters of the river of death, comforted himself with reflecting on the marvelous loving kindness of the Lord, even while he lamented that he had been such an unprofitable servant.

Mr. Gladstone did not wait, however, for the approach of death to bear testimony to the supreme importance of religion. The last time I ever met Mr. Gladstone I brought the interview to a close by asking him what he regarded as the greatest hope for the future. He paused for a time, not rightly understanding the question. Then he said gravely: "I should say that we must look for that to the maintenance of faith in the Invisible. That is the great hope of the future; it is the mainstay of civilization. And by that I mean a living faith in a personal God. I do not hold with 'streams of tendency.' After sixty years of public life I hold more strongly

than ever this conviction, deepened and strengthened by long experience of the reality, and the nearness, and the personality of God."

Mr. Gladstone had at least had full scope for verifying this working hypothesis. It is something—nay, is it not perhaps the greatest of all

MR. GLADSTONE LISTENING.

the things we have to learn from him, to trust in God in all our work for man, knowing that there is a hand in the darkness ever near which, if we but assent, will lead us to a sure path, although by a strange road, out of darkness into light, and in the midst of the storm and turmoil of life will keep us in perfect peace?

I.—SOME PERSONAL REMINISCENCES.

First impressions are deepest, freshest, and most permanent. Never shall I forget the first time I ever saw Mr. Gladstone: it was also the first time I heard the stirring strains of his impassioned eloquence. It was a memorable day, standing out foremost among many such—the day when Mr. Gladstone, who had retired the previous year from the leadership of the party in order to carry out his views as to the best method of spending the closing years of his life, emerged

from his retirement in order to lead the national outburst against the Turkish alliance. As I came up from Darlington, which had honorably distinguished itself by the promptitude and vigor of its protest long before Mr. Gladstone had spoken, I watched the sun rise over the eastern fens, and thought that I had seen a day dawn destined to be forever memorable in the annals of human freedom. A strange new sense of the reality of the romance of history came to me—a feeling that I was that day to take, however humble, a part in a meeting that linked the prosaic present to the great days of old. Mr. Gladstone seemed but the last of a long line of national heroes, stretching through the Lion Heart and Hereward and Harold and Alfred to the purple haze of Arthurian romance. I was only twenty-seven, and it was the first occasion I had ever been at the center of things. The sun that rose in splendor was soon obscured with rain-clouds, and the muster at Blackheath assembled under the most depressing circumstances. But nothing, not even the drip from a thousand umbrellas, could abate the enthusiasm of the immense concourse which assembled to greet Mr. Gladstone.

HIS BLACKHEATH SPEECH.

Much has been written of Mr. Gladstone as an orator, and only those who have been under the spell of the magician can rightly understand the hold which he exercises over his audience. I have never heard Mr. Gladstone to greater advantage than in that Blackheath speech, nor has any other single speech of his left so deep a dent in history.

When at length, drawing his proofs to a close, he declared that the government of Turkey was as deeply dyed in blood, hand and arm, as the vilest of mercenaries, the tremendous energy of the speaker was reflected by his audience, and a roar went up from the whole of the great throng—a roar which might justly be regarded as the inarticulate condemnation which democracy was pronouncing upon the Ottomans, the emphatic attestation by the English people of the guilt of the Turks. Mr. Gladstone only occasionally rose to the height of fervid expression. He did so when he declared that all the massacres and outrages which form the worst pages of English history concentrated into one blot would not be worthy to appear upon one of the pages which hereafter will consign to eternal infamy the proceedings of the Turks in Bulgaria. The man's soul seemed to go out of him in the extraordinary earnestness with which he hurled his anathemas at the heads of the devastators of Bulgaria. The wonderful compass of his voice, the withering emphasis with which he pronounced each syllable,

will never leave the memory of those who heard it. But the most sustained and perhaps the finest portion of his speech was that in which he explained the terms which he would allow the Turks. As if he were addressing the Ottomans, he paused, and then drawing himself up to his full height, he began with a measured solemn cadence, sentence slowly following sentence: "You shall receive your regular tribute, retain your titular sovereignty, your empire shall not be invaded, but"—then Mr. Gladstone's eye kindled, and lifting his clinched hand on high, he proceeded in tones which rang clear as a clarion on every ear—"but never again as the years roll in their course, so far as it is in our power to determine, never again shall the hand of violence be raised by you, never again shall the flood-gate of lust be open to you, never again shall the dire refinements of cruelty be devised by you for the sake of making mankind miserable."

Here the pent-up feeling of the multitude found vent in a tremendous roar of applause, in which the end of the sentence was entirely lost. There was a rhythm almost as of a chant in the way in which Mr. Gladstone pronounced these solemn words, and carried awe into every heart. It was as if the High Priest of Humanity were pronouncing the doom which was impending over the guilty empire. In different style, but quite as emphatic, was his abrupt and decisive declaration that if these outrages reported as taking place in Servia were facts, they ought to be stopped. James Russell Lowell, speaking of Theodore Parker, described the secret of his oratory in words which may well be applied to Mr. Gladstone:

"Every word that he speaks has been fiercely furnace
In the blast of a life that has struggled in earnest.
... His periods fall on you stroke after stroke,
Like the blows of a lumberer felling an oak."

"THAT EYE!"

Mr. Gladstone in the House of Commons had a different style from that which he employed in Blackheath or in Midlothian. His voice was a wonderful organ. Like a Cremona violin it seemed to improve with age. But the voice alone, wide as was its compass and wonderful its penetrating faculty, would have failed to produce the effect that Mr. Gladstone commanded were it not supplemented by the flashing fire of his eyes. Mr. Thaddeus, who painted a well-known portrait of Mr. Gladstone, told me that he had never painted such an eye in his life. It was the eye of an eagle that gazes untroubled at the sun. A good man in the west country who once met Mr. Gladstone on the platform at a wayside railroad station wrote afterward to Hawarden: "You may not recollect me,

but I remember you. You looked at me, and oh! that eye! It went through me." That eye has been right through many others besides that westcountryman. It is right to say eye rather than eyes, for it was only one eye that had that extraordinary piercing power. No one on whom it had been turned in wrath or even in quick inquiry can forget it.

And now let me turn by a rapid transition after this description of my first impression of Mr. Gladstone to the notes of the last interview I ever had with the Grand Old Man. It was in 1892, on the eve of the general election which was to make him for the fourth time prime minister of the Queen. I saw him by appointment in London just before he left town. He was full of health and spirits and talked, as he usually did, with great freedom on all manner of subjects.

Mr. Gladstone's views on the progress of the race were written out at length in the *Nineteenth Century* when Tennyson published his second "Locksley Hall." But it is always most interesting to hear from the lips of the speaker what he thinks, and I asked Mr. Gladstone whether on the whole he was satisfied with the results of the reforming activity of the last sixty years. He replied: "In political affairs I think progress has been almost wholly good. But I am not an optimist, and I am convinced that the duties of government will always be more or less imperfectly performed. As society becomes more complex, the work of the government will become more and more difficult. Still, political progress has been good and almost wholly good. In free trade, for instance, it has been entirely good. I look upon that with the most perfect complacency. They speak sometimes of the greed of competition, but the greed of competition is not to be compared with the greed of the monopolist. The greedy competitor at least shares his gains with the public; but the greed of the monopolist is the greed of the robber. But as I often tell my juniors, we older men had a comparatively easy time these last fifty years—a much easier time than they will have to go through. I am very glad sometimes to think that it will not be for me to face the problems which are coming on for solution. The explanation of this is that all the questions with which we have to deal were capable of being resolved into a very simple principle. If you look at it you will see that, with some exceptions, such as the Factory act and one or two other minor matters, the great work of the last half century has been that of emancipation. We have been emancipating, emancipating—that is all. To emancipate is comparatively easy. It is simple to remove restrictions, to allow natural forces free play. Now that that work has been

almost completed and we have to face the other problem of constructive legislation, we shall find it much more difficult."

As Mr. Gladstone uttered the words "emancipating, emancipating," there rose up before me the image of Mr. Carlyle as he sat in his long gray, red-trimmed dressing-gown one bright wintry day in his study in Cheyne Row, at Chelsea, discoursing grimly upon the catastrophe toward which all mundane matters seemed fast hastening. He, too, had recognized that simple principle of emancipation, and had resolved into it all the legislative achievements since the Reform act of 1832. He makes this plain in "Shooting Niagara: And After?" one of the wisest and most practically suggestive of all his political writings.

MR. CARLYLE AND MR. GLADSTONE.

Mr. Carlyle had small love for Mr. Gladstone, but his criticisms were apt to be based upon somewhat scanty materials. Of this I had an amusing illustration in 1877. Carlyle and Gladstone were then the two gods of my idolatry, and it grieved me to hear the way in which the Chelsea philosopher went on about the Liberal leader. "There is that Gladstone," growled Mr. Carlyle, "who is running up and down the country talking and talking, filling whole acres of the papers with his speech, and never, so far as I can see, a single wise word in the whole of it." "Really, Mr. Carlyle," I ventured to say, "I should have thought you would have been delighted with one of his recent speeches in which he expressed in his own way the same ideas as those you have been impressing on me. Do you not remember? The speech was made only a week or two since." "Remember!" said Mr. Carlyle with disgust. "Why, do you think I ever read his speeches? I have never read a word of them!" Mr. Carlyle was not the first nor is he the last to condemn Mr. Gladstone unheard. Mr. Carlyle was more felicitous in his sarcastic comparison between Disraeli and Mr. Gladstone.

"I have often been amused," said Mr. Carlyle, "at thinking of the contrast between the two men. There is Beaconsfield—he hasn't got a conscience at all, and he knows he hasn't got a conscience, and very well pleased he is that it should be so; but as for that other one—that Gladstone—eh, mon, what a conscience he has! There never was such a conscience as his. He bows down to it and obeys it as if it were the very voice of God himself. But, eh, sir, he has the most marvelous faculty in the world for making that conscience say exactly what he wants."

That was Mr. Carlyle's way of putting Mr.

Gladstone's exceeding conscientiousness. He was so over-accurate that he often seemed not to be accurate at all. He was so careful to make the finest distinctions, to convey to a hair's-breadth his exact meaning, that sometimes he seemed to be refining and quibbling and creating loopholes for escape at some future time. In reality, he always told the truth exactly as he saw it; but he saw it so clearly and with such mathematical accuracy that to the ordinary man who never sees anything as it is, but only as it appears, the difference between what Mr. Gladstone saw and what Mr. Gladstone said he saw was often quite inexplicable.

MR. GLADSTONE AS AN ECONOMIST.

In the course of our conversation Mr. Gladstone expressed himself very strongly in favor of that reform of the death-successive duties which has been subsequently carried through by Sir W. Harcourt, but he spoke still more vehemently against the practice of making grants from the imperial exchequer in aid of local rates. When I ventured to remind him that the ratepayer was poor Mr. Gladstone replied: "But the taxpayer is also poor. The local authorities may be very hungry, but the way in which the money has been given to the local authorities by the Conservatives has been a direct incentive to extravagance. If we had to establish the system of giving grants from the state they ought to have been made for the encouragement of economy, and not for the encouragement or extravagance. It has been a direct premium on wastefulness, as for instance the withholding of the grant from communities which would not raise the number of their police to a certain number. If they had doubled the number of the police they would have received a grant which is almost equivalent to the cost of the extra number of constables. This is almost like holding out a direct bribe by the state to encourage extra expenditure."

Mr. Gladstone was an economist to the last. And when in 1894 he finally quitted office, it was not at all because of his failing energies, but because in the unanimous opinion of his colleagues the foreign situation demanded an increased naval expenditure which he could not reconcile with his conscience. Much as his colleagues regretted his resignation, none of them to this day has seen any reason to believe that the safety of the empire imperatively demanded the maintenance of a paramount navy. It is not generally known, but it is the simple fact, that the Liberal party in England sacrificed the greatest chieftain the Liberals ever had rather than allow him to cut down the navy estimates which in their opinion were essential to the safety of the country.

II.—MR. GLADSTONE'S CAREER.

Mr. Gladstone was a product of English family life, and his family life was one of the most beautiful domesticities of our time. Mr. Gladstone was a compound in equal proportions of his parents—he had the imperious spirit, the unbending will, and inexhaustible energy of his father and the deep religious spirit of his pious mother.

HIS HIGHLAND MOTHER.

On his father's side he was a lowland Scotsman with all the canniness of the long-headed race. On his mother's side he was a Highlander of the Donachie clan, whose habitat was far away in the extreme north beside Stornoway. It was from his mother's side that he had the imagination and the poetry of his nature, and from her also he had that leaning toward the occult which he sedulously kept in check. When I asked him some time after the publication of "Real Ghost Stories" whether he had paid any attention to spiritualism and its related subjects, he said generally that he had not studied it as closely as had Mr. Balfour, with whose general conclusions on the subject he was inclined to agree. But speaking broadly of dreams, second sight, and ghosts, etc., he was prepared generally to believe in them all, but said he with a roguish twinkle in his eye: "If you ask me whether there is any particular instance of any one of them in which I can place implicit credence, I would be at some difficulty to reply."

A DEBATE FROM THE NURSERY.

Mr. Gladstone had the great advantage of having been accustomed from his infancy to discuss everything with his parents. The children and their parents argued upon everything: they would debate as to whether the trout should be boiled or fried; whether it was likely to be wet or fine next day; whether a window should be opened. It is probable that in this early training Mr. Gladstone got that faculty of his of being equally absorbed in the most trivial and the most important of subjects.

AT ETON.

When Mr. Gladstone was twelve he went to school, and was declared by Sir Roderick Murchison to be "the prettiest little boy that ever went to Eton." As a scholar he was by common consent, says Mr. George Russell, acknowledged to be God-fearing and conscientious, pure-minded and courageous, but humane. He was never seen to run, but was fond of sculling, and even then given to that fast walking which he practiced all his life. At school he distinguished himself

by turning his glass upside down and refusing to drink a coarse toast at an election dinner, and for having protested against the torture of certain wretched pigs which were then regarded as fair game on Ash Wednesday. Some of his school-fellows failing to appreciate this early foretaste of his chivalrous disposition, Mr. Gladstone offered to write his reply in good round hand upon their faces. It is curious to note that at the Salt Hill Club, which he and a few congenial spirits founded for the purpose of going to Salt Hill to bully the fat waiter, eat toasted cheese, and drink egg wine, Mr. Gladstone was familiarly known by the name of Mr. Tipple. In the school debating society he naturally took a high place. In one of his earliest recorded speeches he declared that his "prejudices and predilections have long been enlisted on the side of Toryism." So Tory was he that, seeing a colt of the name of Hampden entered for the Derby between two horses named Zeal and Lunacy, he declared he was in his proper place, for Hampden in those days was to him only an illustrious rebel. So true was it that he entered public life believing liberty to be an evil and that he quitted it believing it to be a good.

THE SCHOOLBOY EDITOR AND POET.

When eighteen Mr. Gladstone contributed under the *nom de plume* of Bartholémy Bouverie to the *Eton Miscellany*. To this magazine he contributed not only leading articles, classical translations, and historical essays, but even ventured into the domain of humorous poetry. Of his humorous verse the only specimen which is offered was his mock heroic ode to the shade of Wat Tyler, of which the following is the concluding stanza :

"Shades, that soft Sedition woo,
Around the haunts of Peterloo!
That hover o'er the meeting-halls,
Where many a voice stentorian bawls!
Still flit the sacred choir around,
With 'Freedom' let the garrets ring,
And vengeance soon in thunder sound
On church, and constable, and king."

A MODEL UNDERGRADUATE.

At nineteen he went up to Oxford and became a model undergraduate of Christ Church. Ten years after he left college it was said that undergraduates drank less wine in the 40s because Gladstone had been so abstemious in the 30s. He was, therefore, naturally ridiculed, especially on account of all his friends having been industrious and steady men, and he was thereupon declared by the roysterers only fit to live with maiden aunts and keep tame rabbits. In 1831 he made his first great speech at the Oxford Union, of which he was first secretary and then

president. It is notable that it was in denunciation of the Reform bill, which he declared was destined to break up the foundations of social order. Notwithstanding his subject, it was so remarkable a performance that Bishop Wordsworth declared that one day Gladstone would rise to be Prime Minister of England. The prediction was not fulfilled until thirty-seven years later.

AN OBEDIENT SON.

Another incident, which is not generally known, is that it was his filial obedience which first brought to light that extraordinary aptitude for figures which enabled Mr. Gladstone to be far and away the greatest chancellor of the exchequer whom England has ever had. When he was at Oxford he wrote home, saying that he didn't care for mathematics and intended to concentrate his attention upon classics. His father wrote back that he heard with much grief his son's decision. He did not think a man was a man unless he knew mathematics. Mr. Gladstone, on receiving this intimation of his father's wishes, abandoned his own plan and applied himself with his usual concentration to the study of mathematics. Much to his surprise, he came out double first. He often said in after life that he had done it to please his father, and that he would never have been chancellor of the exchequer had it not been for the bent given to his mind by his compliance with his father's wish that he should pursue mathematical studies.

HIS DEVOTION FOR DANTE.

After taking a double first Mr. Gladstone left Oxford, leaving behind him a great reputation for industry, brilliance, and piety. No man of his standing more habitually read his Bible or knew it better. He was then an evangelical with a strong predisposition to a clerical career. Instead of going to the church he went to Italy, a land which always excited a peculiar fascination over Mr. Gladstone. After Homer Dante was his favorite poet. He always found solace and refreshment in the study of his verse. "Dante," he once wrote, "has been a solemn master for me. The reading of Dante is a vigorous discipline for the heart, the intellect, and the whole man. In the school of Dante I have learned a great part of that mental provision which has served me to make the journey of human life. He who lives for Dante lives to serve Italy, Christianity, and the world."

HIS MARRIED LIFE.

Mr. Gladstone's wedded life was idyllic and ideal. Seldom, indeed, has a marriage ever

taken place of which it might so truly be said, in the hackneyed phrase of the story-book: "They lived happily ever after." Mr. Gladstone's simplicity of character and "matter-of-factness" gave his family great facility for what was called "managing" him. He was as easily managed as a child, and had no idea of employing the mode by which he was "managed" on anybody else. He never suspected that he was being manipulated.

In the household Mr. Gladstone was simply idolized. His servants would have laid down their lives for him; and his absolute justice, kindness, and orderliness made him a perfect master of the household. But for all that he was not in any way overbearing or domineering. He was very freely criticised in his own family, and although his children agreed with him in the main, there was abundant scope for divergence of views and details.

Mr. Gladstone's manners, especially when addressing ladies, were very courtly. There was a fine stateliness and at the same time an exquisite courtesy in his address. In his manners, as well as in much else, Mr. Gladstone belonged distinctly to the older school which flourished before the Queen came to the throne, when society still preserved a certain distinctive style which has suffered much in the rush and tumble of our new democracy.

HIS LOVE OF HOME.

A great illusion which prevails about Mr. Gladstone is that he was always supposed to be fidgeting for the leadership, and that he was consumed by a passionate desire to be prime minister for the fourth time. Those who lived with him knew that the very reverse was the fact. Instead of restraining him and holding him back, as they were supposed to do, they had actually to egg him on and force him to quit his sylvan retreats for the turmoil of political life. This was partly because of the extraordinary intensity with which he threw himself into everything he did. Again and again he strove to rid himself of political embarrassments, and he was never so happy as when he was romping with his grandchild. Twenty-five years ago he argued himself into a belief that he ought to retire.

He was "strong against going on in politics to the end." On May 6, 1873, Bishop Wilberforce wrote: "Gladstone, much talking—how little real good work any premier had done after sixty; Peel, Palmerston—his work already done before; the Duke of Wellington added nothing to his reputation after. I told him Dr. Clark thought it would be physically worse for him to retire." "Dr. Clark does not know how completely I

should employ myself," etc. May 10: "Gladstone again talking of sixty as full age of premier." In 1875 he formally retired, as he thought, to end his days in retirement. When I saw him at Downing Street in 1883 he hinted that he did not intend to remain in office till the dissolution; and in 1884 he talked in cabinets of having one foot in the grave, and as if anything relating to the next Parliament was to him entirely devoid of any practical interest. His wife and children knew that he was sincerely in earnest when he declared that he preferred a life of learned and scholarly activity among his books to the gratification of any Parliamentary ambitions.

HIS BEGINNING IN POLITICS.

Mr. Gladstone entered Parliament for the first time in 1833, when he was elected to represent Newark by the then Duke of Newcastle. Few men have entered public life with greater advantages. He was not only healthy and wealthy, but the ripest flower of the university culture of his time. His personal appearance is said to have been striking, but his strongly marked features were pale, and their pallor was set off by the abundance of his dark hair, nor did the piercing luster of his dark eyes diminish the impression that the young member was somewhat too delicate for the stress and strain of Parliamentary life. Of those who entered Parliament with him at that time there is not one left in the House of Commons to-day. Mr. Gladstone was then the rising hope of the stern and unbending Tories. His first address to the electors declared that the duties of governments were strictly and peculiarly religious. He urged that the claims and the condition of the poor should receive special attention, labor should receive adequate remuneration, and he thought favorably of the allotment of cottage grounds. That was just sixty-one years before Mr. Chaplin brought in his Allotment bill.

TORY.

In those days Mr. Gladstone used to ride a gray Arabian mare in Hyde Park, where his narrow-brimmed hat high up in the center of his head, sustained by a crop of thick curly hair, attracted considerable attention. In the first ten years of his Parliamentary life Mr. Gladstone was in all things a thoroughgoing Tory. His first speech was in defense of slavery as it was practiced on his father's plantation in Demerara, and the first session did not pass until he had delivered a speech in defense of the Irish Church, which he was subsequently to disestablish. So sanguine was he that he was sure that the Church had awakened to new life and fresh energy, which would soon afford fresh occupation for all

the bishops of the existing establishment. In the next session he supported the compulsory subjection of every student of the universities as to the teaching of the Church of England. When Parliament was dissolved, Mr. Gladstone warned the electors of Newark against the danger of hurrying onward through the ballot, short Parliaments, and other questions called popular, into republicanism.

When Mr. Gladstone was on the eve of emerging from his high-and-dry Toryism, he was thus described by one who subsequently succeeded him as leader of the House of Commons. Sir Stafford Northcote wrote :

"There is but one statesman of the day in whom I feel entire confidence and with whom I cordially agree, and that statesman is Mr. Gladstone. I look upon him as the representative of the party—scarcely developed as yet, though secretly forming and strengthening—which will stand by all that is dear and sacred in my estimation in the struggle which I believe will come ere very long between good and evil, order and disorder, the Church and the world, and I see a very little band collecting round him and ready to fight manfully under his leading."

In 1845 Mr. Gladstone first had his attention seriously drawn to Ireland, and in that year he entertained the idea of devoting the month of September to a tour in the distressful land :

"Ireland is likely to find this country and Parliament so much employed for years to come that I feel rather oppressively an obligation to try and see it with my own eyes instead of using those of other people, according to the limited measure of my means."

One passage in Mr. Gladstone's career is often forgotten, namely, that when Secretary of State for the Colonies in Sir Robert Peel's administration in 1846 he did not offer himself for reëlection, the Duke of Newcastle, his former patron, being a stout protectionist, and he remained outside the House of Commons during the great free-trade struggle which resulted in the repeal of the Corn Laws.

M. P. FOR OXFORD.

When he was elected for Oxford, Bishop Moberly declared that he was the deepest, truest, most attached, and most effective advocate for the Church and the universities; the man who had the most ability and the most willingness to serve his Church and country most effectively. After his election for Oxford University, and while he was in the process of transition from Toryism to Liberalism, a good deal of the old Adam lingered about him. He pronounced marriage with the deceased wife's sister to be con-

trary to the law of God for three thousand years and upward, and he opposed the appointment of a universities commission and defended church rates. In other respects, however, he was a Liberal, being a staunch free-trader, and in favor of admitting the Jews into Parliament.

ANTI-JINGO.

It was not till 1850 that Mr. Gladstone first took a distinct stand on the ground which he afterward made so peculiarly his own, that of the opponent of the policy of bluster, which had its apotheosis in Lord Beaconsfield's Eastern antics. The occasion was in the debate on the alleged abuse of English authority to secure the redress of Don Pacifico from the government of Greece. Lord Palmerston made his famous speech laying down the doctrine of *civis romanus sum*, and Mr. Gladstone replied by denouncing the doctrine that England or any other nation could arrogate to herself in the face of mankind a position of peculiar privilege.

"Sir. I say the policy of the noble lord tends to encourage and confirm in us that which is our besetting fault and weakness, both as a nation and as individuals. Foreigners are too often sensible of something that galls them in the presence of an Englishman, and I apprehend it is because he has too great a tendency to self-esteem, too little disposition to regard the feelings, the habits, and the ideas of others."

THE CONSCIENCE OF THE CIVILIZED WORLD.

It was in this speech also that Mr. Gladstone first made his appeal to the conscience of the civilized world which he so often made in connection with the home-rule question :

"There is a further appeal from the House of Commons to the people of England; but, lastly, there is also an appeal from the people of England to the general sentiment of the civilized world, and I, for my part, am of opinion that England will stand shorn of a chief part of her glory and pride if she shall be found to have separated herself, through the policy she pursues abroad, from the moral support which the general and fixed convictions of mankind afford. No, sir, let it not be so; let us recognize, and recognize with frankness, the equality of the weak with the strong, the principle of brotherhood among nations and of their sacred independence."

HIS NEAPOLITAN PAMPHLET.

It seems part of the irony of fate with Mr. Gladstone that he had always to denounce the course which he was about to take or to defend a policy which he was just about to reverse. Of

this there were many instances in his career, but one of the oddest was that in which, immediately after he had declared in the House of Commons that it was a vain conception that we, forsooth, had the mission to be the censors of vice and folly and abuse and imperfections of other nations, he rushed off to Naples and made himself the censor of the vice and folly, the abuse and imperfections of the Neapolitan Government. It was, however, no vain conception, for the letters which he wrote denouncing the negation of God wrought into a system were one of the most powerful of the moral causes which shook down the throne of the Bourbons.

In 1851 Mr. Gladstone wrote a letter to the Bishop of Aberdeen on "The Position and Function of the Laity," which Bishop Wordsworth declared contained the germ of liberation, society, and the political equality of all religions. Mr. Gladstone had obviously been traveling somewhat since he published his book on "Church and State" but thirteen years before.

A TEACHABLE MIND.

Mr. Gladstone began as the defender of the Irish Church; he ended by demolishing it. No one ever opposed more vehemently the extension of British influence in Egypt, but it was under his government we bombarded the Alexandrian forts, fought the battle of Tel-el-Kebir, and reduced Egypt to the condition of a British satrapy. He was the most conspicuous advocate of peace with Russia when Lord Beaconsfield was in office, until Constantinople was in danger. Five years later he left office, after having brought us to the very verge of war with Russia for the sake of Penjdeh. One year he clapped Mr. Parnell into prison, the next he proposed to make over to him the government of Ireland, and then again he deposed him from the leadership. Yet he was always consistent and anxious for his consistency. Circumstances alter cases, and Mr. Gladstone was not above being taught by events.

It is unnecessary to follow Mr. Gladstone through his later career. His chief achievements may be roughly summarized as—

First, he completed the revolution in British

finance which Sir Robert Peel had begun. Mr. Gladstone was Cobden in office, establishing free trade and throwing the ports of the empire open to the world.

Secondly, he abolished the paper duties, which rendered a cheap press impossible, reduced the duty of cheap light wines in the interest of temperance, prepared the way for a heavy increase in the death duties, and steadily reduced the national debt.

Thirdly, he was the most potent force in the electoral revolution which democratized first the urban and then the rural electorate, and then directed the attack of the democracy upon the House of Lords.

Fourthly, he reintroduced and popularized the policy of Canning as the foreign policy of England. This policy was humanitarian and crusading in its essence. It supported young peoples struggling to be free, championed Bulgaria against the Turk, and defended the principle of the European concert as the germ of the United States of Europe.

Fifthly, in things imperial he conquered Egypt, gave up the Ionian Islands, the Transvaal, evacuated Afghanistan, annexed Fiji and southern New Guinea, and either granted or confirmed the charters granted to the Royal Niger, Borneo, and South African companies.

Sixthly, in the case of the *Alabama* he established the principle of arbitration as the right way of settling international disputes between kindred English-speaking peoples.

Seventhly, he abolished church rates and university tests and disestablished and disendowed the Irish Church.

Eighthly, he attempted to do justice to the Irish peasant, and closed his career by an unavailing effort to pass a measure of home rule for Ireland.

Ninthly, and perhaps the most important of all, he was ever the embodiment of the sentiment of duty and of the principle of justice. The spirit of the man was more than any series of his acts, and his rule was uniformly lofty and his appeals were ever to the higher nature of man. We shall not speedily look upon his like again.



AMERICAN GREETINGS AND TRIBUTES TO BRITAIN.

QUITE apart from the friendliness toward Great Britain occasioned by her attitude in the present crisis, the desire on the part of the American people for permanent amity between the nations is genuine and widespread. Sentiment of the kind which recently found ready expression here on the death of England's veteran statesman has been manifested again and again. There is much in English history and tradition which America claims as a common heritage, and the glory of American valor is not dimmed by the reflection that its greatest achievements have been won in contests with men of the same race, while not a few Englishmen are now free to admit, with John Morley, that America's failure would have set back the hands on the dial of England's national progress.

Two years ago the sharp discussion of Anglo-American relations was the occasion of numberless international greetings in prose and verse. Among these the poem "Hands Across Sea," by Mr. Robert Underwood Johnson, seems to us to have a special value, both for its argument and for the freshness and aptitude of its mode of expression. The poem is included in "Songs of Liberty and Other Poems," a volume of Mr. Johnson's verse published by the Century Company.

We quote, by permission, from the last four stanzas of Mr. Johnson's apostrophe to England:

Taught by thy heroes, summoned by thy bards,
Against the imperious folly of thy kings
Twice our reluctant banners were arrayed.
What matter if the victors were not thine,
If thine the victories? Thou art more secure
Saved from the canker of successful wrong.
Thou dost not blush for Naseby, where, of old,
England most conquered, conquering Englishmen.
So when thou hear'st the trumpets in our verse
In praise of our new land's deliverance,
Hard won from Winter, Hunger, and from thee,
And from those allies thou didst hire and scorn,
Deem it not hatred, nor the vulgar pride
Of the arena, nor the greed of fame,
(Twixt men or nations, there's no victory
Save when an angel overcomes in both.)
Would all our strife were blameless! Some, alas!
Hath trophies hoarded only to be hid,
For courage cannot hallow wanton war.
Be proud our hand against thee ne'er was raised
But to wrench English justice from thy grasp.
And, as to landmen, far from windy shores,
The breathing shell may bear the murmuring sea,
Still in our patriot song reverberates
The mighty voice that sang at Hampden's side.

True, there are those of our impassioned blood
Who can forget but slowly that thy great
Misread the omens of our later strife,
And knew not Freedom when she called to thee.
These think they hate thee!—these who have embraced
Before the altar their fraternal foes!
Not white of York and red of Lancaster
More kindly mingle in thy rose of peace
Than blend in cloudless dawn our blue and gray.
Already Time and History contend
For sinking rampart and the grassy ridge
That with its challenge startles pilgrim feet
Along the fringes of the wounded wood.
The bedtime wonder of our children holds
Vicksburg coeval with the siege of Troy,
And the scorned slave so hastened to forgive
The scar has lost remembrance of the lash.
Since Love has drawn the sting of that distress,
For one with wrath to compass sea and years
Were but to make of injury a jest,
Holding the occasion guiltier than the cause.
But Hate's a weed that withers in the sun;
A cell of which the prisoner holds the key,
His will his jailer; nay, a frowning tower
Invincible by legions, but with still
One secret weakness: *who can hate may love.*
Oh, pausing in thy cordon of the globe,
Let one full drop of English blood be spilled
For Liberty, not England; men would lose
Their fancied hatred in an ardor new,
As Minas Channel turns to Fundy's tide.
Hate thee? Hast thou forgot red Pei-ho's stream,
The triple horror of the ambushade,
The hell of battle, the foredoomed assault,
When thou didst stand the champion of the world,
Though the awed sea for once deserted thee?
Who then sprang to thee, breaking from the bonds
Of old observance, with a human cry,
Thirsting to share thy glorious defeat
As men are wont to covet victory?
Hate thee? Hast thou forgot Samoa's reef,
The day more dark than any starless night,
The black storm buffeting the hopeless ships,
The struggle of thy sons, and, as they won,
Gaining the refuge of the furious deep,
The immortal cheers that shook the *Trenton's* deck,
As Death might plead with Nature for the brave?
Stands there no monument upon that strand?
Then let remembrance build a beacon high,
That long its warning message may remind
How common danger stirs the brother heart.

Why turn the leaf back to an earlier page?
To-day, not moved by memory or fear,
But by the vision of a nobler time,
Millions cry toward thee in a passion of peace.
We need thee, England, not in armed array
To stand beside us in the empty quarrels
That kings pursue, ere War itself expire
Like an o'er-armored knight in desperate lunge
Beneath the weight of helmet and of lance;
But now, in conflict with an inner foe
Who shall in conquering either conquer both.
For it is written in the book of fate:
By no word save her own falls Liberty.
A wondrous century trembles at its dawn,

Conflicting currents telling its approach;
 And while men take new reckonings from the peaks,
 Reweigh the jewel and retaste the wine,
 Be ours to guard against the impious hands
 That, like rash children, tamper with that blade.
 Thou, too, hast seen the vision: shall it be
 Only a dream, caught in the web of night,
 Lost through the coarser meshes of the day?
 Or like the beauty of the prismic bow,
 Which the sun's ardor, that creates, consumes?
 Oh, may it be the thing we image it!—
 The beckoning spirit of our common race
 Floating before us in a fringe of light
 With Duty's brow, Love's eyes, the smile of Peace;
 Benignant figure of compelling men,
 Star-crowned, star-girdled, and o'erstrewn with stars,
 As though a constellation should descend
 To be fit courier to a glorious age.

O Thou that keepest record of the brave,
 Something of us to thee is lost, more worth
 Than all the fabled wealth of sibyls' leaves.
 Not with dull figures, but with heroes' deeds,
 Fill up those empty annals. Teach thy youth
 To know not North's but Byron's Washington;
 To follow Hale's proud step as tearfully
 As we pale André's. And when next thy sons
 Stand in Manhattan gazing at the swirl
 Of eddying trade from Trinity's brown porch,
 Astonished, with the praise that half defames,
 At the material greatness of the scene,—
 The roar, the fret, the Babel-towers of trade,—
 Let one stretch forth a hand and touch the stone
 That covers Lawrence, saying: "To this height
 Our English blood has risen." And to know
 The sea still speaks of courage, let them learn
 What murmurs it of Craven in one bay,
 And what of Cushing shouts another shore.
 (Find but one star, how soon the sky is full!
 One hero summons hundreds to the field:
 So to the memory.) Let them muse on Shaw,
 Whose bones the deep did so begrudge the land
 It sent its boldest waves to bring them back
 Unto the blue-domed Pantheon where they lie,
 The while his soul still leads in martial bronze;
 Tell them of sweet-dirged Winthrop, whom to name
 Is to be braver, as one grows more pure
 Breathing the thought of lover or of saint;
 Grim Jackson, Covenantant of the South,
 And her well-christened Sidney, fallen soon;
 Kearny and Lyon. Of such hearts as these
 Who would not boast were braggart of all else.
 Each fought for Right—and conquered with the Best.
 Such graves are all the ruins that we have—
 Our broken arch and battlement—to tell
 That ours, like thine, have come of Arthur's race.

O England, wakened from thy lull of song,
 Thy scepter, sword, and spindle, fasces-like,
 Bound with fresh laurel as thy sign of strength,
 When shalt thou win us with a theme of ours,
 Reclaiming thus thine own, till men shall say:
 "That was the noblest conquest of her rule?"

During the discussion of international arbitration in 1896 Mr. G. E. Woodberry wrote the following lines, which were published in the *Century Magazine*:

What is the strength of England, and her pride
 Among the nations, when she makes her boast?
 Has the East heard it, where her far-flung host
 Hangs like a javelin in India's side?

Does the sea know it, where her navies ride,
 Like towers of stars, about the silver coast,
 Or from the great Capes to the uttermost
 Parts of the North like ocean meteors glide?

Answer, O South, if yet where Gordon sank,
 Spent arrow of the far and lone Soudan,
 There comes a whisper out of wasted death!
 O every ocean, every land, that drank
 The blood of England, answer, if ye can,
 What is it that giveth her immortal breath?

"Because above her people and her throne
 She hath erected reason's sovereignty:
 Because wherever human speech is known
 The touch of English breath doth make thought free:
 Therefore forever is her glory blown
 About the hills, and flashed beneath the sea."

First of mankind we bid our eagles pause
 Before the pure tribunal of the mind,
 Where swordless justice shall the sentence find,
 And righteous reason arbitrate the cause.
 First of mankind, whom yet no power o'erawes,
 One kin would we confederate and bind;
 Let the great instrument be made and signed.
 The mold and pattern of earth's mightier laws!

Crown with this act the thousand years of thought,
 O Mother-Queen, and wheresoever roams
 Thy sea-flown brood, and bulwarked states hath wrought
 Far as the loneliest wave of ocean foams,
 Thy children's love with veneration brought
 Shall warm thy hearthstone from their million homes.

We are also indebted to the *Century* for Mr. Thomas Bailey Aldrich's lines suggested by the reading of William Watson's sonnets describing the European situation in 1896-97:

Restless the Northern Bear amid his snows
 Crouched by the Neva; menacing is France,
 That sees the shadow of the Uhlan's lance
 On her clipt borders; struggling in the throes
 Of wanton war lies Spain, and deathward goes.
 And thou, O England, how the time's mischance
 Hath fettered thee, that with averted glance
 Thou standest, marble to Armenia's woes!
 If 't was thy haughty Daughter of the West
 That stayed thy hand, a word had driven away
 Her sudden ire, and brought her to thy breast!
 Thy blood makes quick her pulses, and some day,
 Not now, yet some day, at thy soft behest
 She at thy side shall hold the world at bay.

Since the outbreak of the war with Spain numerous poems have appeared in the American press expressive of affection for the mother land. The *Critic* of May 28 publishes some verses in this vein by Edith M. Thomas. From these we have selected the following as especially apropos of the argument for an Anglo-Saxon alliance:

Mother of Celt, and of Cymric, and Briton,
 Nurse of lone isles in the Asian main,
 Deep in thy heart is the mother-love written—
 Who ever sought it, and sought it in vain?

Thou gatherest all with enfolding maternal—
 Races wide-sundered, the fair and the swart,
 Sunburnt, or scorched by the frost wind hibernal—
 Thou holdest them all in thy cherishing heart!

These are mere aliens—but thou hadst a daughter !
 Her firstling words—they were hushed at thy knee :
 Thou hearest her voice, beyond the gray water,
 How like is the voice—the face like to thee !

Thou hearest her singing Liberty's psalm !
 (She learned it from thee, she was rocked on thy breast.)
 Its echoes are heard in the Isles Caribbean—
 From the seas in the east to the seas in the west !

Tollers of hers and of thine, in the quarry ;
 Riders of thine and of hers, on the plains ;
 Soon, perchance, proven in sea-fight and foray,
 One is the blood that leaps in your veins !

Yours be the power that, o'ercoming, assuages,
 Yours to bind Evil, and Good to release ;
 By you be fulfilled the dream of the ages,
 Conquer the World—and cede it to Peace !

The "eagle-and-lion" idea is also present in these verses by Walter Malone in *Leslie's Weekly* of June 16 :

Beneath the arctic peaks of silent snow,
 Through tropic isles enwreathed with orange blooms ;
 Where brown Gibraltar like a giant looms,
 Where furnaces of red Sahara glow ;
 In spicy groves, where softest breezes blow,
 In tangled Afric jungles' deepest glooms ;
 By gray-beard Pharaohs' immemorial tombs,
 The Saxon legions conquer every foe.

So Alfred's spear and Nelson's sword shall be
 Guards for the flag that Washington unfurled ;
 With might of Cromwell, Lincoln, Blake, and Lee
 Our gauntlet at invaders shall be hurled ;
 Lords of the land and emperors of the sea,
 The eagle and the lion face the world.

The characteristic attitude of Uncle Sam toward John Bull is aptly illustrated in these anonymous lines printed in the *Rural New Yorker* of June 4 :

We pulled our coats and had it out, friend John,
 Some years ago—as I remember it.
 You thought I'd knuckle down, and tried it on ;
 We measured muscle—both were glad to quit.
 And later on we grappled on the sea,
 And then, when in a corner, tied up tight,

I took the job of setting people free ;
 You wouldn't back me up—it wasn't right.
 But that's all over now ; we understand
 Each other better than we used to do.
 You've felt my knuckles—here's my open hand,
 And palm to palm I'm neighbor, John, to you.
 The good old Anglo-Saxon blood runs free
 Within our veins—our language still must frame
 The words with which men speak of Liberty ;
 No other race but ours has learned her name.
 And so, John, here's my hand across the sea ;
 The nations watch us with their envious eyes ;
 Not enemies, but *cousins* let us be,
 For all the struggling hope of freedom lies
 In the tough race whose sturdy manhood wrung
 An empire from the wilderness, and held
 The promise that the wasteful Latin flung
 Aside. Come, John, it's time for us to weld.

The allusion in the above to England's attitude during the first years of our Civil War reminds us of Whittier's stirring appeal "To Englishmen," written in 1862, when anti-slavery men felt keenly the cold indifference to their cause on the part of England's ruling classes. Some of Whittier's lines are charged with passionate invective, but those that have outlived the years of strife and doubt are full of brotherly tenderness and yearning for sympathy :

O Englishmen—in hope and creed,
 In blood and tongue our brothers !
 We too are heirs of Runnymede ;
 And Shakespeare's fame and Cromwell's deed
 Are not alone our mother's.

"Thicker than water," in one rill
 Through centuries of story
 Our Saxon blood has flowed, and still
 We share with you its good and ill,
 The shadow and the glory.

Joint heirs and kinfolk, leagues of wave
 Nor length of years can part us ;
 Your right is ours to shrine and grave,
 The common freehold of the brave,
 The gift of saints and martyrs.

Our very sins and follies teach
 Our kindred frail and human ;
 We carp at faults with bitter speech,
 The while, for one unshared by each,
 We have a score in common.



LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH.

PRESIDENT MCKINLEY IN WAR TIMES.

THE July *McClure's* opens with an excellent account of President McKinley's life at the capital in these stirring and harassing days. Major McKinley was elected to be President, of course, on a financial platform, and with the general expectation that his administration would be occupied chiefly with a settlement of the important currency matters absorbing the United States. Instead of that, as a matter of unfinished business left over to him from preceding administrations this war has come, and he will be known undoubtedly in future generations as a war President.

President McKinley's conduct at the White House through the feverish days succeeding the *Maine* explosion is told with anecdotes that show the President to be a man of exceedingly strong self-command. The current business and worry of the President's position were increased tremendously by the *Maine* disaster.

FIFTEEN HUNDRED LETTERS A DAY.

"Since February 16 the President's mail has numbered from eight hundred to fifteen hundred letters a day. It is the wish of the President that all letters sent to him be read and answered. Though this has not been the practice under all administrations, since Secretary Porter entered the White House a letter has received the same attention as a visitor. The great increase of mail which has come since the *Maine* affair has made it necessary to bring in extra clerks. The President himself sees only a fraction of the letters, his secretary using his discretion about what should go to him.

"The opinions of the press come to the President in various ways. He is himself a reader of newspapers, and scarcely a day has gone by, even in the hottest of the war excitement, that he has not found time to run through a large number, including five or six New York dailies, the Washington evening and morning papers, one or two from Chicago, and perhaps a half dozen others from large cities. One paper which he reads regularly is that from his Ohio home—the *Canton Repository*."

THE PRESIDENT AND THE NEWSPAPER MEN.

"A digest of the newspapers comes to him of course in conversation with his secretary and friends and in Cabinet meetings, where articles of special value and suggestiveness are frequently

read and discussed; but his most intimate connection with the press comes from the peculiar relation which news-gatherers have to the White House. The President, as a matter of fact, has the newspaper man always with him. He is as much a part of the White House *personnel* as Simmons or Pendel or the big police inspector at the door. Accommodations are furnished him there, and his privileges are well defined and generally recognized. Thus in the outer reception-room of the business part of the White House a corner containing a well-furnished table and plenty of chairs is set aside for reporters. Here representatives of half a dozen or more papers are always to be found, and during Cabinet meetings and at moments of grave importance the number increases many fold. Here they write, note the visitors who are admitted to the President, catch the secretaries as they come and go, and here every evening about 10 o'clock they gather around Secretary Porter for a kind of family talk."

The unwritten law of the White House has it that no newspaper man shall ever approach the President as he passes to and fro near the alcove or crosses the portico to his carriage unless he himself stops to talk to them. This he occasionally does, as he knows all the reporters by name and treats them with uniform kindness. If a man disappears Mr. McKinley is sure to inquire soon what has become of him, and if one falls ill he asks regularly after him.

"WAIT UNTIL WE KNOW THE FACTS."

With this taste and faculty for getting into personal contact with the people and their representatives of one sort and another, Mr. McKinley knew just how the American nation felt about the *Maine*.

"His steadiness under the incessant buffeting was admirable. He never for an instant wavered from his first determination to have no opinion until the report of the board of inquiry came in. To every visitor his counsel was the same: 'Wait until we know the facts.'"

"Perhaps nothing contributed more at this time to keep those who sought the President calm than the fact that so far as possible he pursued his ordinary habits. Nothing could be simpler and more methodical than President McKinley's daily life in the White House has been since he came to Washington. By 10 o'clock in the morning he is ready to receive visitors, and he works steadily till 4 or 5 in the afternoon, when

he goes to drive or to walk. Frequently Mrs. McKinley accompanies him in his drives, and nothing which the public sees of the President does more to awaken respect for him than the chivalrous tenderness with which he cares for his fragile, sweet-faced invalid wife. Even if he is not going with Mrs. McKinley, the President often accompanies her himself to her carriage. In pleasant weather he goes out almost daily in his victoria, in rainy weather in a kind of 'bachelor's coupé.'"

MCKINLEY NEVER GOES TO CONGRESS.

During the Civil War Lincoln went every day, sometimes many times a day, to the War Department, and was frequently visiting the Capitol departments in search of some person whom he wanted. "During all the war crisis Mr. McKinley has never been in Congress or gone to one of the Departments. The arrangements at the White House are such that this is possible, which was not true in Lincoln's time. There is a telegraph-room, to which all messages can be sent—something Mr. Lincoln did not have. Then there is the telephone connecting the office of the White House with every important man in Washington. Through the business rooms of the White House, however, Mr. McKinley moves very freely."

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE "MAINE" REPORT.

"It was commonly enough repeated in the days preceding the arrival of the report that President McKinley knew what its findings were. This is wrong. He did not know until the report was laid before him on Saturday, March 26. The document reached Washington the night before. Lieutenant-Commander Marix, judge advocate of the court, having himself carried it, securely sealed in a seaman's haversack, all the way from Key West. Early on the morning after his arrival he laid it before Secretary Long, who at once accompanied him to the President. Here for the first time the seals on the white canvas bag were broken and the document revealed. The President and his Cabinet spent six hours that day considering the *Maine* report, Commander Marix remaining with them to explain the testimony and conclusions. It was Saturday, and the conference was resumed again Sunday morning. By Monday morning the President had determined to give the report to Congress as it stood, with only a *résumé* of its contents and without comment or recommendation other than that of 'deliberate consideration.' The report was submitted on Monday, March 28, and the next day, when Congress convened, a printed copy lay on each desk in the House and Senate. The bulky volume of three hundred pages, illus-

trated by twenty full-page half-tone engravings of the wreck and by many diagrams made by the order of the board of inquiry, and containing even an index, had been prepared in a night. It was the most remarkable piece of book-making ever accomplished by the Government Printing Office. The manuscript, containing over one hundred thousand words, did not reach the printing office until 6 o'clock in the evening. With it were the materials for the illustrations. At 8 o'clock the next morning the printed volumes were delivered to the Foreign Affairs committees of the House and Senate; 'and the only reason they weren't delivered sooner,' says Captain Brian, the foreman of printing in the establishment, 'was that there was nobody at the Capitol to receive them.'"

THE HIGH PRESSURE BEFORE THE WAR MESSAGE.

"In the fortnight bounded by the submitting of the *Maine* report and of his message President McKinley suffered the keenest pressure of the war crisis. Neither night nor day was he free. Interviews began as soon as he was out of bed, and night after night the light shone from the windows of the Cabinet-room until nearly morning. He had no opportunity for daily exercise, for relaxation of any kind. Under this enormous strain he never lost his calm or his good humor. He sat hour after hour listening to this or that man, gauging the rise and fall of public opinion, but expressing no opinion himself other than that of caution, and waiting, positively refusing to do anything until he knew exactly what the effect of a previous move had been. While the press and the people were calling for war he had but one reply: 'I pray God we may be able to keep peace.' When the result of an action was different from what he desired and tended to the war which he was trying to escape, he took it with perfect philosophy, his only remark being, 'Well, whatever comes, we have done the best we could.' All through the crisis he has been, as one of his companions said, 'a don't-worry man.' The unwavering calm and silence which have characterized Mr. McKinley are due largely to his optimistic temperament. He believes firmly that things will come out right in the end, a belief inspired by his strong religious faith.

"The most perceptible effect of this tremendous strain was his gradual loss of color. He steadily grew paler and thinner, and his eyes seemed more deep-set than ever. For a few nights during the worst of the trouble he lost sleep, but when he resumed his daily exercise, as his physician compelled him to do, he soon was sleeping regularly."

HOW WASHINGTON SUPPLIES THE TROOPS.

THE July *Cosmopolitan* has an article by Rene Bache on "The Government in War Time," telling how the direction and maintenance of the great navy and army now actively engaged is managed by the various bureaus in the national capital. The writer draws a graphic picture of the busy scenes in the Navy and War Departments in these days, and thinks that the work of the War Department bureaus in making contracts has been exceedingly expeditious, considering the time which was allowed. This can easily be believed when one thinks that 100,000 men were completely equipped within six weeks after the declaration of war. Tents had to be purchased, uniforms cut out and stitched, canvas caps and felt hats provided, and tan shoes to complete the picturesque and comfortable costume which had been designed for the climate of Cuba. The uniforms for this purpose are made of gray canvas-like stuff. The cooking outfits are put up in such compact form that the culinary equipment for a company can be carried by two men or on the back of a mule, including ovens, boilers, and all necessary utensils.

One of the most important bureaus in the War Department is that of subsistence, which has charge of everything to do with the feeding of the troops, though it does not furnish forage for the mules and horses, the animals being cared for by the quartermaster's department.

THE FOOD FOR HORSE AND MAN.

"The allowance for each horse, by the way, is 12 pounds of grain and 14 pounds of hay per diem, while for a mule it is 9 pounds of grain and 14 pounds of hay. The quantity of food required for supplying such an army as will soon be placed in the field is enormous. The total weight of rations for 50,000 men for one day is 165,350 pounds. As far as practicable, the troops of the invading army in Cuba are to be furnished with fresh vegetables and fresh meat, communication by transports being constantly kept up between Key West and the island. It is believed that this will tend to keep the men healthy. They will have plenty of vinegar, pickles, and especially onions, for anti-scorbutics. Doubtless, however, they will sometimes be obliged to come down to bacon and hard-tack. The subsistence bureau buys its food supplies at various times, wherever it can get them most conveniently and cheaply. It is establishing immense stores of flour, preserved meats, bacon, pea-meal, coffee, hard-bread, etc., at Tampa and other points. For sale to the officers and soldiers it will offer various luxuries and small neces-

saries, such as canned foods, pipes and tobacco, needles and thread, pens, paper, and ink, soap, towels, and handkerchiefs. The food of a soldier for one day costs eighteen cents, and on that basis a reckoning can be made for an army of 50,000 or 500,000.

THE ORDNANCE BUREAU AND ENGINEERING CORPS.

"One of the busiest bureaus of the War Department is that of ordnance, which controls all matters relating to guns, gun-carriages, and small arms for the troops. It furnishes to each soldier also some minor equipments, including his cartridge-belt, canteen, meat-can, knife, fork, and spoon. General Flagler keeps the operations of this branch of the government machinery very secret—for the reason that it is not desired that the enemy shall know just how many and what kind of guns the United States possesses, though it is a fact well known to everybody that at the outbreak of hostilities our supply of weapons of war was far from adequate.

"The work of the corps of engineers of the army relates chiefly to fortifications. Of late the officers of the corps have been engaged in laying mines to protect harbors and rivers. The great cities of the coast are now pretty adequately fortified with modern high-power guns and mortars, New York especially being defended by some of the most formidable batteries in existence. It is proposed, though not decided, to place a great sixteen-inch gun on Romer Shoal, off New York. The gun is nearly ready, but a foundation for it would have to be built by constructing a coffer dam and filling it with concrete, after which a turret of steel would be superposed as a house for the giant weapon.

SIGNALING WITH BALLOONS AND PIGEONS.

"The Signal Office of the War Department has been engaged in connecting all fortified points along the coast by telegraph and telephone. Meanwhile General Greely is making experiments with balloons, which are expected to prove of service during the war in a variety of ways. Sent up to an elevation of 1,000 or 2,000 feet, a balloon carrying an officer with a telescope, and connected with the earth by a rope and telegraph wire, would make it possible to ascertain the movements of Spanish vessels at a great distance off shore, increasing the ordinary range of vision by twenty miles or more. There has been much discussion as to the best methods of communicating intelligence to the shore from scout vessels cruising at a distance of ten to fifty miles off the coast. For this purpose homing pigeons are likely to be used. This kind of service has the additional recommendation of cheapness."

WHY SPAIN IS IN HER DECADENCE.

IN the July *Atlantic Monthly* Mr. Henry C. Lea writes on the "Decadence of Spain," reviewing the past three centuries of Spanish history, which show a steady downward trend. Mr. Lea traces the causes of this retrograde movement to three main sources—pride, conservatism, and clericalism.

Pride may be a splendid national characteristic, but the Spanish pride was in past achievements, a pride which "could learn nothing and forget nothing. It had varied the centuries of the reconquest with endless civil broils, while it left the arts of peace to subject Moors and Jews, until honest labor was regarded with disdain, and trade and commerce were treated in a barbarous fashion that choked all the springs of national prosperity." Labor is and has been for hundreds of years regarded by the typical Spaniard as a badge of inferiority. Every one has sought to gain a livelihood in the public service or in the Church, instead of earning it by honest work. This made an immense number of useless consumers and wrought a general poverty.

"Derived from this blind and impenetrable pride was the spirit of conservatism which rejected all innovation in a world of incessant change, a world which had been sent by the Reformation spinning on a new track, a world in which modern industrialism was rapidly superseding the obsolescent militarism of Spain. The phrase current throughout Europe in the last century was not without foundation, that Africa began at the Pyrenees. Last, but by no means least, was the clericalism which developed in Spain the ferocious spirit of intolerance; which in 1492 drove out the unhappy Jews and in 1610 the Moriscos, thus striking at the root of the commercial prosperity and industry of the land; and which surrendered the nation to the Inquisition, paralyzing all intellectual movement, crippling trade, and keeping the people so completely in leading-strings that the three generations since the Napoleonic upheaval have not sufficed for their training in the arts of self-government."

Especially have these national weaknesses hampered the colonial work of Spain, and Mr. Lea's brief recapitulation of the management of the Philippines and the Spanish West Indies is what one might argue from the example of Cuba which is now being shown to the world in all its incompetency and venality.

An Englishman's View.

Dr. E. J. Dillon writes in the *Contemporary Review* for June on "The Ruin of Spain." Dr. Dillon's paper shows us what is the net outcome

of planting the complex and delicate machinery of government among a population which is utterly without interest in national politics. Ignorance—sheer, blank ignorance—is, in Dr. Dillon's opinion, at the bottom of the decadence of Spain. Of the population of 18,000,000, 16,000,000, he says, are illiterate. These 16,000,000, however, are much better equipped for their work than the 2,000,000 of so-called literates, of whom 1,500,000 have no interest in politics.

THE REAL RULERS OF SPAIN.

The Spanish machine is run by a minority of 400,000 persons, who manage all the politics and are governed by the desire to obtain government offices. These 400,000 can read and write—they are wonderful rhetoricians—but the governing brain seems to have been left out of their composition. Dr. Dillon says:

"Monumental ignorance of contemporary history and modern languages has left its abiding mark on the ruling classes in Spain, and is to a large extent answerable for the irreparable calamities which have overtaken the brave, patient, and noble-minded people."

Dr. Dillon's stories of the absolute incapacity of the ruling Spaniards to face the facts and to recognize their most obvious duty are almost incredible. Señor Castelar laughed in his face within a few days of the declaration of war on account of the absolute absurdity of his belief that war was possible; and the minister of marine, who predicted that the Americans would be defeated at Manila, accounted for the destruction of the Spanish fleet on the ground that it was impossible to lay down torpedoes in the channel to the harbor, and then announced that some 150 torpedoes were now on their way.

THE REIGN OF THE RHETORICIAN.

Judging from Dr. Dillon's account, it would seem as if half a dozen lunatics chosen at random out of Bedlam would make as good a job of the governing of Spain as those highly respectable rhetoricians who are presiding over the ruin of their country at Madrid. The farcical nature of parliamentary government in Spain is insisted upon by Dr. Dillon, from whose account it would appear that politics have become a mere matter of ins and outs, and that the outs can never obtain possession of office without threat of revolution, when the ins usually decide that turn-about is fair play, and purposely evoke a crisis for the mere sake of admitting their opponents to a share in the sweets of office. On the general election which has just been held Dr. Dillon says:

"The cabinet, and in this particular case Señor Sagasta himself, the apostle of liberal principles,

who had been for years a revolutionist, decided beforehand how large a majority he needed, and this done, he considered how the seats of the minority should be distributed, for a Spanish prime minister, like Napoleon, leaves nothing to chance—when elections are in question. Not only had the adversaries to be counted, but also weighed; for it is not enough that the minister should resolve to allow a certain number of Republicans, of Carlists, of Conservatives, etc., to be returned; he must also determine which of them."

THE SUMMING UP OF THE WHOLE MATTER.

Here is Dr. Dillon's final summing up of the whole gloomy picture :

"The one thing certain is that Spain lacks a statesman. Had she produced even a second-class politician at any time since the restoration, she might have attained enviable prosperity in isolation or, had she preferred it, might have played a considerable part in the politics of Europe. With her undeveloped resources, her respectable fleet, her admirably trained marines, her heroic soldiers, and, above all, her possession of the Philippines, she might have obtained powerful allies on infinitely better terms than Italy received, and would not have collapsed as the Italians have done. But all these natural and acquired advantages were thrown away, and she remained without active friends, without commercial, agricultural, or industrial progress, vegetating from day to day, squabbling over wretched questions of parochial interest, never once utilizing any of her numerous resources, and punishing those among her own sons who would have raised her up, until to-day she stands face to face with ruin.

"In all probability Spain has lost forever not only Cuba, but the Philippines, the possession of which, if properly exploited, might have been made an open sesame to prosperity and political existence. Her credit is destroyed. She is saddled with the Cuban debt as well as her own, and no longer possesses the wherewithal to pay the interest on the coupons. The little industry and trade she had have vanished; cotton mills and flour mills are closed. Her money has lost nearly 50 per cent. of its purchasing power at the very moment when her people are deprived of the means of earning it. Breadstuffs are become scarce, the pinch of hunger is felt throughout the kingdom, dissatisfaction is being manifested in tangible and dangerous forms, and martial law has been appealed to. And at this moment, says *El Nacional*, 'the congress is enjoying the clever jokes of Señor Sagasta about the ministerial crisis and roaring with laughter.'"

Has Spain a Political Future?

Ex-Minister Hannis Taylor, writing in the *North American Review* for June, shows that the two great monarchical parties in Spain—Conservatives and Liberals—have been equally resolute, since the reestablishment of the present dynasty in 1875, in resisting the Republicans on the one hand and the Carlists on the other, and united they are more than a match for both.

"No matter what may happen in the external politics of Spain; no matter if she is stripped of all her colonial possessions; no matter if Romero and Weyler do try to stir up civil war for their own selfish ends—Spain is safe so long as Conservatives and Liberals stand together to maintain social order under the existing constitution.

"No student of politics who has carefully examined existing political conditions in Spain can believe that the time has come for her to depart from monarchical institutions. If that be true why should the present dynasty be overthrown? Why should the wise and devoted Queen Regent be driven out on account of national misfortunes, for which neither she nor her son is in any way responsible? The most priceless possession of Spain to-day is Maria Christina, because she alone bars the door to the renewal of civil war, which at this moment would be destruction to the country. In this dark hour of Spain's history her pure, womanly character shines forth like a light in a dark place, around which all patriotic Spaniards should gather. If monarchical institutions survive, her overthrow means the accession of Don Carlos, who, apart from his utter and admitted worthlessness as a man, represents a set of mediæval ideas and aspirations that would set Spain back into the past at least a century.

"Assuming, then, that Spain will be wise enough to firmly reject Carlism as a panacea for her present ills, would it be to her interest at this time to overthrow the monarchy in order to reestablish the republic? Nothing can be more easily demonstrated than the fact that a form of government, however good in itself, is not necessarily adapted to all nations and to all conditions. France has been struggling for a long time so to emancipate herself from her political past as to make possible a reconciliation between a republican régime and her monarchical and imperialist traditions. But France has been transformed through a revolutionary process to which Spain has so far been a stranger; and in that way France has reached a stage of political development into which Spain is not yet prepared to enter."

Mr. Taylor cites the republican experiment

of 1873-74 and its failure as a warning against future undertakings of the kind. Castelar himself, the Republican leader, has all along admitted that his country was still unfit for a republican form of government.

MANILA AND THE PHILIPPINES.

IN the July *Scribner's* there is an excellent article by Mr. Isaac M. Elliott on "Manila and the Philippines." Mr. Elliott was a former consul at Manila, from 1893 to 1896, and his article is especially valuable for that reason. In his first-hand account of the conditions of Spanish rule in those islands Mr. Elliott has but to add his word to the evidence of every impartial writer to the oppression and incompetency of the Spanish misrule in the Philippines. From the early massacres of the natives in the sixteenth century down to the present era of high taxes and official robbery there has been no release from misgovernment.

THE OPPRESSIVE TAXATION.

"Both natives and foreigners are oppressed by the elaborate system of taxation. Every male pays what is known as a head tax (*cédula personal*), which ranges from 50 cents for a young clerk to \$100 a year for a man engaged in an independent business. Then there is a tax for the privilege of doing business, called the *patente*, which is gauged by the value and amount of the business, and every merchant is compelled to show his books. As an illustration of how high this tax is, I may mention that a drug store with a perfumery department in Manila pays \$1,000 per year.

"Real estate is also subject to a heavy tax. There is a tree-tax of 25 cents for each tree cut down, large or small. In Manila there is a carriage-tax of \$3 for each wheel. A horse is taxed \$4 per year. Then there is an elaborate system of stamp taxes. All legal documents must be written on stamped paper, worth from 5 cents to \$1 per sheet. If a poor man enters into a lawsuit, the smallest case would probably cost him \$4 in stamp taxes, and everybody concerned, up to the judge who hears the case, gets a fee.

"Importers are subject to the additional imposition of petty fines, which are inflicted for all sorts of insignificant offenses. One man was fined \$100 because a cargo of hundreds of cobblestones was one stone short of the number stated in the manifest. In the year ending in 1896 the collector of customs at Manila collected \$82,000 in these petty fines, all of which legally became his personal property.

"Not only are the duties on imports very heavy, but there is a large export duty."

CLERICALISM IN THE PHILIPPINES.

"Spanish misrule and oppression in the islands is exerted also through the Church. The Church really owns a great many of the plantations in fee, on which the planters pay oppressive rents. They also have their own banks engaged in the business of lending money to the planters at usurious rates of interest. To put it in a nutshell, it may be said that the Church lives off the natives and the Spanish officials live off the importers.

"There are 151 holidays observed, including Sundays. These of course reduce enormously the earning capacity of every man. Constant religious processions fill the streets, and images are carried, arrayed in the most costly raiment and covered with jewels. The churches are enormously rich. While I was in Manila one order alone sent a branch in America \$1,500,000. While the Church has absorbed a great deal of money from the people, still it has been the civilizing factor, and has built schools and churches all over the Philippine Islands, where the poor as well as the rich are always welcome.

It is said that the civil authority in many respects is actually subject to the religious, and that a large part of the real estate of the city is in possession of the religious orders. One writer says that 'the personal liberty of the common man may almost be said to be in their keeping.'"

WHO THE PHILIPPINE INSURGENTS ARE.

"With these various forms of oppression by the government and by the Church it is not wonderful that the planters and their dependent plantation workers have risen in revolt. The insurrection in the Philippines, of which we have heard so much, is really a righteous uprising of the producing class against misgovernment. They are the Malays and half-castes, who have been robbed of their rightful share of the returns of their industry and have taken up arms against the government. The savages, or *Negritos*, have nothing to do with this insurrection. All that the United States has to apprehend is that, having been oppressed for so many years, the insurgents may, if let loose, indiscriminately slaughter, loot, and destroy all foreigners. Under a liberal government, however, and if the *Mestizos*, whose part in affairs I shall describe later, are used as intermediaries, they will become a docile, orderly element."

The Native Population.

In the *Contemporary Review* for June Mr. Claes Ericsson, who appears to have been an orchid collector, describes a visit which he paid to the Philippines in the year 1894. A perusal of his paper makes it plain that the natives of these

islands, whether they be Sulus, or Tagals, or Bisayas, are elements in the question of the final disposition of the islands which will have to be reckoned with altogether independently of the fate of the Spaniards. In the island of Palawan, Mr. Ericsson says, the Spaniards have no real authority, and never interfere with the natives except where Chinamen or Europeans are concerned. Again he says, after visiting the other islands: "It would have been almost useless to ask the assistance of the Spaniards. I never met with one who could speak the Sulu language or any of the dialects. As a consequence the supposed rulers know next to nothing of the natives, their customs and wishes. None of the larger islands is really under the domination of Spaniards, whose rule extends little farther than the range of their cannon. Of the native soldiery, not one in a score knows the names of his officers." In the chief town of the Sulu Islands the Sulu were in the habit of taking pot-shots at the Spanish sentries every night, and this, be it observed, was the former state of Spanish rule in the Sulu Islands.

Mr. Ericsson does not give a very cheerful account of the country itself. It swarms with venomous ants, whose bites suppurate like smallpox. Mosquitoes, he says, swarm as they do nowhere else on the earth, while as for alligators, he once counted thirteen moving in a troop along the beach at one time. Worse than all is a virulent fever, from which at one place that he visited half of the Spanish garrison was prostrate. Everywhere the people seemed wretchedly poor, and their habitations the worst hovels that he had ever seen in the far East. The aborigines are little people who are tyrannized over by the Sulus, who appear to spend their time in plundering their neighbors. The Sulus are pirates, who think nothing of murder, and who have never been subdued, and, in Mr. Ericsson's opinion, never will be by Spain.

Strategic Value of the Philippines.

In the *North American Review* for June Mr. Truxton Beale shows how the possession of the Philippine Islands by the United States would operate to protect our trade with the far East. Much of China is yet to be developed, and no great commercial nation is so well situated as the United States to profit from the development. Says Mr. Beale:

"The immensely increased trade that will result from the development of this country should be ours. I believe there is a very pretty academic theory of economics, held by some Americans, that trade lines and routes should run north and south, on account of the greater

variety of climates and, therefore, of products to be exchanged on such lines. It is, nevertheless, a fact that in Europe, America, and Asia, both by land and sea, the heavy trade-lines run east and west. It must also be remembered that in all parts of South America protective barriers will for many years be maintained against the admission of our goods, whereas China is now one of the few of the great countries which have a policy of free trade. Neglect and delay lost us a great part of our share of the South American trade. Europe has secured it. I do not wish to maintain that it is irretrievably lost to us; but, to profit by such an object-lesson, it behooves us to guard our rights of trade in the almost virgin fields of China.

"The Philippine Islands possess for the protection of our trade the three great essentials laid down by Captain Mahan for a strategic point at sea: first, position; second, strength; third, resources. Their position commands the channel of the China Sea—the road to Europe. They would flank the communications between any European power and her colonies on the China coast with whom we were at war. Our cruisers, with them as a coaling station, could always infest the narrower passages of the Malay Archipelago. Their strength, if necessary, could be greatly increased in our hands, and the many straits and passes would make them difficult to blockade effectually if cut off from us by a superior naval force. The third great requirement—resources—would always be insured by their great population (estimated 7,000,000), great size (an area of 114,326 square miles), and unsurpassed fertility. They have, besides, for us one accidental strategic advantage, almost equidistant as they are from both Singapore and Hong Kong, which would always enable us to coöperate with England, our natural ally to defend the trade that Anglo-Saxon enterprise has won. Their importance cannot be overestimated. Germany, for the sake of a strategic position on the sea, gave an empire in Africa for a rock in the German Ocean."

In regard to the prospective development of China as a market for our products, Mr. Beale shows that China is still a sparsely settled country. "It is little more than one-third as thickly populated per square mile as the most sparsely populated part of Europe. It is not one-quarter as thickly populated as the most thickly populated part of Europe. I can confirm the testimony of other travelers as to the great extent of uncultivated land in its interior. Its immense mineral deposits have not yet begun to be developed, and it is said to contain the largest and finest deposit of coal yet anywhere discovered."

THE WEALTH OF CUBA.

PROF. ROBERT T. HILL, of the United States Geological Survey, contributes to the *Forum* for June an important article on "Cuba and Its Value as a Colony."

As an experienced traveler in the West Indies and Central America, Professor Hill has had unusual opportunities to estimate the resources of those tropical countries, and he assigns to Cuba a very high rank among them:

"Cuba is the fairest and most fertile of the tropical lands; and, by its economic development during the four centuries of European occupation, has fully justified the title, 'The Pearl of the Antilles,' first given to it by Columbus. Its capital still deserves the motto of its coat of arms, 'The Key of the New World.' So far as wealth and lay of soil are concerned, Cuba is superior to the rest of the tropical lands, with the possible exception of Porto Rico. It has but a small proportion of untillable declivities and rocky areas, such as are found in New England; no fields of sterile, volcanic *débris*, such as occur in the Central American lands; no arid areas, like those which make up so large a proportion of Mexico and the western half of the United States; no stretches of sterile, sandy lands, like those of Florida and other coastal Southern States. Its proportion of swamp-lands is less than that of the average American seaboard State. The whole island is mantled with rich soils—fertile, calcareous loams, which, under constant humidity, yield in abundance every form of useful vegetation of the tropical and temperate climes. The configuration and geological formations are diversified; and there is a variety of economic resources, both agricultural and mineral, convenient to an extensive littoral, with numerous harbors affording excellent anchorage.

GEOGRAPHY.

"Its essential geographic features are as follows: Area, including 1,200 adjacent cays, 45,000 square miles—slightly less than that of the State of New York—of which 10 per cent. is cultivated, 4 per cent. forest land, and the remainder, for the most part, unreclaimed wilderness. Its length is nearly seven times that of Long Island, and stretches between the longitudes of New York and Cincinnati—a distance of 720 miles. Its width is everywhere less than 100 miles. As regards diversity of relief, its eastern end is mountainous, with summits standing high above the adjacent sea; its middle portion is wide, consisting of gently sloping plains, which form a continuous field of sugar-cane, well drained, high above the sea, and broken here and there by low, forest-clad hills; and its

western third is a picturesque region of mountains, with fertile slopes and valleys, of different structure and lower altitude than those of the east. It is in this last district only that the aromatic tobaccos which have made the island famous are grown. Over the whole is a mantle of tender vegetation, rich in every hue that a flora of more than three thousand species can give, and kept green by mists and gentle rains. Indenting the rock-bound coasts are a hundred pouch-shaped harbors, such as are but rarely found in the other islands and shores of the American Mediterranean, and resembling St. Lucia, for which England gave up the rich islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe, under the treaties of Paris."

POPULATION.

In 1894, the year before the outbreak of the present insurrection, the population of Cuba numbered 1,631,400, or, as Professor Hill remarks, about the same as that of Vermont, Virginia, North Carolina, or Wisconsin. This population had increased from 715,000 in 1825. Sixty-five per cent. of the people were of Spanish descent, the remainder chiefly of African.

"This population averaged about 36 to the square mile—equaling that of Michigan. Contrary to what has been represented, they were as a class neither ignorant nor lazy. The higher classes, as in New England, Pennsylvania, Minnesota, and Louisiana, were gentlemen of education and refinement, skilled in agriculture, and often learned in the arts and professions. Some dwelt in picturesque cities, the largest of which, Havana, with the refinement and gayety of a European capital, had a population numerically equal to that of Washington. Santiago, the eastern city of picturesque villas, was as populous as Atlanta, Nashville, Lowell, or Fall River. There were many other cities each with more than 25,000 inhabitants.

"The remainder lived upon 100,000 ranches, farms, and plantations, valued at \$200,000,000, which, besides supplying the food necessities of the island, with the exception of salt meats and breadstuffs, yielded a surplus, valued at \$90,000,000, for export.

PRODUCTS.

"The wealth of Cuba consisted mainly in enormous products of sugar and tobacco, which constituted 90 per cent. of the total exports. Sugar was grown chiefly in the great central plains of Havana and Matanzas, which formed practically an unbroken field of cane. It was also abundant in the provinces to the east. This product in the fiscal year 1892-93 amounted to 815,894 tons; in 1893-94, 1,054,214 tons; in 1894-95, 1,004,-

264 tons; and in 1895-96, 225,221 tons, all of which, except 30,000 tons per annum, was exported.

"The main seat of tobacco-culture was in the western province, Pinar del Rio, although quantities were grown throughout the island. Much of this was manufactured into cigars, cigarettes, and snuff, giving employment to a large proportion of the population of Havana. The average tobacco crop was estimated at 560,000 bales of 110 pounds each, of which 438,000 bales were exported as leaf and the remainder manufactured in Havana into cigars and cigarettes. In 1897 the total product was reduced to 30,000 bales, or about one-nineteenth of the ordinary crop. The island also yielded Indian corn, coffee, oranges, bananas, pineapples, and other tropical fruits; manioc, rice, and many vegetables; poultry and live-stock."

Cuba's Industrial Opportunities.

In the June number of the *Engineering Magazine* there is an important paper on "Future Industrial Opportunities in Cuba" by Mr. Wilfrid Skaife. It appears from this paper that the most important field of engineering enterprise on the island during the first years after peace is established is likely to be found in the development of transportation facilities. Although Cuba is the oldest settlement in America, the work to be done there is the same as what is required in any new country. Roads and bridges must be built, harbors improved, and docks constructed.

"It is a bitter comment on Spanish rule to point out that common roads for wheeled vehicles hardly exist, except in the near vicinity of the larger towns. What is known as a *camino real* (royal road) is merely a broad strip of country, sometimes fenced by cactus and barbed wire, and passable on horseback or by ox-carts in the dry season. The only time, in fact, in which hauling can be done to any extent is during the long dry season, when the field roads made by the sugar and tobacco estates can be traversed by great two-wheeled carts with four oxen. Two days of rain stops traffic in all directions. The opportunity for the building of common roads is larger, and in most places there is plenty of stone for the purpose.

"The roads cross rivers, etc., by fords which are impassable soon after the rains set in, and although the streams are neither large nor very numerous, the necessity for bridges is great.

"Means of rapid transport exist in the shape of railroads and coasting steamers. The former are fairly well equipped, but are operated only in the daytime, and at a rate of speed which is not what other countries are accustomed to to-day.

They extend through the western provinces of Pinar del Rio, Havana, Matanzas, and Santa Clara, in various directions, and two short lines extend from the north and south coasts into Puerto Principe. A glance at the map will show that the great bulk of the island to the east of Santa Clara is yet untouched. Part of the region is still unexplored.

"On the various sugar estates narrow-gauge roads are in extensive use for the handling of cane, and often form means of communication with the interior in connection with coasting steamers and the broad-gauge roads. These narrow-gauge roads are of much greater extent than might be supposed. The large estate called Constostia, for instance, has more than forty miles of such road, and many have more than twenty miles."

THE NEED OF HARBOR IMPROVEMENTS.

Mr. Skaife shows that harbor improvements are urgently demanded by the normal commercial necessities of the country:

"Cuba is the land of fine harbors. Havana, Matanzas, Santiago, Guantanamo, Cienfuegos, and many other less important spots have splendid harbors, and with the exception of Matanzas, which is wide at the mouth, the entrances are so narrow that inside they resemble inland lakes in appearance and calmness. But there their usefulness ends, for no piers or wharves worthy of the name exist for sea-going vessels.

"Almost all loading and unloading is done by means of lighters. Money indeed is collected for the construction of piers and the dredging of approaches to them, but no work is done, for a very profitable understanding seems to exist between the owners of the lighters and the city governments on these points. Such a condition of things cannot continue for very long. In a prosperous season Cuba ships 1,000,000 tons of sugar alone, and surely, under a half-enlightened government, this is worth an occasional pier."

THE SUGAR INDUSTRY.

Mr. Skaife writes very hopefully of the condition and prospects of the cane-sugar industry in Cuba:

"Cuba, in times of peace, produces about 1,000,000 tons of cane sugar, more than twice as much as Java, the next largest cane-sugar country of the world, and more than five times as much as any other cane-sugar country. Among the beet-sugar countries it is surpassed only by Germany, with 1,500,000 tons, and is equaled only by one other, Austria. It must be regarded as a singular state of affairs that while in all the other West Indian islands, and in fact in

nearly all cane-sugar countries, the industry is in a desperate state, warranting special commissioners to inquire into its illness and its needs, the Cuban industry has gone ahead and prospered under a government which pillaged it steadily, in spite of outrageous railroad freights, bad shipping facilities, the heart-breaking question of European bounties, and discrimination to its detriment by American buyers. The reasons why it has prospered are quite clear. First, the climate and soil are admirably adapted to the needs of the cane; secondly, the Spaniards and Cubans have had the courage to centralize their sugar-houses and go at the business individually on a scale unequalled in any other country on the globe. Old, small places were replaced by powerful factories equipped with the best of modern machinery, narrow-gauge roads were built in all directions, and, in short, great sums were spent, and spent well. The main essentials of competing with the beet-sugar countries were understood and complied with, while in the other islands they are still hesitating.

"It is not within the scope of an article like the present to go into the details of sugar manufacture, but I may briefly point out that, first, great tracts of land are available for sugar-cane which are yet a wilderness, and, secondly, in the cultivation of the cane, both in the preparing of the land and in the planting and harvesting, there is a crying need of machinery. The planting of the cane is nearly all done by hand. There are a few cane-planting machines, but little is known about them. The weeding is done by hand in the majority of instances, and finally the harvesting is done with a knife, and a laborious business it is. It takes 500 men per day to cut the cane alone on a large estate, to say nothing of loading and teaming to the railroad tracks; and the man who can successfully solve the problem of a cane-harvester has a large field to work in."

DRAINAGE AND WATER-SUPPLY.

It is clear that much will have to be done to make the towns and cities of Cuba decently habitable. Yellow fever and various deadly malarial fevers prevail almost exclusively in the towns, and Mr. Skaife, with other intelligent observers, attribute them to the abominable sanitary conditions existing in all Cuban communities of any size. Drainage of the towns will give work to engineers for some time to come.

"Municipal improvements will also give much work in the future to engineers. First among these is the drainage of the towns. The sewers, where any exist, are horrible things, built without the most elementary knowledge, in which the congested filth of years breeds disease and vile

odors. Means of flushing them do not exist, and undoubtedly the more apparently filthy system of dumping house refuse and emptying substitutes for water-closets along the curb-stone is less dangerous to health than such a sewerage system. To this abominable condition of the towns may be traced the prevalence of fevers, small-pox, and dysentery in Cuba. These diseases are uncommon in the isolated estates, and may, the writer firmly believes, be almost entirely eliminated from the island by giving attention in the towns to the most ordinary rules of sanitation.

"Another and equally important necessity in Cuban towns is water. Havana is pretty well supplied, but in most other towns there is very little or none besides the rain-water stored during the wet season in great stone cisterns beneath the houses. It is not that the people in general do not fully appreciate the necessity and luxury of water, but that the executive power is lacking. Taxes are raised for this purpose, and special taxes are sometimes levied to build new works or for coal to keep the pump going, but (and this may serve an instance of many transactions) the money is calmly banked to the credit of the officials, or the coal is bought and resold for their benefit. Water is wanted terribly in the towns during the dry season, and may be easily had. Excellent springs abound in most places, and small rivers of good water are fairly common."

OUR TRADE WITH CUBA.

IN the *National Geographic Magazine* for May there are two important papers on Cuba; one is a comprehensive, general article, by Prof. Robert T. Hill, of the United States Geological Survey, and the other is a survey of the trade of the United States with Cuba, by Mr. John Hyde, statistician of the Department of Agriculture, who shows that commerce between the two countries reached its highest figures in 1892-93, when it amounted to \$102,864,204, the ratio of imports to exports being approximately 10 to 4. The principal article imported is sugar. In 1893-94 the amount was 949,778 long tons, one-half the total consumption of the United States. Next is tobacco, the trade in which reached its maximum in 1894-95, when the amount imported was considerably more than one-third the value of the domestic crop. The only other importation worth mentioning is that of vegetables, amounting in 1892-93 to \$2,500,000.

This total was almost equal to that of our entire Asiatic trade, was nearly four times that of our trade with China or Japan, and thirteen times that of our trade with Russia, while it even ex-

ceeded the grand total of that with Austria-Hungary, Russia, Sweden and Norway, Denmark, Turkey, Greece, Italy, Switzerland, and Portugal combined. Nor does this contrast derive its strength mainly from the largeness of the imports. The exports themselves, products of our own country, were nearly twice as great in point of value as our exports to Italy, over three times as great as those to China and Japan combined, nearly six times as great as those to Sweden and Norway, and over ten times as great as those to Russia; they amounted to almost half as much again as our total exports to Asia, and even exceeded our total exports to South America, exclusive of Brazil.

The principal articles of export are meats, breadstuffs, and manufactured goods, the trade in all of which articles was rapidly assuming very large dimensions at the outbreak of the insurrection. Coal, coke, and oils were also exported in considerable quantities. Indeed, so diversified were our exports that there is no considerable section of the entire country that was not to a greater or less degree benefited by the market for our agricultural, mineral, and manufactured products that existed in Cuba.

Between 1893-94 and 1896-97, however, our imports from Cuba suffered a decline of 75.7 per cent. and our exports to the island a decline of 61.7 per cent., the imports being reduced to less than one-fourth and the exports to little more than one-third of their previous volume. During the first year of the insurrection our trade fell off over \$30,000,000, during the second year a further sum of \$18,000,000, and during the third year a still further sum of \$21,000,000, making a total decline of \$69,000,000 in the annual value of our foreign trade, and of a branch of it, moreover, that is carried almost entirely in American bottoms.

THE WAR THROUGH ENGLISH EYES.

THE editor of the *National Review* characterizes the Spanish-American war as one of marked "regularity," and opines that only the expected will continue to happen.

"It is now clearly seen that the United States completely overmatch Spain in every respect except individual bravery, in which neither nation could be eclipsed by any other. But in resources, ingenuity, numbers, efficiency, thoroughness, and dogged determination to miss no opportunity, there is no comparison between the combatants. Spain never stood an outside chance of serious victory, and she has no prospect of retrieving her position as the war drags on. It may drag on indefinitely, for the American army is only in the

raw-material stage, and until the finished article is ready the administration will not be so foolhardy as to risk preliminary reverses in Cuba where Spain has a large if a wasted force. It is perhaps conceivable that the Federal army, now being fashioned, may never see active service; for if the responsible people in Spain had their way she would now make overtures for peace on the basis that she keeps her fleet, as well as the Philippines, while surrendering Cuba—the future of Puerto Rico to be the subject of negotiation. The advisers of the Queen Regent know that they are engaged on a forlorn hope, from which nothing but calamity can ensue, but they dare not make the first advances for fear of the wrath of the Spanish people, who have been fed with official lies about their army and navy for years past. Should the United States make any peace proposals they would probably be most acceptable to Madrid, and the Spanish politicians would tell their fiery compatriots that America had been so punished in war as to be clamoring for peace, and something might come of it.

"The problem has, however, been tremendously complicated by Commodore Dewey's unforeseen and most brilliant achievement in Manila Bay. The Sagasta government dare not discuss the surrender of the Philippines, at any rate for the present, and so they are endeavoring to excite Europe over these islands. On the other hand, the Americans may ultimately find it as difficult to withdraw their troops from Manila as we have found it to withdraw ours from Egypt. They may say to themselves, 'We cannot allow these islands to relapse into anarchy, especially remembering the glorious event by which we acquired them; it would be immoral to return any colony, once emancipated from Spanish rule, to that hideous dispensation; it would be undignified to hold an auction among the great powers; none could accept them as a gift without the risk of war with others; the only solution is that we make an American Egypt of them.' It will readily be seen how the gallant commodore has shot the problem with difficulties, and while his victory has convinced the Spanish cabinet of the madness of prolonging the war, it has introduced a new element which renders that conviction exceedingly difficult to act on."

The Anglo-Saxon Against the World.

In the *Pall Mall Magazine* for July Mr. H. W. Wilson, the author of "Ironclads in Action," says:

"The Latin and the Anglo-Saxon, so often in conflict in the past, are meeting once more in battle, and issues the most momentous hang upon the conduct of the combatants. The war be-

tween the United States and Spain is a copy on a very reduced scale and with some slight modifications of a war between England and France. It is not my purpose in this article to work out a detailed comparison. I can only suggest it. The great British superiority in battleships and unarmored cruisers as against France is faithfully reproduced in the American navy as against Spain. The great French advantage in armored cruisers finds its parallel in the Spanish navy. Even in torpedo craft the numerical equality which exists between England and France is repeated with some correctness in the two combatant navies. Thus all conditions are favorable to a trial of our race; upon the conduct of Admiral Sampson and Commodore Schley's officers and blue-jackets depends not merely the honor of the United States, but the very existence of the British empire. If the men who are hourly expecting battle in the Caribbean falter, if they show any want of courage or seamanship—which God forbid—then let us be certain that an attack will be delivered upon England by her enemies, who will conclude, and not unjustly, that the military qualities of the Anglo-Saxon have declined under the depressing burden of civilization. And as this is the greatest problem to be settled in the war, so we shall hope and pray that our race may emerge with glory from the test."

PROFESSOR PECK ON WAR JOURNALISM.

THE June *Bookman's* contribution to war literature consists of James L. Ford's review of Grover Flint's book on Cuba, and, more prominently, Prof. Harry Thurston Peck's essay "About the War." Professor Peck notes and approves of the changed tone of the British journals toward American things. "With one or two exceptions," he says, "the English press has been far more than sympathetic; it has been almost cordial in its recognition of the justice of our cause and the inevitableness of our success." Professor Peck names his exceptions, the *St. James's Gazette* and the *Saturday Review*, which have taken the "Matanzas mule" view of the American progress in the war. Concerning our own journalism, Professor Peck objects to having our country judged by certain American newspapers that have, he says, "swaggered and bragged and lied and smeared their rhetoric over every petty incident that has happened since the *Maine* was wrecked." "But as a matter of fact," says the *Bookman's* editor, "these newspapers are, in the first place, very few in number; in the second place, no one takes them at all seriously; and consequently, in the third place, they no more represent our national character than the sutlers

and scavengers of a camp represent our national army. It is not true, in spite of what any one may say, that Americans are boastful, that they are given to much talking, and that they are childish or otherwise silly. That very acute and observant Englishman, Dr. Dale, who visited this country some fifteen or twenty years ago and wrote a book of his impressions, set it down as something which had particularly struck him, that the Americans in general were so extremely reticent as to be almost taciturn; that in traveling he had observed a sort of apparent self-repression in large crowds; and he tried to explain this on a theory of his own as being due to the effects of the military discipline to which so many of our citizens had submitted during the progress of the Civil War. However this may be, it would be obviously absurd to take a few irresponsible newspapers as reflecting our national traits and temperament."

"YELLOW" JOURNALISTS AND OTHERS.

Professor Peck's theory of the attractiveness of "war-extra" papers is that they are bought for the same reason that Mr. Rider Haggard's hair-raising Zulu novels are bought.

"These newspapers, in fact, are rather better reading than the Zulu novels, because their plot, so to speak, is laid right here at home, and the characters introduced are at least real personages, and therefore appeal most strongly to the popular mind. Moreover, the cheapest pirated work of Mr. Rider Haggard would cost at least ten cents, while the newspaper gives quite as much pure fiction and nearly as much pure creepiness for the small sum of one cent."

Professor Peck has a shy, too, at the ultra-conservative journals that have done most to oppose the war. He says:

"Just as the sensational papers have, in recording the incidents of this war, reported many things that were not so, several of the high-class journals have suppressed both incidents and occurrences about whose truth there was no question. In other words, the high and mighty editors, who always speak of journalism with inverted commas and a derisive sneer, have edited their own news columns and have given to their news the particular coloring that suited their own conception of what that news should be—in other words, they have garbled their facts as shamelessly and as inexcusably as have the yellowest of their contemporaries, and in so doing they have been false to their profession and dishonest toward their readers. And this has had some practical results. For instance, the journalist of this type who was bitterly opposed to any war at all has tried to make it appear that the

war was not to be, and he has suppressed or doctored the reports that came to him from Washington in accordance with his editorial views. In this way he has conceivably misled those of his readers who were relying upon his professions of honesty to give them accurate information of what was likely to occur; and they may conceivably have been led to plan their large investments or their business ventures in accordance with the garbled statements which they read in the columns of their favorite sheet."

ADMIRAL CERVERA'S STRATEGY.

VICE-ADMIRAL COLOMB, of the British navy, gives his "First Impressions of the War" in the *National Review* for June. Perhaps the most interesting part of his article is the concluding part, in which he relates his speculations as a naval expert after it became known that Admiral Cervera's squadron had left the Cape Verde Islands:

"My impression was that we had before us one of the most interesting strategical problems that had ever been propounded in naval war, such as could not have been set in sailing days. I was puzzled at Admiral Sampson's advance to Puerto Rico, and quite unable to see why at such a critical time—the fourteenth day since the Spanish squadron had put to sea—he should have wasted his ammunition in an exchange of fire with the Spanish batteries at San Juan.

"It seemed to me almost certain that the Spanish squadron would enter the West Indies between Martinique and St. Lucia—if possible in darkness—and would then steer south of Jamaica and round by the west extreme of Cuba to strike a sudden blow either on anything that might be at Key West or on the inferior squadron blockading Havana, or, perhaps, on each in succession. I calculated that if all the ships were complete with coal on leaving St. Vincent, the first squadron under Admiral Cervera might, if the destroyers were taken in tow, be off Key West or Havana on May 15, might strike the blows above referred to, and then might pass into Havana harbor to complete and be ready to issue again as soon as opportunity offered, or to harass or even to drive off the American squadron attempting to blockade by persistent torpedo attacks at night. If, owing to the inherent difficulties of blockading such a port as Havana, the Spanish squadron should have a certain freedom of exit, it might, supported by the possibility of another squadron arriving from Cadiz, paralyze for an almost indefinite time further operations by the Americans in the way of invasion.

"My first impressions did not altogether mislead me, for the report came on May 13 that Cervera's squadron had touched at Port de France, Martinique. Later news left it very doubtful whether the ships had anchored there or had, as was first stated, coaled there. But it became almost certain that one of the destroyers had put into St. Pierre in the north of Martinique, and that another—said to be disabled—was actually in Port de France. However it may have been, apparently authentic information reached us on the 16th that Cervera's squadron had been, on the 15th, in and off the port of Wilhelmstadt, in the Dutch island of Curaçao."

Vice-Admiral Colomb is unable to understand why Sampson ever left his post off Havana, or why he did not concentrate his whole blockading fleet off that port. Cervera, he thinks, would then have had nothing to do but to pass into some port and await the development of events—precisely what he did, finally, at Santiago.

At the very close of his article Vice-Admiral Colomb ventures the guess that the situation may develop into something quite commonplace, and in a postscript, written just after the news had been received that Cervera had put into Santiago, he remarks that the whole affair seems to have ended in commonplace, but that was before Hobson's exploit.

THE RAM IN MODERN WAR FLEETS.

THE June number of *Cassier's Magazine* is wholly given over to naval matters, and nowhere else in current periodical literature can one find so exhaustive a treatment of the modern battleship and its mechanism. Three of the articles are written by officers in the United States navy, a fourth by an eminent shipbuilder, and all by experts. The number is illustrated with great skill and thoroughness.

The opening article, on "The Ram in Modern War Fleets," is by Mr. William Ledyard Cathcart, and deals with a most important phase of naval warfare. It is said to be the only significant contribution to the literature of the subject that has ever been made. We quote from Mr. Cathcart's account of the battle of Lissa:

"That victory lies less in ships than in the men who handle them, is a historic truth which has had no stronger demonstration than that given by the battle fought off the island of Lissa, in the Adriatic on July 20, 1866, between the Italian and Austrian forces.

"Italy had, for that time, a noble fleet of iron-clads and wooden ships, but while her seamen were courageous they were undisciplined and unskilled. As to their officers, many were incap-

ble and some were laggards in war. The commander-in-chief was Admiral Persano, whose performances in that battle seem like comedy on the high seas, with tragedy for epilogue.

"Opposed to him was the Austrian admiral, Tegetthoff, a most able and energetic officer of long service. The ships of the latter were far inferior, both in type and number; but by unceasing evolutions he had secured a trained *personnel* to fight them; by concentration of fire he hoped to offset superior armament; by chain cables he armored his wooden ships as best he could; and as a last resort he planned to sink his foe by ramming.

"Although Tegetthoff had more than once invited battle, Persano's leadership had been marked for weeks by inaction and delay. This was due to no principle of Fabian strategy, but to the lack of preparation and of resolution which ruled the Italian admiral to the disastrous end. Tegetthoff's probable arrival was known to him as he lay off Lissa, and yet when the Austrian fleet was sighted, that of Italy was split into several groups, parted by miles of sea.

"Signaling his scattered ships to rejoin, Persano first formed his available ironclads, after the ancient galley fashion, into 'line abreast,' which line did not, however, face the enemy's advance. Later he changed its front, and still later reversed his tactics wholly, and formed the 'line ahead' of the old days of sail—an evolution which, on the course steered, presented the broadsides of his ships to the enemy's ramming charge.

"At about half-past 10 in the morning Tegetthoff broke through the ill-formed line, his fleet being disposed in a strong wedge-shape formation, with the ironclads forming the point and sides. The Italian ships were painted gray, the Austrians black. Tegetthoff's command was brief and to the point: 'Ram everything gray.'

"With these orders his fleet charged through and wheeled. And then began an action, or rather a series of smoke-beclouded combats, with the leaderless foe, which was waged hotly for more than four hours and which resulted in the sullen retreat of the Italian fleet, with the loss of two ironclads.

"The attacks by ramming were, perhaps, the most memorable of the many incidents of this fight. Indeed, it has been said that 'Lissa was won by the ram.' The *Re d'Italia*, Persano's deserted flagship, was sunk by this weapon, and with great loss of life. She had been the focus of attack by several Austrians and her rudder had been injured, although her engines were still effective. While thus crippled she was rammed by Tegetthoff in his flagship, the *Ferdinand*

Maximilian, which at full speed struck her, the ram cutting through her seven inches of armor without appreciable resistance and with no damage to itself, excepting to its paint.

"Heeling over to starboard and then rolling heavily to port, the great 6,150-ton ship sank with a swiftness which chilled the blood of those who watched, carrying many of her crew with her, but leaving a remnant to struggle in the sea. Long after, in recalling the sudden horror of all this, Tegetthoff said:

"'If I were to live a thousand years, I would never ram another ship. The effect produced is different from anything else you have in naval warfare. You see the vessel attacked at one moment, and the next 800 men sliding into the sea with the vessel following them. You are left with a perfect void, without any commotion, without any smoke, without anything to make one feel that he was in battle.'"

THE OLD AND THE NEW IN AMERICAN BATTLESHIPS.

IN the June number of *Cassier's Magazine* Mr. Charles H. Cramp compares the *New Ironsides*, a sea-going battleship built for the United States in 1862, with the *Iowa*, completed in 1897. Each of these ships represented the maximum development of its day.

"The *New Ironsides* had one machine, her main engine, involving two steam cylinders. The *Iowa* had seventy-one machines, involving one hundred and thirty-seven steam cylinders.

"The guns of the *New Ironsides* were worked, the ammunition hoisted, the ship steered, the engine started and reversed, her boats handled—in short, all functions of fighting and maneuvering—by hand. The ship was lighted by oil lamps, and ventilated, when at all, by natural air currents. Though, as I said, the most advanced type of her day, she differed from her greatest battleship predecessor, the old three-decker *Pennsylvania*, only in four inches of iron side armor and auxiliary steam propulsion. She carried fewer guns on fewer decks than the *Pennsylvania*, but her battery was, nevertheless, of much greater ballistic power.

"In the *Iowa* it may almost be said that nothing is done by hand except the opening and closing of throttles and pressing of electric buttons. Her guns are loaded, trained, and fired, her ammunition hoisted, her turrets turned, her torpedoes—mechanisms of themselves—are tubed and ejected, the ship steered, her boats hoisted out and in, the interior lighted and ventilated, the great search-lights operated, and even orders transmitted from bridge or conning tower to all

parts by mechanical appliances. Surely no more striking view than this of the development of thirty-five years could be afforded.

"This growth of complexity and elaboration and this almost infinite multiplication of parts and devices have entailed upon the naval architect and constructor demands and difficulties never dreamed of in the earlier days. The staff required to design and construct an *Iowa* is multiplied in number and the complexity of its organization augmented as compared with that required for the design and construction of the *New Ironsides* almost infinitely.

"Similar conditions apply to command and management, so that while the building of a modern battleship entails enormous work and responsibility on the naval architect, constructor, and staff, the effective use of her as a tool in the trade of war presents an equal variety and intricacy of problems to students of the art of naval warfare."

In view of the complex character of the ships themselves and the difficulty and danger of maneuvering them under the most favorable conditions, Mr. Cramp believes that it will be found necessary to have all the battleships in a fleet as nearly alike as possible in size, type, and capacity of performance. In that case all the commanding officers would at least have an equal chance at the start.

PEN-AND-INK PICTURE OF A GREAT SEA-FIGHT.

THE "Fight for the Flag" which the Rev. W. H. Fitchett contributes to the June *Cornhill* is a brilliant account of Lord Howe's victory over the French fleet off Ushant on June 1, 1794. The immediate object of the fight was not attained. The convoy of American ships laden with flour, valued at £5,000,000 and designed for the relief of famine-smitten France, was not intercepted, as Lord Howe had intended, but the French channel fleet which had been sent to save it was broken. How the story is told may be inferred from the following passages:

"On May 28 Howe fell in with the French fleet in wild weather some 400 miles westward of Ushant. . . . The sea ran high; a gale from the southwest. . . . On the tossing floor of that wild sea, scourged with angry southwest gales, for five days these two mighty fleets struck at each other and circled round each other like two hawks contending, with angry claws and ruffled feathers and outstretching beaks, in the sky. . . .

"Morning broke clear and dazzling and full of summer light. It was Sunday. A soft south-

west wind blew; an easy sea was running, and about four miles on the starboard or lee bow stretched the long line of the French fleet—a procession of giants. Howe at last was able to force his adroit antagonist to a fight on something like equal terms. . . . The two fleets just about to close in the fiery wrestle of battle made up a stately spectacle. . . . The French had a decisive, though not an overwhelming, advantage at every point. . . . Howe's plan of action was simple and bold. He spent some time in changing the order of his ships, so as to pit against each French vessel one of reasonably equal strength; then he signaled to his captains to bear down on the enemy. . . . The story of June 1 is a catalogue of duels betwixt individual ships under the rival flags.

"By noon the firing had died down. Eleven of the British ships were more or less dismasted; 12 of the French were in yet more evil case and were drifting helplessly to leeward."

In the end the French drew off, leaving 7 great line-of-battle ships to become British prizes, of which one sank, while the rest were carried in triumph to Portsmouth.

"It was a great and memorable victory. The total loss of the British in killed and wounded was less than 1,200; that of the French was not less than 7,000. The moral effect of the victory, too, was immense. It was the first great naval engagement of the Revolutionary War, and it gave to British fleets a confidence and prestige which powerfully influenced the whole history of that war."

Of the British admiral, who won this victory in his seventieth year, Mr. Fitchett says:

"Howe, the victor, does not stand in the first rank of British admirals. He had no touch of Nelson's electric genius for war or of Jervis' iron will. It may be doubted whether he could have followed an enemy's fleet through tempest and darkness and unknown reefs with the cool and masterful daring with which Hawke followed Conflant into the tangle of reefs off Quiberon. But Howe belongs to the type of men who are the strength of the state. Unselfish, loyal, single-minded, putting duty before glory and the state before self. He was known as 'Black Dick' among his crews, from his dark complexion and hair, and he was loved as few British leaders, by either sea or land, have ever been loved. And the secret of the affection he awakened lay not so much in his patience and gentleness of temper or his keen regard for the health and comfort of his men—it was found in the crystalline simplicity and sincerity of his character, his calm indifference to either gain or fame, and his self-forgetting patriotism."

MAXIM EXPLAINS AËRIAL TORPEDOES.

IN the July *Cosmopolitan* Mr. Hudson Maxim discusses "The Engineering Problems of Aërial Torpedoes." He says that the experiments which have been made demonstrate that half a ton of dynamite will certainly destroy the strongest warship without question, when the mine is so located, within a distance of fifty to seventy-five feet; that the line of least resistance to the escape of the gases of explosion shall lie through the hull of the vessel. This being the case, it is only necessary to get some scheme to project such a quantity of high explosive with practical safety in order to obtain a weapon vastly more destructive than even the high-power rifles of the modern battleship. This is really the problem of the aërial torpedo-gun, and Mr. Maxim says that it is entirely untrue that the problem has been, as was generally supposed, on getting the torpedoes out of the gun gently. He says that No. 1 dynamite can be handled and knocked about without any caution whatever, and that such an explosive can be thrown from ordnance with the same velocity that the ordinary shot and shell are now thrown from the high-power guns, without the least danger from the shock of acceleration in the gun. It is necessary in exploding these torpedoes from the gun to have an absolutely uniform combustion of the powder, and to that end a powder has been invented which consists of grains, each of them perforated by a great many holes. This seems to have attained the end of homogeneous combustion. Then there is the question of the fuse, and the chief feature of the Maxim aërial torpedo which the writer describes is the fuse, which is large enough to set off the dry gun-cotton contained in the charge. This fuse must be a fulminate exploder, and "is the only ticklish point of the whole problem." The peculiarity of the Maxim fuse is that it is not given a sudden rotation by the revolution of the projectile which might fire it by the friction, and it is held in such a position relative to the charge of dry gun-cotton in the torpedo that if it should by any possibility be set off prematurely in the gun its explosion vents or frees itself into an air-chamber. To reduce the danger of exploding the dynamite with the shock of set-back owing to the acceleration, the length of the explosive torpedo is divided, so that there is no greater shock exerted upon the explosive than there would be in a shell one-eighth the size. Mr. Maxim says:

"High explosives, in the form of melinite, picric acid or lyddite, emmensite, and wet gun-cotton, are even now commonly thrown with perfect safety at service velocities in shells presenting a longer column to the shock of accelera-

tion than the column of explosive presented in the aërial torpedo."

Not only is this safety now certain, but the accuracy is even greater, Mr. Maxim tells us, in the firing of these torpedoes than in a high-power gun. Mr. Maxim says that the Zalinski pneumatic gun fired three projectiles in a trial in England one upon another into the pit formed by the first. Mr. Maxim is so confident of the immensely destructive powers of the dynamite gun and of its practical efficiency that he prophesies a rapid revolution in naval construction as a consequence of its use.

"When the value and efficiency of aërial torpedoes come fully to be recognized, the present battleship will become obsolete like the old wooden-walled men-of-war of a century ago. In fact, a modern battleship to-day would be as helpless against aërial torpedoes as would those old wooden hulks against the projectiles thrown from our present high-power guns. Borrowing a comparison from history, we find that when firearms were introduced soldiers no longer wore armor. It became necessary to sacrifice all pretense to protection for speed and mobility. With the introduction of large aërial torpedoes, it will be found that a vessel costing one million pounds sterling and carrying on board seven hundred to eight hundred men, and which can be destroyed by a single torpedo projected into her vicinity, is not a practical fighting machine. It will be found much more practical to divide the men and the expense by replacing battleships with light and swift torpedo cruisers."

THESSALY UNDER THE TURKS.

"A PROVINCE in Pawn" is the title given in the *Pall Mall Magazine* for June by the Hon. T. W. Legh, M.P., to his notes of a tour in Thessaly. He contrasts the gloomy anticipations excited by anti-Turkish rumors with the fairly reassuring reality. He found, to begin with, that "Volo, on the whole, had not come badly out of the occupation; there had been no destruction of property; speculators had taken advantage of the low Turkish tariff to make large importations of goods, which under Greek rule would have paid exorbitant duties of more than 100 per cent." The principal officers selected to govern the Thessalian peasants are "men of a humane and intelligent type." Mr. Legh finds much to admire in the Turkish army, which receives scarcely any pay, is uniformed in rags, is almost without boots, and is exposed to the miserable mountain weather, yet accepts loyally, without grumbling, these incidents of military life. Mr. Legh further says:

"In view of what I have described, it is only fair to point out that since the commencement of the occupation the conduct of the Turkish troops had, at all events until last March, been admirable, and the fantastic tales circulated by the Greek press had, as a rule, no sort of foundation. It is not an exaggeration to say that under similar circumstances the soldiers of no European power would have behaved so well, and the Greek authorities have constantly admitted that they had no serious complaints to make. So far as I could observe, the relations of the soldiers with the population were not unfriendly, and in many instances the privates used to share their scanty rations with the poverty-stricken Christians."

Nevertheless, the writer grants, the condition of Thessaly is necessarily deplorable. He was much impressed by the difference between the appearance and reality of the Turkish and Greek soldiery respectively:

"The Greek soldiers formed the strongest possible contrast to the ragged Turks gazing gloomily at them from the neighboring heights, and from whom I had just parted not without regret. Whereas the latter looked like a mob of poverty-stricken peasants hastily provided with rifles, the former were dressed in clean new uniforms, were fairly well set up, and would not have shown to much disadvantage beside the troops of several of the great powers. How deceptive are appearances! While the men on the one side might be trusted to fight as long as the breath remained in their bodies, it was not perhaps an absolute certainty that the others would fight at all."

THE SOLDIER IN FEMININE FICTION.

MR. HORACE WYNDHAM, writing on "The Soldier of Fiction" in the *United Service Magazine* for June, subjects certain lady novelists to a gentle criticism for their extraordinary pictures and types of military life. In particular, "we have that fine old crusted specimen of military merit, the 'veteran' soldier:"

"Royal warrants and army reserve regulations affect him not, and year after year he continues to adorn his company pay-list and consume his rations (and canteen beer) in his country's cause with equal grace and efficiency. 'The snows of many winters have passed over his head,' but yet 'his figure is as erect and his eye as keen as of yore,' etc. . . . One can scarcely help wondering at times where, in these days of continually deplored 'short service,' these ancient warriors who are thus introduced to us come from. Altogether it is, from a careful examination of the entrancing works of the

majority of the talented observers of camp and barrack episodes, clearly evident that the soldier lives and moves and has his being in a round of perpetual marvels. Altogether, the conditions of a military existence would seem to be little short of idyllic."

MR. BRYCE ON BRITISH-AMERICAN UNION.

THE *July Atlantic Monthly* contains an article from Mr. James Bryce on "The Essential Unity of Britain and America," in which that eminent writer marshals in strong array the reasons which make for Anglo-American union. He sees in the modern world five great nations—England, the United States, France, Russia, and Germany—and four great races. The four European nations are natural rivals, and are, despite superficial alliances, intensely jealous and watchful of each other. England especially is regarded by the other three European powers with intense distrust, though unjustly, Mr. Bryce thinks. In this situation she has looked about for a friend, and the United States seems to be the natural one. Mr. Bryce thinks there is no ground to expect a collision between England and America. Canada will not be seized by us unless the Canadians want to leave the Queen, and the Queen would not want to keep Canada against its desire. The racial type of the American public is practically that of Great Britain. The political institutions of the two countries have come closer in sympathy with each through a number of recent changes in England herself. The vastly increased facilities for travel have brought Americans to know Englishmen personally, and this personal contact Mr. Bryce considers to be of immense importance.

Apart from these less tangible considerations, the interests of the two countries are close together, and do not, in Mr. Bryce's opinion, conflict anywhere in the world. The United States is the great producer of food and cotton; Great Britain is the great consumer of these products.

There are difficulties in the way of an alliance, but they are not, Mr. Bryce thinks, insurmountable; "and if such an alliance were ultimately to be formed, instead of threatening other states it would be a guarantee of peace to the world; for each nation would feel itself bound to justify its policy to the public opinion of the other."

WHAT CAN BE DONE AT ONCE.

"Meantime, there are things which may be done at once to cement and perpetuate the good relations which happily prevail. One is the conclusion of a general arbitration treaty, providing for the amicable settlement of all differences

which may hereafter arise between the nations. Another is the agreement to render services to each other: such, for instance, as giving to a citizen of either nation the right to invoke the good offices of the diplomatic or consular representatives of the other in a place where his own government has no representative; or such as the recognition of a common citizenship, securing to the citizens of each, in the country of the other, certain rights not enjoyed by other foreigners. But the greatest thing of all is that the two peoples should realize, as we may hope they are now coming to do, that whether or no they have a formal alliance, they may have a league of the heart; that the sympathy of each is a tower of strength to the other; that the best and surest foundation of the future policy of each is to be found in relations of frank and cordial friendship with the other."

AN ESTIMATE OF GLADSTONE.

THE July *Atlantic Monthly* begins with an anonymous article on Gladstone which shows unusual discernment and fairness in its effort at a final estimate of the departed statesman. The writer, while admitting that the effort to give home rule to Ireland was an unsurpassed *tour de force*, maintains that in these measures Mr. Gladstone failed; he "set his hand for the first time to an important undertaking of constructive statesmanship; and the verdict must be that he was not equal to it. His life-work has been in reforming statesmanship. In that he has had no peer."

GLADSTONE'S EMINENCE MORAL RATHER THAN INTELLECTUAL.

The *Atlantic* says: "Gladstone's place in English history will be high, and it will be quite apart from any other. He will have no near companionship in his fame. It will be, we think, an eminence assigned to moral qualities more than to intellectual powers. The very sincerity that his enemies have denied him will be counted perhaps the loftiest of his claims. It will be seen that few men of brilliant gifts and great ambitions have sought with his earnestness for the right in what they did, or have stood with his courage by what they found it to be. When he braved the scorn and anger of the Church which has always been more to him than to most of its priests, and challenged by the same act his own past, in order to do justice to the people of another creed, and when he made a righteous peace with the Boers in the face of a storm of English wrath, he rose to a greatness in character that will be measured in future time with clearer eyes than now."

THE MOST ELOQUENT PERSUADER OF HIS TIME.

"The persuasive witchery of his eloquence will be poorly understood by generations to come. It is not found in the word, the phrase, the argument, or the thought. It came for the most part from the spirit that warmed the breath of the man, sounded in his voice, looked out of his eyes. It was personal to him, largely drawn from the moral qualities that seemed to be his greater distinction. No man of his day has had such powerful persuasion as he. It may not be too bold to say that no man of any time has surpassed him in that power. Yet he was never logically strong. His argumentative writings, the most carefully and deliberately composed, show defects of reasoning that are marked. From controversy with an antagonist like Professor Huxley he was sure to come with wounds. Yet his masterful influence over minds of every class is a certain fact. It was once said by somebody that 'Gladstone could persuade anybody to anything—himself included;' and no doubt the epigram carries a significant truth. Fashion a man finely and largely, and make him to be tensely strung in every part of his whole nature, but inject a little, barely a little excess on the moral and emotional side—a little more of feeling, with pressure of conscience behind it, than logical judgment can quite control—and we shall have the persuasive man who is over-persuasive sometimes to himself. On the great scale, as in Gladstone, it produces a rare and splendid power for the kind of work he had to do—a rare and splendid character for the delight and admiration of mankind. It kept him in the strength and beauty of youth till he died. It did more; for he was younger in spirit, younger in the generousities and hospitalities of his mind, when his work was finished than when it began. He, at least, in this questioning nineteenth century, found well-springs of faith in both God and man, and drank of them to the end."

AUSTRALIAN FEDERATION.

THE Australasian *Review of Reviews* for March publishes a series of articles on the federation bill, and strongly recommends it to the suffrages of the electors who voted on the question at the beginning of June. The bill was drawn up by fifty delegates selected from among the ablest representatives of the five colonies. They applied themselves to work with a will, and were thirty-nine days in elaborating the constitution, which contains eight chapters and one hundred and twenty-one clauses. Sir R. Baker, chairman of committees at the conference, is quoted as having declared:

"I wish to tell the people of Australia that if they do not go to the poll and vote for the federal constitution which the convention recommended to them a fatal blow will be struck at the whole movement."

Mr. Fitchett is of opinion that if the federal bill is rejected federation itself will disappear from the political horizon for at least a generation. The electors have to choose between Australia as a tangle of confused, diverging, mutually taxing colonies and Australia a great commonwealth with a common flag, a common policy, common interests, and a strength against the outside world multiplied tenfold by unity. In the following paragraphs are contained the leading features of the scheme upon which the Australian electors are about to vote:

The proposed constitution for Australia is the most democratic of all the federal constitutions of the world.

It is the only constitution with two houses based upon the direct "one-man-one-vote" of the people.

It admits women to the suffrage freely, as the states determine.

Both houses are liable to be dissolved for the verdict of the people on their procedure.

Superiority in money power is securely allotted to the lower house.

The constitution is not cast iron, but is comparatively easily amended, so as to give free play to evolution, even in the federal compact.

Responsible government on the British system is introduced.

A national market which can support national industries is created.

The state treasurers are to receive their present average revenue from customs, so as to assure them and the public that federation implies no new taxes.

Railroads, which are the most potent agents in the development of a colony, are left to be constructed by the state at pleasure.

State railroads can be transferred to the federation by arrangement, if the state be willing.

Preferential railroad rates, such as are levied by New South Wales against Victoria and by Victoria against New South Wales, are to be forbidden. But developmental rates, such as Victoria grants to Gippsland coal, are to be permitted. A judicial body of experts is provided to guard this provision.

State debts can be federalized, so as to lessen the interest charge.

Bounties to industries can be granted either by the Australian parliament or can be given by the local parliament to local enterprises, with the approval of the commonwealth.

The parliament is authorized to legislate for pensions to the aged and the crippled.

The result of the voting on the federal constitution in June was a disappointment to the friends of an Australian commonwealth. In New South Wales, while the measure had a majority it failed to receive the required minimum of votes. In Victoria, Tasmania, and South Australia the majorities were large.

Looking forward to such a contingency the editor of the *Australasian Review of Reviews*, in his April issue, says: "It is probable that in that event the attempt to federate will be given up, and the colonies would be left to drift still further apart. But it is also possible—though not probable—that Victoria, South Australia, and Tasmania—with perhaps West Australia—would federate, and New South Wales might then unite with Queensland. Thus there would be two federations, north and south, with perhaps the ugly possibilities before them, suggested by the divisions, North and South, of the United States!"

FREDERIC HARRISON ON STYLE.

NO one writes more brilliantly than Mr. Frederic Harrison. Every one, therefore, who wishes to write well cannot do better than read, reread, and commit to memory his excellent unreported address at Oxford on "Style in English Prose," which is printed in the *Nineteenth Century* for June. Here are a few of Mr. Harrison's words of wisdom:

"It is a good rule for a young writer to avoid more than twenty or thirty words without a full stop, and not to put more than two commas in each sentence, so that its clauses should not exceed three. This, of course, only in practice.

"Never quote anything that is not apt and new. Those stale citations of well-worn lines give us a cold shudder, as does a pun at a dinner-party. A familiar phrase from poetry or Scripture may pass when imbedded in your sentence. But to show it round as a nugget which you have just picked up is the innocent freshman's snare. Never imitate any writer, however good. All imitation in literature is a mischief, as it is in art.

"Though you must never imitate any writer, you may study the best writers with care. And for study choose those who have founded no school, who have no special and imitable style. Read Pascal and Voltaire in French; Smith, Hume, and Goldsmith in English; and of the moderns, I think, Thackeray and Froude. Ruskin is often too rhapsodical for a student; Meredith too whimsical.

"Read Smith, Defoe, Goldsmith if you care to know pure English. I need hardly tell you to read another and a greater Book. The Book which begot English prose still remains its supreme type. The English Bible is the true school of English literature. It possesses every quality of our language in its highest form—except for scientific precision, practical affairs, and philosophic analysis. It would be ridiculous to write an essay on metaphysics, a political article, or a novel in the language of the Bible. But if you

care to know the best that our literature can give in simple noble prose—mark, learn, and inwardly digest the Holy Scriptures in the English tongue.”

FRAGMENTS FROM CHARLES LAMB.

SOME unpublished letters from the correspondence of Charles Lamb and a friend of his named Robert Lloyd are contributed to *Cornhill* for June by E. V. Lucas. There are several gems of Lamb's own luster.

HOW HE LOVED LONDON.

Here, for example, is his tribute to London of date February 7, 1801:

“Let them talk of lakes and mountains and romantic dales—all that fantastic stuff; give me a ramble by night, in the winter nights in London, the lamps lit, the pavements of the motley Strand crowded with to-and-fro passengers—the shops all brilliant and stuffed with obliging customers and obliged tradesmen; give me the old bookstalls of London—a walk in the bright piazzas of Covent Garden. I defy a man to be dull in such places—perfect Mohammedan paradises upon earth! I have lent out my heart with usury to such scenes from my childhood up, and have cried with fullness of joy at the multitudinous scenes of life in the crowded streets of ever-dear London. I wish you could fix here. I don't know if you quite comprehend my low urban taste; but depend upon it that a man of any feeling will have given his heart and his love in childhood and in boyhood to any scenes where he has been bred: as well to dirty streets (and smoky walls, as they are called) as to green lanes ‘where live nibbling sheep’ and to the everlasting hills and the lakes and ocean. A mob of men is better than a flock of sheep, and a crowd of happy faces jostling into the playhouse at the hour of 6 is a more beautiful spectacle to man than the shepherd driving his ‘silly’ sheep to fold.”

HIS COMPARISON OF HOMER AND MILTON.

On July 3, 1809, Lamb writes to his friend:

“I find Cowper is a favorite with nobody. His injudicious use of the stately slow Miltonic verse in a subject so very different has given a distaste. Nothing can be more unlike to my fancy than Homer and Milton. Homer is perfect prattle, though exquisite prattle, compared to the deep oracular voice of Milton. In Milton you love to stop and saturate your mind with every great image of sentiment; in Homer you want to go on, to have more of his agreeable narrative. Cowper delays you as much, walking over a Bowling Green, as the other does traveling over steep Alpine heights, where the labor enters into and makes a part of the pleasure.”

THE TELEELECTROSCOPE AND ITS INVENTOR.

THE invention of the teleelectroscope has called forth several articles in the reviews on the new instrument and its inventor, Jan Szczepanik. One of the first was contributed by Jacques Boyer to the *Revue des Revues* of April 1; another appeared in the May number of the *Humanitarian*; and in Heft 17 of *Vom Fels zum Meer* we have, in addition to Dr. Kreuzner's article, a sketch of Maximilian Plessner and his theory, by Gustav Klitscher.

Maximilian Plessner, of Berlin, is described as a pioneer in the invention of the teleelectroscope. For some years he has made experiments in the same field as Jan Szczepanik, and has published an account of the results he has obtained. But it has been left to Jan Szczepanik to startle the world with the apparatus by which objects in the natural colors can be seen hundreds of miles away. Thus while we can now hear the voices of our friends at a distance, we shall in the near future be able to see them as well. Of the working of the new instrument the *Humanitarian* writes as follows:

“The basis of the teleelectroscope may be said to be the idea of employing oscillating mirrors. At each end there are two mirrors. The mirrors at the one end reflect the required picture, which being broken up into a number of points, the reflected ray is converted into an electric current and is capable of being conveyed as great a distance as it is possible to extend the wires. The current is then once more transformed into the corresponding ray of light.”

It is expected that the invention will prove a valuable aid in telegraphy:

“Instead of transmitting a long message or dispatch by, say, Morse's system, as soon as it was written out (in long or short hand) it would at once be photographed by means of the teleelectroscope, and immediately be ready if need be for the printer, thus saving much of the time and labor which is bestowed upon the present method.

“Take, for example, the article you are writing. Suppose you wished it to appear in print within a few hours of time in an Edinburgh paper: each page as you wrote it could be photographed at once straight into the compositors' room and set up in type while you were writing the second page.”

Jan Szczepanik is described as a man “with an infinite capacity for taking pains.” Though he is only twenty-five, he has already patented an invention to simplify the manufacture of carpets, tapestry, brocades, silks, cottons, etc. This invention is in use at some textile works in Barmen.

There is not much biography to hand as yet, but we are told that Herr J. Szczepanik was born at Krosno, a village in Poland. Three years at the University of Cracow brought him to the end of his financial resources, and he returned to his native village, where he obtained a post as schoolmaster. It is reported that the authorities of the Paris Exposition of 1900 have paid him a million and a quarter of dollars not to part with his rights in his new apparatus till the exposition is over.

HAS EVANGELICALISM A FUTURE?

MR. RICHARD HEATH contributes to the *Contemporary Review* for May a thoughtful and very suggestive article concerning "The Waning of Evangelicalism." Mr. Heath, as his previous articles have shown, is much fascinated by the social ideals of the Anabaptists of Munster. He is himself a kind of Socialist-Evangelical, and does full justice to the achievements of evangelicalism in the last one hundred years; but he puts forward an array of evidence to justify his belief that evangelicalism has died out. In his paper he gives us not only his reasons for believing this, but also a diagnosis as to its cause and a prediction as to the future. Evangelicalism, he thinks, has failed to listen to the prophets of the latter day. He says:

"Have not many prophetic voices been heard calling the churches to repentance and reality? In the earlier part of this century we had Lamennais and Mazzini, as, in the latter we have Tolstoi. What prophets ever spoke more fearlessly, truthfully, or with more moral authority?"

THE FOLLY OF INTENSE INDIVIDUALISM.

The reason why evangelicals were as a rule deaf to the message of the new gospel, Mr. Heath explains by identifying evangelicalism with extreme individualism. He says:

"Evangelicalism coming into existence under an extremely individualistic and competitive order of things has seen nothing in the gospel but a plan of individual salvation. It has had but little idea of the common salvation, of the unity of mankind in Christ, and of the mutual responsibility of all men.

"That a power had come into the world which would curb all aims not in harmony with the common good, which in the interests of the many was not afraid to pull down the mighty from their seats—this was by no means agreeable to men whose sole idea of life was to struggle upward, let the rest of mankind sink as they might. Now, it is with this class that evangel-

icalism has had peculiar influence, and it has been the support of this class which has enabled it to do such great works. But this dependence has made it shut its eyes more closely than ever to the great social revolution which, commencing in the last century, is still going on. Evangelicalism has denied God in history, has refused to recognize his providential government of the world, or if it has not formally taken up this infidel position, it has treated the question with a true English contempt for consistency. God was in the Reformation, but not in the Revolution. He came to judge Christendom in the sixteenth century, but not in the eighteenth. It is this indifference to truth, when truth interferes with prejudice and interest, that has done so much harm to evangelicalism.

FAILURE TO DISCERN THE SIGNS OF THE TIMES.

"Evangelicalism has never understood contemporary history, never comprehended such events as the French Revolution and the American Civil War. Had it done so, it would have proclaimed them acts of divine justice on behalf of the oppressed classes in Europe and America, and would have felt that a similar judgment impended over a Christendom in which the competitive commercial system, in combination with colossal military armaments, has crushed out the souls of the European peoples. It would have understood the great truth which, during the century now closing, so many things have been working together to compel men to recognize—the unity and solidarity of humanity. In its light evangelicalism would have again looked at its message, its faith increasing as it saw that message grow larger and deeper and infinitely more glorious. For it is exactly this idea of the oneness of men and their mutual responsibility which is needed to redeem the creed of evangelicalism from the charge of injustice, inhumanity, and unreasonableness."

A REJUVENATED CHRISTIANITY.

But although Mr. Heath frames so severe an indictment against evangelicalism, he is not blind to the signs which indicate that the old gospel is being born anew. He says:

"Efforts to do away with sectarianism and to repair the broken unity of the Church, efforts to find expression in the Church for the mind and soul of the coming generation, efforts to live the life which Christ himself enjoined on his disciples, efforts to share in the sufferings of the miserable, sunk in the sordid life of the slums, and to lift them out of it—such efforts and many similar ones indicate the coming of a new evangelicalism. The waning may thus precurse a new waxing."

NEWSPAPER WORK IN THE UNITED STATES.

A CONTRIBUTOR who is described as a newspaper writer and editorial manager of twenty-five years' experience writes in the *May Forum* on "Journalism as a Profession."

This writer promises in his opening paragraph to produce data in support of the assertion that journalism, meaning thereby the work of collecting news, writing editorials, and furnishing correspondence for daily newspapers, as a permanent occupation will not yield an income sufficient for the needs of an educated man.

It is assumed that the newspaper writer must go to a city of more than 100,000 population in order to get compensation above a bare living. The line is drawn arbitrarily, and such cities as Albany, N. Y., Atlanta, Ga., Springfield, Mass., and Los Angeles, Cal., are excluded from consideration, while Jersey City, a place whose newspapers are comparatively unimportant, is included. In the places of more than 100,000 population only 178 daily newspapers in the English language are published, and these constitute "practically the entire American market in which the professional writer may offer his newspaper service either for a salary or 'on space.'"

THE NEWS WRITER'S MARKET.

The prevailing prices in this market are summarized as follows:

"Exclusive of New York, Brooklyn, Boston, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Chicago, and possibly San Francisco, the conditions and rewards of service in the writing departments of daily newspapers are about the same. Trustworthy figures have been collected showing the approximate expenses of the home editorial staffs of seven-day papers—i. e., papers which issue Sunday editions—in the cities of Baltimore, Cleveland, Detroit, New Orleans, Omaha, Washington, Pittsburg (including Allegheny City), Minneapolis, Cincinnati, St. Paul, and Milwaukee. Inquiries made in these eleven cities show that the largest average annual salary paid in any one is \$1,121.16; the lowest, \$914.16. The annual salary average of editors and reporters for all the cities is \$1,109. The largest weekly salary average in any one city is \$27.22; the lowest, \$17.58. The greatest number of editorial employees on any one paper is 37; the smallest, 15. The largest weekly payroll is \$903; the smallest, \$318. These statistics apply exclusively to the staffs of writers—editors and reporters—in the home offices, and do not include regular or casual correspondents.

"The better and more experienced editors, of course, receive salaries much above the average; but many writers are compensated at a figure far

below it. Managing editors in some of these eleven cities are paid \$60 weekly; in others, \$40. It is possible that some may be paid as much as \$80; but there is room for doubt. Editorial writers get from \$25 to \$50 a week; experienced reporters from \$20 to \$30; and reporters wholly or partly inexperienced from \$6 to \$15. On the newspapers of minor cities the inexperienced writers—young men who are passing through the various stages of their newspaper education—largely outnumber those who may be termed trained. The number of the latter is kept down to the lowest possible limit, because they are expensive luxuries. The managing editor, a couple of editorial writers, the news editor or night editor, the exchange editor, the Sunday editor—so called because he looks after the special matter for the Sunday issue—the city editor, the chief telegraph editor, the financial editor, and two or three experienced reporters usually constitute the quota of well-trained men."

AN ILL-PAID PROFESSION.

In the newspaper office of average prosperity, then, the managing editor might receive \$50 a week, the first editorial writer \$40, the second editorial writer \$30, the news editor \$35, the exchange editor \$35, the "Sunday editor" \$35, the telegraph editor \$25, the financial editor \$25, and the reporters \$25 each. When compared with the rewards offered to capable and industrious lawyers and doctors in the same cities, these salaries seem small indeed. Clergymen are considered the worst-paid of the learned professions, but it is probably true, as this writer affirms, that the high-class men of the pulpit are better paid than the high-class men of the press.

"The reader will now understand the comparative value of newspaper-writing outside the great cities—that the average money consideration for service, as shown by the foregoing statistics, is not more than \$1,200 a year, and that the highest salary does not equal the income of a capable country lawyer or doctor. It is in New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston, Brooklyn, St. Louis, and possibly San Francisco—and in these alone—that men trained to news-gathering and writing and the executive and other details of newspaper work and management win big salary prizes; but even here the great salaries are few—salaries of \$10,000 or \$15,000 to editors who have no share in the profits of the publications by which they are employed. Editorial writers command from \$2,500 to \$5,000; considerably more approximating the smaller than the larger sum. New York pays well comparatively for good reporting, which explains why competent men are continually drifting to that

city from all parts of the Union. Many assignment reporters get salaries of from \$40 to \$60 a week; copy editors from \$35 to \$50; but hundreds of writers earn only from \$20 to \$30 a week and even less."

"THE BUBBLE REPUTATION."

The writer seems determined to leave the young aspirant for journalistic honors no ground of hope in any direction.

"Does the novice dream of reputation also in the fields of journalism? It is a dream indeed! He will too often find his hopes ruthlessly crushed between the upper millstone of a ceaseless grind of nerve-wearing work and the nether millstone of fear, on the part of his employer, that the acquisition of some measure of popularity, the enhancement of professional reputation in the public esteem, may involve an increase in the office pay-roll. There is no hope of literary laurels for the writer who sticks to the ranks of newspaper workers, because, first, newspapers have little use for writings of a distinctively literary character, and, second, the training that fits a writer for journalism largely unfits him for literature, and *vice versa*. There is a fellow-feeling between the author and the newspaper man, but no real professional kinship. Dickens, Kipling, Howells, Villard, Hawthorne, Stevenson, Hay, Blaine, Saxe, Whitman, Harte, Twain, Taylor, Murray, Barrie, and less brilliant luminaries abandoned the profitless moiling of news and editorial service to harvest fame and fortune in other fields, most of them as authors—writers of books. Richard Harding Davis, E. W. Townsend, and Opie Read are following in their footsteps. Many more are doubtless destined to some degree of effulgence in the literary galaxy.

"The book writer looks for a profitable following among readers who number millions. If he succeeds, all is well with him. The newspaper writer is the hired and often servile dependent of a journal whose existence rests wholly upon the patronage of the circumscribed region wherein it circulates; and the amount of his salary depends no more on his own capacity than on the ability of his employer to induce people to buy the paper and business men to advertise in it. The book maker is in business for himself; the other is not. The right to write a book for money—a book, of course, with a proper motive—is just as clear as the right of a merchant to sell honest goods for money. The book may not always be 'literature'; but if it has the selling quality and lifts the author above want, it certainly works some good to him and to the world, and therefore needs no further justification.

"There are few celebrated editors. They may be counted on one's ten fingers. The reputations which some of them enjoy are due as much to their positions as publishers as to their ability as editors or writers—possibly even more."

SCOTCH HUMOR.

IN the *May Arena* the Rev. Andrew D. Cross illustrates the "Humorous Characteristics of the Scot" by means of a series of witty anecdotes.

An old story about Dr. Johnson seems to show that Englishmen are inappreciative:

"When that uncultured cynic, Johnson, was dining with a bright Scotswoman (and the adjective is almost a superfluity), he was politely asked how he liked the haggis. 'Good enough food for hogs,' was his ungracious response. 'Do let me help you to some more, Mr. Johnson,' sweetly insinuated the hostess. Dr. Johnson never could understand Scottish humor."

Sydney Smith declared that it would take a surgical operation to inoculate a joke into a Scotsman's head, and Max O'Rell says that Smith probably meant an English joke.

"Scotsmen are sometimes very funny when they joke, but some of these grim old sons of the Covenant are even more humorous when they pray. In an old volume, published in Edinburgh in 1693, entitled 'Scottish Presbyterian Eloquence,' is to be found the following notice: 'Mr. Areskin prayed in the Iron Kirk last year, 'Lord, have mercy on all fools an' idiots, and particular on the magistrates of Edinburgh.'"

"The humor of Scotland is by no means confined to the pulpit, though it finds its ablest exponents there. That canny Scot had a very keen sense of the fitness of things who, when asked if he had ever been in a court of justice, replied, 'No, but I've been before the judge.' The ever-apparent tendency to tangle up sanctimoniousness with business was well illustrated by the shopkeeper who advertised, 'We trust in the Lord; all others strictly cash.'

"It would appear from the illustrations cited that Caledonia has a dry humor, with qualities which are peculiar to it; and the surgical operation referred to by the witty Englishman seems to have been performed at a peculiarly early date, and the law of heredity proved supernaturally true.

"The bright *mot* of Campbell, the poet, has no especial Scottish characteristic, but having been perpetrated by a renowned Scotsman, with it we may appropriately conclude. Campbell, it may be remembered, is the author of 'Hohenlinden,' which begins:

"On Linden when the sun was low,
All bloodless lay the untrodden snow,
And dark as winter was the flow
Of Isar rolling rapidly."

"The poet attended an evening party on one occasion, and when the gentlemen were securing their hats and coats previous to departure, suddenly the lights went out. In the confusion which followed some one pushed vigorously against Campbell, knocking him downstairs. The offending gentleman at once said, 'Beg pardon! Who's there?' and a voice replied from the depth below, 'It is I, sir, rolling rapidly.'"

STARVATION AND SUICIDE IN PARIS.

IT is often asserted that France has no poor; but this is a very hasty generalization, based on the fact that she is really an immensely rich country and that she contrives to get along without any poor law or workhouse system.

M. Louis Proal's striking article in the first May number of the *Revue des Deux Mondes* on "Suicides from Want in Paris" shows pretty clearly that the French will soon have to face the problem of pauperism. The misery which M. Proal describes is not, however, confined to Paris. In Provence, a peasant woman who wishes to convey the fact that she has lost a child will say: "The good God has helped me." But no doubt extreme poverty is more concentrated in Paris than in other parts of France. To do them justice, the French working classes are extremely industrious—and it is the prevalence of suicide among people known to be genuinely hard-working which constitutes a social phenomenon of the first importance. M. Proal gives some pathetic examples of letters and notes left behind them by poor people who have sought in death an end to all their sufferings. "Hell is on the earth: Paradise is under the earth," wrote a young man out of work. "I have been wandering about since the morning," scribbles a father to his son, "and I find no situation. . . . I am not certain whether it is the river or a rope which will serve my turn. . . . This evening, when all the world will have gone to the Bois, I think of doing the job for myself." Sure enough, he was found hanging in the Bois de Boulogne.

It is a curious fact that almost all these poor wretches, before doing the fatal deed, write to the commissary of police. One, a workman of forty-two, wrote to that official: "I know that one ought not to put an end to one's life; I ought then to tell you the motive which makes me kill myself. I commit suicide because I see want coming. I do not want to beg anything of anybody. I only want work." M. Proal puts in a plea for

the Paris *cocher*. From the number of suicides occurring in this much-abused class, it would seem that their bad language and their extortionate practices do not avail them much. Still more suicides, however, occur among the smaller fry of commerce—agents, bagmen, and commercial travelers of all kinds. The state-educated children of artisans and peasants have such a horror of manual labor that they will often kill themselves to avoid it. There are also cases where the children are not allowed by their ambitious parents to remain in their natural state of life as artisans, and consequently commit suicide in sheer despair. The enormously overcrowded teaching profession, too, furnishes many victims to the yearly tale of suicides, higher certificates and diplomas unfortunately proving no protection against privation and even the worse fate of moral downfall.

By way of remedy, or at any rate by way of palliative, M. Proal recommends the establishment in Paris of a work analogous to that founded at Lyons by the Abbé Rambaud for the accommodation of old workers. This solves the great and ever-pressing problem of rent, which weighs so heavily on the worker.

THE NATIONS AND THEIR AGED POOR.

"HOW the Poor Old Folk Fare in Other Lands" is the title of a well-informed and well-written paper by Miss Edith Sellers in the April *Temple Bar*.

She begins with a graphic picture of a French *hospice* for the old folk, a veritable paradise of comfort, freedom, and country charm. It is in many respects, she says, "an ideal refuge for old folk. Not only are all who live there well housed, well fed, and well cared for, but everything that can be done is done to lighten their burden and render their last days peaceful and happy," without vestige of pauper taint. "All French subjects who are seventy or more years of age have a right to claim admission to a *hospice*." This sounds very delightful until we go on to read that there is only *hospice* accommodation for one out of every four. The three have to wait their turn, which may never come, on a miserable pittance, of three francs a week perhaps, from the "*Assistance Publique*." The French, in fact, "let their kindness get the better of their common sense and try to do too much."

GERMANY STRICTLY JUST AND HARD.

The Germans, on the other hand, proceed on the principle of strict justice. The aged poor are given just enough to keep soul and body together—say two shillings a week. Even in

homes provided for them they are tended as machines, not as human beings. One reason for this severity is that Bismarck's old-age-pension scheme has led to the richer classes considering that they are now freed from all responsibility toward the poor. "The net result of the German old-age-pension system is that a man must live as best he can until he is seventy, and then content himself for the rest of his life with an allowance of some two shillings a week if he belongs to the first class, and with a trifle more if to the second, third, or fourth class."

THE INDUSTRIAL VETERAN'S PARADISE.

And this is how the Austrian Government provides for its superannuated subjects :

"Able-bodied paupers are treated with greater severity in Austria than in any other country, and the old and feeble with greater consideration. And this state of things is the direct result of the efforts of the Emperor Josef II., who as a social reformer was more than a hundred years in advance of his age. He was the first to insist that as, owing to the scantiness of their earnings, the majority of the workers cannot make a provision for their old age, the state or the commune is bound to make one for them ; and he decreed that this provision should be regarded neither as pauper relief nor yet as charity, but as wages for past services, just as an old soldier's pension is regarded, in fact. The ordinances the Emperor drew up on this subject are still in force, and no Austrian official would ever venture to class as paupers the old people whom the nation supports. They are its industrial veterans, and as such, when their working days are over, are sent to live in *Versorgungshäuser* ; or if there be no room for them there, weekly allowances are made to them until there is.

"These Austrian *Versorgungshäuser* are the most charming old-age retreats in all Europe. They are beautiful buildings for the most part, standing in large gardens, and the rooms are comfortably furnished and well warmed and lighted. What is most attractive about them are the proofs to be met with at every turn of the infinite trouble that is taken to make the inmates feel that these houses are their own homes, where they have a right to be, not where they are on sufferance. They may receive their friends every day if they choose, and even go out and pay them visits, and they are allowed a voice in deciding the fashion and color of their own clothes. Then—and this is a source of supreme satisfaction

—they may choose their own dinners, and even indulge in tiny glasses of wine and cups of coffee. For attached to some of these homes are restaurants, worked of course under the supervision of the officials, and here the old people, who are given fivepence a day for the purpose, buy their own food and pay for it."

DENMARK.

Denmark makes a clear distinction between the thriftless and the respectable poor. The former are treated like English paupers ; the latter never cross a workhouse threshold. If destitute they receive a pension ranging from fourteen to eighty-four dollars a year, or if too feeble to shift for themselves they are placed in an old-age home.

HOLLAND.

Holland has a bad name in orthodox circles for rationalism, but seems to understand St. James' definition of "pure religion and undefiled" better than more dogmatic lands. The aged poor are in nearly all cases provided for by the religious communities to which they belong. "What creedless ones there are are supported by the communal or municipal authorities." But "the Dutch are an essentially church-going race."

A PRIMITIVE DEVICE.

Iceland supplies the most beautiful and most hospitable way of entertaining the aged poor. Each ratepayer, at the request of the local authorities, receives one or more of them as guests, on a visit, the length of which depends on his means. Neglect or ill-treatment is all but unheard of, and would be sure to rouse the wrath of the whole community. In Norway, Sweden, and Switzerland the aged poor provide for themselves, as a rule, out of lifelong savings.

THE UNITED STATES.

Miss Sellers' judgment on American methods of dealing with the aged poor is emphatic and severe. She declares that "in North America, so far as the state is concerned, aged paupers are treated some degrees more harshly than criminals." She selects the Blackwell's Island almshouses of New York City as typical institutions of their kind, and shows that the cost of support per head is less than half the cost in London, although provisions are higher in New York than in London.

THE PERIODICALS REVIEWED.

THE CENTURY MAGAZINE.

THE *Century* recognizes the taste for war subjects in its articles on "Confederate Commerce Destroyers," written by Col. John Taylor Wood, commander of the Confederate steamer *Tallahassee*, which made a wonderfully picturesque dash into the very waters of New York, and G. Terry Sinclair, formerly a midshipman on the Confederate cruiser *Florida*. Both articles are very well written and make vivid pictures of two picturesque events in the naval history of the Civil War.

Jeremiah Curtin contributes a short sketch of Sienkiewicz, under the title "The Author of 'Quo Vadis,'" whom Mr. Curtin met in Switzerland after he had learned to read the Polish author by becoming translator of his best-known works. Sienkiewicz has studied many literatures besides the Polish, and was an avaricious novel-reader in boyhood. Mr. Curtin gives an interesting account of a conversation with the great author, in which he expresses his opinion of English literature. He preferred Dickens among the English novelists, and thinks David Copperfield was nearer genuine human nature than any other production of the century. Shakespeare he studies apart from all other authors, saying that his knowledge of man seemed almost superhuman. Scott he admires for his power of narration, but thinks there was not much in his novels that was true. Thackeray, too, he considered great, but under the enthrallment of society to a certain extent. Tennyson used beautiful language, but he was artificial. Sienkiewicz considers Kipling as the only modern writer of short stories among Englishmen, and calls "Trilby" fine, but fantastic.

Mr. James Bryce has a philosophical essay on "Equality," which has been enlarged for the *Century's* purposes from an address delivered to the Municipal Society of Glasgow. Mr. Bryce is not one of those who decides off-hand that the trend of the world toward democracy promises a glorious success. The political equality which the world has now achieved may, he thinks, bear wholesome fruit, and the important and fascinating question is how it shall be used to better the condition of the masses without attempting to override the laws of human nature. While these laws are just as sovereign as those of chemistry and physics, there is a difference, in that certain elements of human nature change and are susceptible of improvement by instruction and experience. The chief interest, says Mr. Bryce, of politics as an experimental science lies in discovering by what means this improvement can be effected and how far it may go.

Another article of importance in this number of the *Century* is "Ten Years of Kaiser Wilhelm," by Poulteney Bigelow, who gave in the same magazine in the year 1891 what was probably the first authentic account of the Emperor's character. His conclusion after reviewing the ten years of William II.'s reign is that "we can readily forgive much that has been bad in detail for the sake of the incomparably greater amount of good reaped by his people and the world at large." After enumerating the Emperor's achievements, Mr. Bigelow reiterates his opinion that "he has a Yankee head on his shoulders."

HARPER'S MAGAZINE.

THE July *Harper's* shows that Mr. Alden, almost alone among the magazine editors of America, has refrained from any attempt at war journalism. Not a single feature in the full list of contents of this number shows any relation to the Spanish war. This fact does not detract at all from the usual readableness of *Harper's*.

Of the more casual contributions, Mr. Frederic Remington's delicious little story, "Sun-Down Leflare's Money," is one of the most charming bits of native Indian cussedness, told in inimitably funny dialect, that has appeared for a long time. Mr. Remington, of course, gives some illustrations.

Another contribution, casual in character, yet possessing a special charm and distinction, is the account by Martha McCulloch-Williams of "A Man and His Knife," being passages from the life of the famous James Bowie. Mrs. McCulloch-Williams is peculiarly in sympathy with the romance of this subject, and she endows the history of the magnificent desperado with a life and vividness that are unusual in magazine articles.

The elaborate article of the number is Stephen Bonsal's account of "Eastern Siberia," illustrated by the famous magazine artists and from photographs.

Charles Moreau Harger writes on the "New Era in the Middle West," and Mr. George W. Smalley contributes some "Notes on Journalism." Mr. Smalley thinks that the influence of the press in America has decidedly declined within the last decade, on account of the many papers that have joined the class "we all agree to call sensational."

SCRIBNER'S MAGAZINE.

THE July *Scribner's* contains an article on "Manila and the Philippines" by former Consul Isaac M. Elliott, which we have reviewed among the "Leading Articles of the Month."

The number opens with Mr. Richard Harding Davis' account of "The First Shot of the War." This first shot, according to Mr. Davis, was that fired across the bows of the *Buena Ventura*, the first prize of the war, by the gunboat *Nashville*. Mr. Davis illustrates his report of the opening day of the war with snap-shots by his own camera on the flagship *New York*, where he was stationed. Mr. Davis says that the best-known American in Cuba, better known even than General Lee, is Sylvester Scovel, the newspaper correspondent.

Capt. A. T. Mahan contributes a first paper on "John Paul Jones in the Revolution," with handsome full-page drawings of the engagements in which John Paul was concerned by Carlton Chapman.

The series of articles on undergraduate life at the various women's colleges is continued in Alice K. Fallows' account of "Undergraduate Life at Smith College." As with the other chapters of this series, the illustrations are a feature, this time by Walter Appleton Clark.

There are more chapters of "The Workers," of Mr. Thomas Nelson Page's novel, "Red Rock," and the usual departments.

MCCLURE'S MAGAZINE.

THE July *McClure's* opens with an article on "President McKinley in War Times," which we have selected to be quoted from in the "Leading Articles of the Month." There are many other contributions inspired by the war, the most notable of which is Mr. Stephen Bonsal's account of "The First Fight on Cuban Soil," being the story of the landing of the expedition under Colonel Dorst, whom the *Gusste* took to Arbolitos Point.

"The Fastest Vessel Afloat" is the title of Mr. Cleveland Moffett's dashing description of the *Turbintia*, the little boat built by Mr. Parsons, of Newcastle, with a new arrangement of motive power on the turbine principle, which allows it to reach the astonishing speed of 35 knots an hour. Mr. Moffett took a trip on the *Turbintia* while she was being forced up to her maximum speed of 40 miles, and he bears witness that she "runs as smoothly as a bicycle on asphalt," and the deck is like a billiard table. The best record for any other vessel of her size is 24 knots an hour. The *Turbintia* is long and narrow, 109 feet in length, and while her displacement is only 44½ tons, she has engines of 2,100 horse-power, or four times as much as any vessel of her size ever had before. Not only is this enormous speed obtained, but owing to the turbine principle, by which steam is blown directly upon the shaft, turning it by its direct application, there is a marvelous absence of vibration. Mr. Moffett questioned Mr. Parsons, the inventor of the *Turbintia*, about the possibilities of the turbine principle for ocean traffic. The *Turbintia* can only run about 100 knots at full speed, as she cannot carry but seven tons of coal. There would be no difficulty in building an Atlantic liner that could manage 50 knots, or about 58 miles an hour, if it were possible to carry enough coal, for such a boat would burn about 3,000 tons a day and would require a steamer about five times as long as the *Great Eastern* to accommodate such a quantity of fuel. But Mr. Parsons does believe a liner of 15,000 tons can be built with engines like the *Turbintia's* capable of running between Sandy Hook and Roche's Point in three days. She will burn nearly three times as much coal per day as the present models—say 1,500 tons. She will save weight and space in boiler and engine room, which will enable her to carry about the same number of passengers and the same cargo as the 15,000-ton steamer carries to-day, and the great point would be that she would have no vibrations at all from the machinery.

Maj.-Gen. Nelson A. Miles has another article in the series descriptive of his travels in Europe, "The Military and Naval Glory of England," in which he describes the display of fighting facilities seen at the Queen's jubilee last June.

F. W. Hewes writes on "The Fighting Strength of the United States," with an ingenious diagram comparing our military efficiency with that of other countries. He finds our potential strength rather greater than that of any other nation in the world, and works it out that in an alliance with England and in a contest that depended on no momentary advantages, but on absolute strength and resources, the United States would have nothing to fear from the most formidable European combination.

Henry Norman, the well-known English traveler, author, and journalist, entitles his contribution "America Revisited in War Time"—not a very good title, as

his discerning essay is chiefly composed of notes on the present external problems confronting the United States. One result of a possible Philippine annexation he sees standing in certain and clear relief. If America annexes the Philippines a distinct and formal understanding with England is imperative for her and certain.

THE COSMOPOLITAN MAGAZINE.

THE July *Cosmopolitan* has a number of articles relating to the war and the mechanical problems involved in it, and we quote in another department from "The Government in War Time," by René Bache, and from Mr. Hudson Maxim's article on "The Engineering Problem of Aërial Torpedoes."

Mr. Irving Bacheller, writing under the title "With the Waiting Army," tells something of the personality of Maj.-Gen. William R. Shafter, in command of the army of invasion. "He has an amiable, well-rounded front, and weighs over three hundred pounds. He has risen from the ranks, and one cannot help thinking he must have strained the ladder at every step. His hair and mustache are gray, his face is forceful and determined. His expression gets not a little of its character from the aquiline turn of his nose. He has mastered the art of making friends. He absorbs your confidence at a glance, and it is easy to believe in him. Long ago he was a popular hero in Texas, where to this day people refer to him as Pecos Bill—and in that country they never lengthen their love of a man until they have shortened his name."

Theodore Dreiser describes the "Scenes in a Cartridge Factory," which he saw in the Union Metallic Cartridge Company's works at Bridgeport, Conn.—a concern that supplies many millions of cartridges for the United States army.

Even the fiction of this number smells of powder, in Capt. Charles King's short story, "The Customs of War Versus the Customs of Peace."

The opening and most elaborate article is on "The German Emperor," and is written by C. Frank Dewey and embellished with thirty or forty unusually interesting pictures of William II., his family and surroundings.

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY.

THE July *Atlantic Monthly* contains several notable articles, from which we have selected the anonymous one on Gladstone, Mr. James Bryce's on "The Essential Unity of Britain and America," and Mr. H. C. Lea's on "The Decadence of Spain" to review in another department.

Not only Mr. Bryce, in the article above mentioned, but also Mr. James K. Hosmer, on "The American Evolution," argue that the trend of events is toward a rejoining of the two great branches of the English-speaking people. Mr. Hosmer thinks that if we form a link anywhere our proper affiliation is with England, an idea which occurs more often to citizens of the British empire than to Americans—"though men are not wanting in America in whose minds has arisen the conception of doing away with the Anglo-Saxon chism as a thing possible and to be wished for." Notwithstanding the reproaches that each country can justly make to the other, Mr. Hosmer thinks that the welfare of the whole world depends upon their accord, and that the balance is greatly in favor of union. "No other circumstance

at the present moment is so fraught with hope as that in the midst of the heavy embarrassments that beset both England and America the long-sundered kindred slowly gravitate toward alliance."

Prof. J. Laurence Laughlin's article on the financial problems raised by the war is entitled "War and Money; Some Lessons of 1862." Professor Laughlin is not persuaded by the general jubilation and easy feeling in regard to the nation's finances into an entire confidence of the result. Every one knows what a terrible financial tangle the Civil War left us. Professor Laughlin says: "The present situation is in some respects more favorable than that of 1861. We are fortunate in having at the head of the Treasury an experienced financier, while in 1861 we blundered because there was no leader with an intelligent knowledge of what should be done. The abundant crops of last year and our unparalleled exports, as has been said, are causes for congratulation, but on the other hand the precedents of wrong-doing are present with us in the form of the United States notes and the mass of silver currency, and the monetary system is in unstable equilibrium."

Abraham Cahan has a well-informed article on "The Russian Jew in America." Ethel A. Ireland edits some excellently characteristic letters by Leigh Hunt and Stevenson, and there appears one of Mr. Bradford Torrey's records of observations of birds and flowers, made "At Natural Bridge, Virginia." The *Atlantic Monthly*, as may be expected from a publication with such courage of its literary convictions, has adopted the plan of massing the poetry in each number, so that Mr. Page will never be in danger of the sometimes-heard accusation that the magazine editor esteems poetry in its convenience as tail-pieces.

THE CHAUTAUQUAN.

THERE is a brief article in the July *Chautauquan* on "The Philippine Islands," written by John A. Osborne, and Edward C. Williams discusses "The Management of the War With Spain," and pays a tribute to the amount which our war administration has been able to do in putting the army and navy on a fighting basis in a very short time. He says that when the battleship *Maine* was destroyed there was an average of only five rounds of ammunition in this country for the guns of our men-of-war and our coast fortifications, scarcely sufficient for saluting purposes. Since then the armament of our ships and forts has been nearly doubled. Every harbor on the Atlantic has been carefully mined and protected by torpedoes and the magazines of the ships and fortresses filled with ammunition.

President Charles J. Little writes on Gladstone, and Felix L. Oswald tells of "The Price Spain Has Paid for Cuba." He calculates that the ten years' campaign of Spain against the Cuban patriots which began in 1898 cost her ninety-seven thousand men and fifty-five million dollars.

LIPPINCOTT'S MAGAZINE.

THE novel of the month in the July *Lippincott's* is "Harold Bradley, Playwright," by Edward S. Van Ziles.

Victor Wilker writes on "Zola as an Apostle of Temperance." He disclaims any wish to pose as a champion of naturalism in literature or to defend Zola in his

minute photographic portrayal of the degradation of the lower classes in over-populated cities. But he does believe that Zola is guilty of no conscious pandering to corrupt taste, and that he has done a great share in the work of reform in diagnosing correctly the diseased moral classes of society and pointing out the true cause of their degradation.

Alvan F. Sanborn has a pleasant instructive record of "Cheap Tramping in Switzerland," and Theodore Stanton writes on "Literary Men as Diplomats."

THE NATIONAL MAGAZINE.

THE *National Magazine* for July shows a decided improvement over previous numbers and several very worthy contributions. Senator Cushman K. Davis appears in a brief article on "Imperialism," in which he predicts as a consequence of this war that the United States will become a naval power of the first class. "Its foreign commerce will be immensely increased, especially with China. Spain will be deposed from her sovereignty in this hemisphere." As to the Philippines, Senator Davis thinks that we will hold a naval station at Manila, and will at least hold the Philippines as indemnity for the cost of the war.

Senator Morgan, writing on the same subject, "Imperialism," deprecates idle fears that might hold the United States away from external responsibilities and opportunities, and thinks that we are forced to the alternative of conquest in some of the Spanish islands. Arthur J. Dodge writes on Lieutenant Hobson's exploit at Santiago.

Joe Mitchell Chapple, who is the moving and active spirit of this new magazine, tells of "An Autumn Morning With Gladstone," and publishes some attractive pictures of Hawarden and one striking portrait of Gladstone which we believe has never been published before in America, if anywhere.

There are other articles on "Lieutenant Peary's Last Greenland Expedition," "Roosevelt's Rough Riders"—written by William F. Cody ("Buffalo Bill")—and "Girl Choristers."

LADIES' HOME JOURNAL.

IN the July *Ladies' Home Journal* the opening contribution presents "The Anecdotal Side of the President," with several new pictures of the President in characteristic attitudes in his office. Many pleasant anecdotes are told of the President, chiefly in his home life, and a great deal is made of his beautiful devotion to his mother and his even more lovely and tender solicitude for his wife. The writer says that the President may excuse himself from callers a dozen times a day if his wife is not feeling well—she is an invalid—to run upstairs and spend a moment with her. He shields her from every unfavorable and unpleasant criticism of himself or other bad news, and she is with him whenever it is at all possible; even at formal state dinners, on which occasion she sits by his side instead of at the further end of the table, as is customary. Senator Wolcott gives the following pleasant estimate of President McKinley to the *Ladies' Home Journal*:

"The President is, without exception, the kindest-hearted man that I have ever met. He is so good and kind in his nature that he is growing younger every day. His only worry is that when night comes he thinks of the activities of the busy day, and wonders if he has

not failed to do something which some one wanted him to do. Instead of growing old in the White House, the wrinkles are coming out of his face. He is the happiest man in the country. He is full of joy because the fates have placed in his hands the power to do so much good and to show so much kindness and generosity. You can see it in his face and feel it in the touch of his hands. There is no man in this country for whom the sun shines brighter than for William McKinley. The work and worry that killed other Presidents only warm his heart and gladden his life. Whenever I see the President I think there is a lesson in his life for us all: that we should soften our natures and strive to find pleasure in doing good rather than in self-seeking."

Clifford Howard describes in this number the Dunkers, or German Baptists, a curious sect settled chiefly in the rural districts of Lancaster County, Pa. They accept only the teachings of the New Testament. The community came to America at William Penn's invitation, and established itself near Germantown, Philadelphia, from which it spread out into different sections of the country. The quaint and solemn customs of the Dunkers have changed scarcely at all in the hundred and sixty years during which they have been in this country. They dress with extreme simplicity, and their whole life is modeled with a like modesty and absence of ostentation. The women wear a peculiar head-dress, and their attire is in general almost uniform, the dresses being made after the same pattern. The thriftiness and neatness of the Dunkers are unsurpassed; though their homes in the country towns are small and unpretentious, they are exceedingly comfortable and everything is in perfect order.

Mr. George Ogden describes "A Week in a Jewish Home," and Julia Truitt Bishop has a pleasant description of life in New Orleans, under the title "Where Christmas is Like Fourth of July."

GODEY'S MAGAZINE.

"GODEY'S MAGAZINE" for July opens with an account of the manufacture of great cannon at the Watervleit Arsenal, written by Frank Heath, Jr. This arsenal is the largest single-shop building in the United States, if not in the world. Mr. Heath tells how the several steel jackets which combine to make a modern high-power gun are prepared and shrunk over each other. The largest gun now in course of construction is the ponderous 16-inch rifle designed for coast defense. With the exception of this, the largest of the coast-defense guns is 32 feet in length and weighs 127,680 pounds. It shoots 480 pounds of powder, producing a pressure of 32,000 pounds to the square inch, and hurls a steel projectile of 1,000 pounds weight a distance of 10 miles. The guns of the latest type manufactured here are put upon disappearing carriages, considered superior to any carriage in foreign countries and holding the record of the world for speed of firing. A 10-inch gun can be fired 10 times in 14 minutes and 42 seconds, or 40 rounds per hour.

In one of the departments a writer calls attention to the fact that of the three naval commanders Sampson came from the people, his father being a laboring man; Dewey's ancestors were comfortably off, but were quiet country people; while Schley is a member of a family who for generations have been regarded as aristocrats in their neighborhood.

THE ARENA.

THE July number of the *Arena* opens with an article by the Hon. George Fred. Williams entitled "Government by Banks." In this article Mr. Williams strenuously opposes all proposed plans of currency reform embodying the substitution of bank-notes for government legal-tender paper. The same question is discussed by Mr. Arthur I. Fonda, who contends that if any simplification of our currency system is desired, the bank-notes rather than the greenbacks should be abolished, since they are no safer than the latter, are no more convenient, are more cumbersome and expensive to issue and care for, and are wrong in principle, in enabling the banks to make a profit on a money which derives its circulating power wholly from the government guarantee.

Prof. Frank Parsons sets forth the reasons justifying the attitude of the United States toward Spain which led to war, and while he criticises the conduct of Congress in some particulars, he feels convinced that the people of this country have not erred in the choosing of the path on which they have entered.

Prof. Henry S. Green champions the historical school of economics in resenting the onslaughts of Mr. E. L. Gorkin.

The *Arena* publishes a translation from the Russian of a recent article by Count Tolstoi on "The Superstitions of Science." The following paragraph expresses Tolstoi's conclusion:

"Our science, in order to become science, and to become truly beneficent and not injurious to mankind, must first of all renounce its empirical method, according to which it considers itself bound to study only what is, and must return to the only wise and fruitful understanding of science, according to which its object is the study of how people ought to live. In this is the aim and purpose of science; and the study of what is can only be the subject of science so far as that study contributes to a knowledge of how people ought to live."

The Rev. T. Alexander Hyde describes the Mills Hotel in New York City as "a paying philanthropy." In this hotel, which is first class in all its appointments, twenty cents is the uniform price of a night's lodging, while fifteen cents pays for a meal. Fifteen hundred guests are lodged at the hotel nightly.

Another very practical paper in this number is a farmer's treatment of the farm-labor problem.

Dr. John Clark Ridpath, the *Arena's* editor, makes an eloquent plea for "The Reconquest of the House of Representatives." He seems to think that the House is now in a state of degeneracy very far below that reached by the Senate.

Dr. Ridpath also commemorates in verse the daring deed of "Hobson of Alabama."

THE FORUM.

IN our department of "Leading Articles of the Month" we have quoted from Prof. Robert T. Hill's article on "Cuba, and Its Value as a Colony," in the *June Forum*.

The number opens with an argument by Senator Foraker to show the justice and necessity of our war with Spain. The actual conduct of the war and its bearings on the Cuban question are discussed by Mr. Joseph Edgar Chamberlin, the war correspondent of the New

York *Evening Post* and the Boston *Transcript*. Mr. Chamberlin asserts that so far as the Cubans are known at all in the United States they are commonly despised. The hearing of our army and navy officers toward them, he says, is absolutely contemptuous. Nevertheless, he believes that the national sentiment in behalf of "free Cuba" which underlies the present war, while it may be ill-founded, is deeply humane and creditable to us as a people.

The Hon. John A. T. Hull writes concerning the army reorganization bill (now a law) with which his name has been associated in Congress. He points out the desirability of having the militia organization of the country conform to that of the regular army. If it had been possible to muster all the volunteers in the United States service as they were organized in the different States much friction and delay would have been avoided during the past two months.

In an article on "The Textile War Between the North and the South" Prof. Jerome Dowd points out the advantages possessed by the South in the manufacture of cotton. He asserts that while the standard of comfort among Southern mill operatives is quite as high as it is among those of New England, the cost of living is decidedly lower. So far as the white labor is concerned, its efficiency does not fall below that of the New England operatives. Colored labor is just beginning to be employed in this industry; the question of its relative cheapness and efficiency remains an open one.

Mr. Henry Litchfield West describes "The Little Kingdom of the President"—i.e., the District of Columbia—administered by three commissioners whom the President appoints, subject to the confirmation of the Senate. His article suggests the strangeness of a situation in which the capital of a great republic has become "an object-lesson of successful government by autocratic and oligarchical methods." These methods, if applied to the nation as a whole, would mean nothing less than monarchy.

In this number of the *Forum* there are three important papers on educational subjects. Prof. Theobald Ziegler describes the elementary and secondary schools of Germany; Prof. Thomas Davidson outlines "The Ideal Training of the American Girl;" and Prof. William H. Burnham writes on "Some Aspects of the Teaching Profession."

Prof. Calvin Thomas asserts that we still have need of poetry for the sake of the pleasure, the instruction, the consolation, and "the joy of elevated thoughts" that it brings to us, notwithstanding the supposed blight of the modern scientific spirit.

Mrs. Helen C. Candee describes social conditions in Oklahoma Territory, and Prof. Theodore Stanton reviews M. Levasseur's recent work on "The American Workingman."

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

AMONG the articles in the *North American* for June we have selected the Hon. Hannis Taylor's paper on "Spain's Political Future" for quotation elsewhere.

In the opening article of the number Senator Morgan addresses himself to the problem of "What to Do With the Conquered Islands," assuming that the United States, through the fortunes of war, will have the disposition of practically all of Spain's present oceanic possessions excepting the Canary Islands. Cuba he re-

gards as fully capable of self-government, and the question whether she shall remain independent or enter the American Union is one for her own people to decide; this country will never use coercion. In Porto Rico it is not so clear that an independent government could be sustained. Perhaps Cuba and Porto Rico may be united in a republican federation. If not, the United States may extend protection, leaving the people of the island free to control their domestic affairs. As to the Philippine and Caroline Islands, Senator Morgan does not look beyond a temporary protectorate. Annexation he considers undesirable. In the case of these and all the other islands that we may take from Spain in the course of the war, a reservation must be made of bays and harbors suitable for military outposts and coaling stations; such limited areas must be retained by our Government.

Mr. Herbert Putnam contributes an extremely suggestive article on "Free Public Libraries and the Community." He shows that such libraries (supported by general taxation) have existed for less than half a century, and that they now number less than 2,000, with 10,000,000 volumes and with less than \$3,500,000 of annual income. The experience of the Boston Public Library, over which Mr. Putnam presides, seems to show that each increase of library facilities creates an increased demand:

"The trustees of 1852 boasted that they were providing for as many as 50 readers at a time; the trustees of 1887 thought themselves venturesome in providing for 500 readers at a time; and within a month after the new building was opened it was forced to accommodate over 700 at a time. Every week over 30,000 persons enter the Central Library building, and every year 1,200,000 volumes are drawn for home use by the 65,000 card-holders. Yet these figures represent still but a portion of the persons to be reached and the work to be done. Nor can facilities for distribution keep pace with the need."

Mr. William H. Rideing gives some interesting facts connected with "Literary Life in London." The greatest phenomenon of the day seems to be the rapid rise of the fiction-writer to a position of opulence. This has been accelerated by the popular American magazines. The personage known as the literary agent has had something to do with the "boom," but in too many cases he has succeeded only in killing the goose that laid the golden egg.

"The more manuscripts he sells and the higher the price he obtains the larger are his own commissions. The young author in his hands who has made a success at the start is not allowed to choose his own time for further work and to prepare for it, but is urged and tempted to add book to book until he becomes a diffuse and tedious hack, undesired by anybody, undesired even by the literary agent himself. An instance occurs to me. The young author was 'boomed' so persistently that in order to fulfill his orders he had to rise at 4 in the morning, and then, sitting down with a typewriter before him and a phonograph at his elbow, he would carry along two stories at once. His first book was an instant success when it appeared a few years ago, but his last manuscript, delivered 'as per invoice,' in the words of the agent, has been rejected by thirteen different periodicals and is still in the market. 'As per invoice' expresses the agent's view of literature precisely."

The Hon. David Mills writes from a Canadian point of view on the threatened struggle for supremacy be-

tween Great Britain and Russia, or rather, as he prefers to express it, between Saxon and Slav. In his discussion Mr. Mills considers the United States as a part of the Saxon family, and devotes a considerable portion of his article to picturing the evils that would result from a Russian-American alliance, in contrast with the alluring prospects of an Anglo-American union against the Slav.

OTHER ARTICLES.

Capt. James Parker, U. S. A., discusses the officering and arming of volunteer troops; the Hon. George S. Boutwell advocates the reestablishment of a national income tax; "Some Aspects of Courage" are described by F. Foster; Mr. Homer B. Hulbert writes on "The Enfranchisement of Korea;" Mr. Allan Hendricks gives an account of the Great Lakes carrying trade; and Sir William Howard Russell continues his "Recollections of the Civil War."

In "Notes and Comments" the Rev. Edgar G. Murphy writes about "The Pulpit and the War;" Mr. Edward Porritt on "Rehabilitated Upper Chambers;" Mr. John M. Stahl on "Our Export of Corn;" the Rev. F. J. C. Moran on "The Sweating System;" and we have quoted in another place from Mr. Truxton Beale's contribution on the strategical value of the Philippines.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

FROM the *Nineteenth Century* for June we have selected Mr. Frederic Harrison's admirable address on "Style" for notice elsewhere.

MR. H. M. STANLEY'S PANACEA FOR PEACE.

Mr. H. M. Stanley opens the number with a paper entitled "Splendid Isolation—or What?" Mr. Stanley argues that England should join the triple alliance.

"The triple alliance, supported by the military and naval strength of Great Britain, backed by the moral support of the United States and by the military and naval forces of Japan, appears to me the only way by which the peace of the world can be secured, this nightmare of war dispelled, and this eternal agitation effectually stopped. If the fates forbid our joining the triple alliance, the alternatives before us then are either an active and obstinate resistance to the dual alliance or a groveling quiescence, with curtailment of empire and decline of power."

SPECIFIC AGAINST MURDER BY CHLOROFORM.

Mrs. R. M. King returns to the charge against the anesthetists who torture and murder their patients by suffocating them with chloroform. She says:

"Let each one of us refuse resolutely to take chloroform or allow any member of our family to take it without previously ascertaining what method will be employed by the anesthetist, and obtaining a guarantee that only an open cloth will be used, and that at a distance that will permit of entire freedom of respiration throughout the operation. A high authority has expressed his opinion that the only hope of reform is to get the matter reduced to a legal formula. He would wish to see covers for the mouth forbidden—a wish most earnestly echoed by all who have ever known the agony of having one put on—and would have the old-fashioned way of administering the chloroform on an open cloth, held not nearer than a regulated distance, laid down by law. He would also wish to have it made

a punishable act to put any one under chloroform in less time than eight minutes."

MR. MARSTON'S PREVENTIVE OF FAMINE IN WAR-TIME.

Mr. R. B. Marston pleads, with the aid of diagrams, against the fatal folly of facing the possibilities of war with only a week's supply of wheat in England. National granaries capable of holding ten million quarters, the maintenance of which would cost a million and a quarter sterling per annum, are, he says, absolutely necessary to enable England to confront war without imminent danger of starvation.

LORD BRASSEY'S PRESCRIPTION AGAINST STRIKES.

Writing on coöperation, its difficulties and limits, Lord Brassey thus sums up his hope for the future adjustment of labor troubles:

"Coöperative industries would be of special advantage in fixing a gauge or standard of wages for the whole body of workmen. In view, however, of the slow and limited development of coöperative industry, there is no reason to anticipate any extensive transfer of difficult forms of enterprise from personal to coöperative management. We must look for other means of spreading light and knowledge. To open confidential books to public inspection being impracticable, it is the more incumbent on employers to go as far as they possibly can in friendly reasoning and full explanation of their position and their difficulties to their workmen. Courts of conciliation for mutual explanation and consultation should be set up in every industry."

PROPOSAL FOR STAMPING OUT THE PLAGUE IN INDIA.

Miss Marion Hunter, late plague medical officer in India, describes the method adopted by the government for stamping out the bubonic plague in Bombay. She says:

"The efforts to 'stamp out' the disease having been so comparatively unsuccessful, one is inclined to think more radical measures should be adopted. The suggestion to burn down insanitary areas and rebuild at government expense may yet have to be seriously considered, as it seems likely to prove less expensive in the long run than keeping up large plague organizations, against which the native fights openly and in secret. Improved and compulsory sanitation of towns and villages, with wholesome water-supply, are crying needs. Education among the native children on questions relating to hygiene is of great importance. An adequate and efficient staff of medical officers, with special qualifications for sanitary work, notification of infectious diseases, and certificate of cause of death, must in time come to be looked upon as necessary for the safety of the Indian empire."

Mr. Holt S. Hallett writes on "How Lord Salisbury Has Scored in China," pointing out some of the difficulties arising from the nature of the Russian demands.

OTHER ARTICLES.

Lady Meath writes a capital little paper on "The First Woman's Hospital in Morocco." Mr. Martin Conway, in an ingenious essay on "The Art of Living," traces the origin of the art and refinement of English social life to the discovery of the turnip. Mr. J. D. Rees tells how he went elephant-shooting in Travancore, and Mr. Ackman briefly alludes to the services of the microbe in agriculture.

THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW.

WE have noticed a few of the important articles in the *Contemporary* elsewhere under various heads. Of the remainder there are several of considerable interest, which we regret our inability to notice at greater length.

THE PRISON TREATMENT OF WOMEN.

Among these the first place must be given to the interesting paper by Mrs. Sheldon Amos upon the prison treatment of women. At present the only proposal to give women any share in the management of the prisons of their own sex in England is a proposal that one woman should be appointed to the board of visitors of convict prisons. Mrs. Amos suggests that it would be more satisfactory to have one woman commissioner, preferably a trained doctor, competent to deal with mental diseases among women prisoners. She also suggests that the women's convict prison at Aylesbury should have a female governor, and that it should be possible for women to have an opportunity for free conversation with the female Scripture reader without the constant presence of a turnkey. She pleads also for the introduction of more visitors to prisons and the establishment of home reading circles in prisons. The whole article is, however, thoroughly practicable and to the point.

IS EVANGELICALISM DECLINING?

Dr. Guinness Rogers takes up the cudgels on behalf of evangelicalism, which was declared to be in a very feeble condition by Mr. Richard Heath in the last number of the *Contemporary*. He maintains that while evangelicalism in the Church of England may have dwindled, evangelicalism has triumphed all along the line to such an extent that even the ritualists are evangelical in their teaching. Dr. Guinness Rogers says:

"It would fatigue my imagination to conceive of an antagonism to its whole theory of the Church and the sacraments more strong than my own, but that does not hinder my hearty recognition of the evangelical tone of their doctrinal teachings. The clergy of the Established Church are an entirely different body of men, as the result of the two waves which have swept across that Church during the present century. The 'high and dry' rector of Dean Conybeare's graphic pictures is as extinct as the dodo. The high churchman of to-day magnifies his office, exalts his church, idolizes his sacraments, but, in strange combination with all this ecclesiasticism, there is often a teaching of doctrine that is distinctly evangelical. This is a fact which cannot be left out of account in any fair attempt to estimate the real influence of the movement. It has not secured the ascendancy of one party in the Church, but it has done much to secure the preaching of the Gospel in place of the mere husks of dry morality which were once dealt out to the people."

As for the general question raised by Mr. Heath concerning the decline of evangelical teaching in the nation at large, he says:

"It may safely be said that the teaching of the churches in these closing years of the century is more full of Christ, more possessed with his spirit, more calculated to glorify and honor him than at any previous period. On the contrary, there is a widespread feeling of stronger confidence and more buoyant hope."

THE INCREASE OF BACHELOR WOMEN IN ENGLAND.

Stephen Gwynn writes entertainingly upon the growth of a class of spinsters the like of which was unknown to our forefathers. These are either women who have private means of livelihood or who can earn their own living, and who for one reason or another prefer celibacy to married life. Mr. Gwynn gives the following explanation of how this class has developed so much of late years:

"The lady who has five or six hundred a year and no incumbrances used formerly to be obliged to take a house and have two or three servants; that condemned her at once to a cheap suburb and made entertaining practically impossible. Now she has chambers somewhere in Piccadilly, her mind is free from the cares of a household, she has neither to engage nor dismiss servants nor compose their quarrels; she has absolutely all the attendance she wants, and everything about her is well turned out; meals come from the touching of a bell, and instead of her carriage she has her pick of the hansoms. If she wants to see faces about her and avoid that sense of solitude which has driven so many women into matrimony, all she has to do is to step round to her club. It may be a club for women only, or, if she prefers it, one of the mixed arrangements which are becoming so popular. The result certainly ought to be a great falling off in the number of marriages of convenience, since the ladies who take to this way of life are precisely those who used to marry for convenience."

STATE INSURANCE AGAINST WAR RISKS.

Mr. John Glover, writing on this subject, maintains that the state should take all war risks of merchandise carried under its flag. This would minimize the cost to the consumer, render unnecessary the transfer of vessels to neutrals, and generally operate favorably. The announcement in advance that in any future war the flag should be guaranteed free of capture and seizure would have the most important consequence on neutrals. Mr. Glover concludes his paper by pleading for a government inquiry into the whole subject.

THE FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW.

THE *Fortnightly Review* contains more than its average allowance of papers dealing with current questions, most of which are noticed elsewhere.

HOW STRONG A NAVY DOES ENGLAND WANT?

Until recently the ideal of British naval authorities was to maintain a fleet strong enough to face the next two greatest naval powers in the world. Mr. H. W. Wilson, however, thinks that England must now have a big enough fleet to encounter the combined navies of France, Russia, and Germany. In his paper, "Our Navy Against a Coalition," he gives his reasons for thinking that despite all expenditure the British navy needs to be strengthened in many directions. In an ingenious comparison between the conditions prevailing in France and England at the time of Trafalgar and those at the present day, Mr. Wilson succeeds in satisfying himself that the odds are against Great Britain at almost every point. The quality of the French officers is better and there are far more of them. With only half as strong a fleet as the English the French have thirteen hundred and forty-one lieutenants and sub-lieutenants, while England has only twelve hun-

dred and forty-six. In her naval reserve also England is behind the French. The moral of Mr. Wilson's paper is that a wise national policy would lead England to secure alliances, especially with Japan.

THE MISGOVERNMENT OF ITALY.

Ouida has a long article of twenty pages, in which she repeats once more her indictment of modern Italy. The basest form of banality, the lowest form of greed, have fastened upon the country with the tentacles of the devil-fish and are every hour devouring her. Italy has now been handed over to military despotism in order to prevent revolution :

"There was, not many years ago, a great measure of mirth and contentment in all the minor cities of Italy and in the small towns and the big walled villages, much harmless merry-making and pastime, much simple and neighborly pleasure, much enjoyment of that '*ben' di Dio*,' the blessed air and sunshine. Most of it has been killed now ; starved out, strangled by regulations and penalties and imposts and a fiendish fiscal tyranny ; dead like the poor slaughtered forgotten conscripts in Africa."

Ouida's paper deals chiefly with the extent to which modern Italians have destroyed the art and beauty of Italy. A precious *intaglio* of exquisite workmanship is being broken up and pulverized under our eyes, and no one cares.

SOME FRENCH PARADOXES.

Baron Pierre de Coubertin contributes a sequel to his article on the military paradox by a paper dealing with the political paradox of modern France. This paradox is the fact that the French have found stability more complete than any they have attained to during the last hundred years under a government whose very essence is instability and change. This is due to many reasons, one of which is that the fundamental characteristic of the Third Republic is that in it men have been perpetually guided and bound by circumstances. Its policy was dictated by its conditions, and the very mediocrity of its statesmen and the absence of any great enthusiasm alike forbade any attempt to deviate from the beaten track. To attain order within, safety from attack from without, it had to live from hand to mouth, a distinctly opportunist life. Hence there came to be great stability in the governing ideas of successive ministers, and although the chiefs of the departments were changed, the permanent civil service secured continuity in the administration. The danger which now threatens the republic is that she may compromise her existence by her devotion to a monarchical alliance.

ALPHONSE DAUDET.

Hannah Lynch writes very brightly and sympathetically concerning Alphonse Daudet. Few more sympathetic appreciations have been published in England of the French novelist. She compares him with Thackeray and suggests "a comparison between the spectacle of London life as interpreted by Thackeray's genius and that of Parisian life interpreted by Daudet's. Both writers, so different in temperament, in race and training, meet as satirists through the common qualities of irony, tenderness, and humor. Both reveal a like sentimental love of goodness and a ruthless dislike of wickedness and hypocrisy. As a satirist, Daudet's manner and method differ altogether from Thackeray's. His style is more strenuous ; he is more bitter and less

buoyant, whereas in his joyous moods, when Paris is happily forgotten and only the south remembered, his touch is incomparably lighter. Here it is his radiant heritage of scorn and laughter that casts an elusive grace and sparkle over the bitterness of wisdom and experience, such as may not be found further north. But he can recall Thackeray with singular fidelity of effect in almost similar situations."

THE NATIONAL REVIEW.

THE first paper in the June number of the *National Review* is the Navy League Prize Essay, which has gained the prize of fifty pounds sterling offered jointly by the Navy League and the editor of the *National Review* for the best imaginative forecast of what would happen if England went to war with France and Russia. The writer of the essay imagines that the chief result of the war would be that the price of the loaf would go up from two shillings to two and sixpence, the war would last for six months, and at the end of it Egypt would be declared part of the British empire, and the *status quo* would remain very much what it was before. He thinks that Cyprus and Egypt would be seized by the French and Russians very soon after the war was declared, and would be only turned out after a great naval battle fought off the coast of Egypt.

ONE RESULT OF THE DREYFUS CASE.

A writer signing himself "Huguenot," in a paper entitled "The Truth About the Dreyfus Case," calls attention to one result which may possibly follow from the mad craze of the French to shield Esterhazy at any cost. "Huguenot" says :

"The affection of the French for their army is as ardent and romantic as that of a woman for her lover. But what if by a sudden revelation it were brought home to the masses, who now parade the streets crying, '*Vive l'armée, mort aux Juifs!*' that their confidence has been betrayed, that the swaggering officers whom they cheered so loudly at the trial of M. Zola are the real traitors to France, and that Dreyfus is the victim of their base conspiracy? For the Emperor William holds in his hands a weapon with which, when the occasion arises, he can smite the entire *état majeur* and destroy the confidence of the French people in their army for at least a generation. The series of secret documents sold by Esterhazy does not stop in October, 1894, the date of Dreyfus' arrest, but extends on into the year 1896. It included many important documents of later origin than October, 1894, all in the handwriting of the *bordereau*. Dreyfus cannot have written these, for he was already in prison. Now the Emperor William, by communicating to the French or European press in facsimile any one of these documents of origin later than 1894, can, whenever he likes, tear across the web of lies with which the French War Office is now striving to hide its misdeeds. Perhaps the *dénouement* will come in this way. How long will it be before William II. draws tight the noose into which all the leading French generals and colonels and nearly all the leading politicians of every party, save the socialists, have so obligingly adjusted their necks?"

TWO CRITICS OF AUSTRALASIA.

Mr. W. P. Reeves, Agent-General for New Zealand, deals with the recent criticisms of Australasia by M. Leroy-Beaulieu and Mr. E. L. Godkin. He is chiefly

concerned with the French critic, for Mr. Godkin has never visited the antipodes, and necessarily writes from materials supplied by other observers. Mr. Reeves says that M. Leroy-Beaulieu's pictures of the progress and material achievements of the Australian colonies is fair and often complimentary. Australasia, he recognized, is a new but grand edifice, the construction of which is in every way creditable to the strength and energy of the Anglo-Saxon race, but he finds fault with nearly everything that they have done, and asks his readers to believe that the whole prosperity of the four and a half millions of Australasians has been built up and sustained by a tiny handful of pastoral tenants. Dealing with Mr. Godkin's tribute to the high character of the Australasian newspapers and their beneficent influence on affairs of state, Mr. Reeves makes the following observations as to newspaper proprietors at the antipodes:

"The qualities they esteem most in an editor are ability to steer clear of the law of libel and to write nothing which will cause the monthly receipts to fall off, coupled with a keen instinct for news-getting. In consequence, some of the most interesting political movements in the colonies have been in the face of the opposition of most of the best-known and most widely circulated newspapers. It may be said with truth that English magazines and newspapers are as great an influence in the colonies as are the colonial newspapers. If this refers much more to social and ethical questions than to political, that is mainly because colonial politics are very little written about in the mother country."

OTHER ARTICLES.

D. S. MacColl describes the work of the artists in the International Gallery now open in London at the Knightsbridge Skating Rink. Mr. Theodore Morrison, the son of the late James Cotter Morrison, writes an article in *memoriam* of Sir Syed Ahmed, a descendant of the Prophet, who died on March 28, 1896.

THE UNITED SERVICE MAGAZINE.

THE June number of the *United Service Magazine* announces and begins a new departure toward which the editor has been moving for months past. The magazine is to be henceforth not merely or chiefly technical, but popular—"made interesting to all classes, instead of only to officers and others actually connected with the services." An excellent sample is given of the new policy. The number is one which the civilian will read with zest.

One of the most eloquent panegyrics is pronounced by "Angescat" on "the greatness of Canada." It urges that Sir John Macdonald and the Dominion saved the empire from the Little Englanders of Downing Street; but its eulogy of the sterling qualities of the Canadian is marred by a quite gratuitous detraction of the character developed in the United States.

Mr. Carr Laughton, discussing the Spanish-American war—which he suggests may be comparable to the Prusso-Danish war of 1864—makes the remark on the evident disposition of both powers to let privateering lapse, that "privateering, if it seems advisable, will, like many other industries of the past, become a government concern."

Sir Howard Vincent pleads for a reorganization of the volunteer force, with fewer regiments, smaller

brigades, greater concentration, more ranges for practice, a recognized place in a scheme of national defense, a proper complement and distribution of artillery. He stoutly insists that the volunteers form the finest material, much superior to what conscription could provide. "St. George" asks for a smaller regular army for purposes of imperial police, and an active militia after the Swiss pattern to reinforce the line in case of a great war. Lieut. Holmes Wilson lays stress on the immediate adoption of quick-firing guns by the British artillery, such as France and Germany have had for two years.

Discussing what the British empire requires from its navy, Sir George Baden-Powell asks for primary bases for refuge, replenishment, and repair at Malta, Trincomalee, Esquimaux, Sydney, and Cape Town, and secondary bases at Gibraltar, Halifax, Jamaica, Hong Kong, and Auckland, besides defended coaling stations in many other places. "At the present moment," he says, "and the case would be desperate if we were at war, there is positively no repairing base for our fleet between Gibraltar and Cape Town."

BLACKWOOD.

"BLACKWOOD" for May opens with a very appreciative sketch of Disraeli by Mr. Charles Whibley. It is appropriately followed by Lieut.-Col. C. B. Conder's account of the Zionists. Mr. C. F. Keary writes on "The Philosophy of Impressionism." Sir Herbert Maxwell gossips on "Odd Volumes" in his collection of books. The article by "Ex-Adjutant" on "The Volunteers as a Fighting Force" makes the suggestion that it would be good economy in the long run to pay the British volunteers five pounds per head per annum, and in return insist upon discipline, drill, and obedience. The writer says:

"Would it not be a simpler plan to hold out a sufficient inducement to the men required? A line soldier at home is estimated to cost fifty-five pounds a year, and even then he is often a mere boy or an invalided and weakly man. If the sum of five pounds a year were to be offered to satisfactory men, the chief difficulty would be overcome. The laboring man makes the best private soldier, and a large number of a class at present untouched could be got to come forward if a substantial sum were to be offered as an inducement. The officers and non-commissioned ranks could be paid at a similar rate, to cover incidental expenses."

Admiral Sir John C. D. Hay writes upon the naming of the warships, and makes some very sensible observations. In the course of his article he tells a curious story of how it was that two of her majesty's ships came to bear, for a brief season, the names of *Beelzebub* and *Infernal*:

"The surveyor of the navy attended him, Lemprière in hand, to select names for the two new steamers. The first lord threw down the Lemprière in despair and said: 'You may call them the devil if you like.' The surveyor took him at his word, and one ship was named the *Beelzebub* and the other the *Infernal*."

A subsequent first lord refused to allow any of the ships of the British navy to bear such diabolical names, so they were rechristened, but in the case of one of them, changing the name failed to deliver the vessel from ill-luck:

"The *Infernal* was changed to the *Fair Rosamond*, under which name she lost two ships' companies from

yellow fever. She was so unhealthy that no crew would ship. She was left in ordinary for a time, her name again changed, and commissioned as the *Eclair*. But her ill-luck followed her; the change of name did not improve her sanitary condition, and the *Eclair* was eventually broken up in consequence of her infernal reputation."

Among the characteristic Blackwoodian articles in the June number is a sketch of "Coke of Coke's Rifles," a soldier of the northwest Indian frontier of half a century ago. David Hannay discusses "The Case of Mr. Doughty," a gentleman adventurer who was killed by Sir Francis Drake, according to Mr. Hannay, merely to strike terror into the somewhat unmanageable crowd of gentlemen adventurers.

THE LEE-METFORD RIFLE.

An article somewhat related to military and historical subjects is that dealing with the Lee-Metford rifle. The writer, after describing the effects of the Lee-Metford and Dum-dum bullet, thus sums up his general convictions:

"We have a trustworthy arm in the .303 Lee-Metford. Its ammunition, however, requires improvement: the cordite is ruinous to the interior of the barrel unless the rifle is carefully cleaned after use, and that is generally impossible in war; the bullet as at present turned out in England is untrustworthy, shock having been somewhat sacrificed to penetration, though by filing the point this may in a degree be remedied; but thereby another danger is incurred, for when the point is flattened the bullets often jam and do not truly enter the barrel from the magazine. That might be serious in battle."

GERMAN EAST AFRICA.

One of the most interesting articles is Mr. R. C. Witt's paper on what he found in German East Africa. His description of the German capital, Dar-es-Salaam, the Harbor of Peace, is vivid and suggestive. The town is well laid out, and there are any number of good buildings, all surmounted by the national flag. Out of a total German population of four hundred and thirty-one there are one hundred and fifty-eight officials. These latter gentlemen are of opinion that they are so overworked that the number will have to be increased. Every department that a large and growing population could require or the most advanced and complex civilization could demand is to be found there. They have got a meteorological department and a kultur minister; but notwithstanding all this provision for a growing colony, the German adventurers obstinately persist in selecting other than German settlements in which to make their fortunes.

Mr. Witt blames the protective restrictions for the failure of the German colonies, and says that a German trading station is founded by hoisting the national flag over a custom-house which usually stands empty:

"The German emigrant has found already that he can make money quicker elsewhere. In America, India, South Africa, he finds a life to his liking and facilities for amassing wealth. He settles in Zanzibar, just across the water, and now controls the best part of its trade. And under foreign rule he prospers exceedingly. The whole matter lies in a nutshell. The German colonist, like his stay-at-home brother, is over-governed. Officialism is the best of servants, but a questionable master. The weight of this officialism and the tradi-

tions of the fatherland crush all enterprise out of existence. The government is government for its own sake, to a great extent useless, and costly out of all proportion. The annual expenses of administration exceed three hundred thousand pounds sterling. Moreover, it is grotesquely elaborate. The machinery to rule an empire is at hand, only there is no empire to rule. The very excellence of the engine of government is a stumbling-block in the way of its modification."

THE CORNHILL MAGAZINE.

IN the *Cornhill* for May we have Mr. Fitchett's fifth "Fight for the Flag," referring to George II. at Dettingen, in which he describes the famous four hours' fight that drove the French out of Germany and shattered the family compact. Mr. Leslie Stephen pays a brief but affectionate tribute to the memory of James Payn. Mr. Horace Hutchinson gossips upon the sights and scenes that can be witnessed in Birdcage Walk. Mr. Skene writes a paper entitled "The Ethics of the Tramp," from which it would appear that the tramp has no ethics, at least none such as come within the scope of the Ten Commandments. The diary which has long been a familiar feature of *Cornhill* is dropped. Mr. M. E. Paul, writing on "Social Evolution in Japan," attempts to draw a comparison between the characteristics of the Japanese and the English, taking Benjamin Kidd's book on "Social Evolution" as his text-book. He says:

"To determine the differences between the average Englishman and the average Japanese, we observe that the principal differences are three: the Englishman is credited with greater religious reverence, with a greater regard for 'truth for truth's sake,' and with greater humanity. On the other hand, in filial piety and in loyalty the Japanese stands higher than the Englishman."

The *Cornhill* for June is a fine number. Special notice elsewhere is claimed for Mr. Fitchett's "Fight for the Flag" and Charles Lamb's "Unpublished Letters." The specialty which *Cornhill* is developing as a purveyor of good stories of the anecdotal turn appears this month in Mr. R. M. Sillard's "Humors of the Theater," in which a great number of stage incidents known and unknown are massed together. Eccentricities of speculation are served up in a similar way by Mr. George Yard in his stories of "Panics and Prices," while the vagaries of women's dress during the last two generations are reviewed by Mrs. Simpson in her "Sixty Phases of Fashion."

THE QUARTERLY REVIEW.

THE first and much the ablest paper in the April number reviews the biographies of Pusey and Wiseman, and weaves the two narratives into a connected account of the movement with which both were associated.

AN AGE OF GREAT CHURCHMEN.

The present is "an age of great churchmen." The paper concludes with this hopeful outlook:

"There is a change for the better since the forces of unbelief have pitched their camp in the sight of Christians and called upon them to forget their differences in the presence of a common enemy. If we endeavor to sum up the results of a movement in which various

conflicting powers took their sides, it may perhaps be asserted that on the whole religion has gained. The Christian host, though still parted into squadrons, is not engaged in civil war; its regiments have drawn closer. . . . A deeper feeling has been drawn forth toward the spiritual elements of religion, and controversy is exchanged for development of life within the borders of each communion. Looking out on the world at large, it would seem as if the nominalism, materialism, and secularism of sixty years ago had been weighed and found wanting. Men are prepared to give the Christian Church fair play, to let it take up the reins of spiritual government once more and guide civilization to higher issues. In this unexpected revolution, now visible throughout Europe as well as among the English races, Keble, Newman, Pusey, Wilberforce, Wiseman, Manning, Lightfoot, and others whom we do not name have contributed their several parts. It has been, Gibbon would say, an age of great churchmen—this second half of the nineteenth century. The new time opens with a prospect inviting enough to demand all the efforts and enthusiasm of Christians toward realizing their ideals. . . . The modern Christian, if he understands his own age, will exercise his intellect, live detached from worldliness, aim at social improvement, and not shrink from the shadow of reform."

HOW TO STOP MILITARY ESPIONAGE.

A very lucid and succinct account of the Dreyfus case, comprising facsimiles of the *bordereau* and of the handwriting of Dreyfus and Esterhazy, opens with a survey of current distinctions between espionage and treason, and mentions a phase of Bismarck's diplomacy not too well known. "No one," says the reviewer, "has understood better how to make use of female agency" than the man of blood and iron. The case of General de Cissey, French minister of war in 1875, is cited:

"While a prisoner of war at Hamburg, having lost his wife, he succumbed to the charms of a certain Baroness de Kaulla, who had been the wife of Colonel Jung, and after peace had been made she accompanied her elderly admirer to Paris. It was, we are told, his usual habit to breakfast with his mistress after attending the council of ministers, and during the meal his portfolio of official papers was examined by the Baroness, who regularly remitted copies of its contents to Berlin."

The article ends with the hope that "the practice of officially employing public funds for secret military service, at least within countries where military *attachés* receive hospitality, may cease altogether." The suggestion is thrown out that the great powers should come to some definite understanding on this point.

NAPOLEON AND CROMWELL.

The "Unpublished Letters of Napoleon"—a greatly needed tonic to the baneful hero-worship of the Corsican adventurer—lead to the suggestion that "the hand of an unseen Providence which had decreed that he should destroy the old systems of Europe" showed itself working against him in his later days when his mission was accomplished.

"So at the end courage seemed to desert him. He fled in panic—not that he ever feared for his life, as malignant contemporaries pretended—to Paris, when coolness of head might at least have repaired some of the disaster of Waterloo. It was superstition—the

sense, after all deep within him, because it showed itself at such moments, that there is a moral government of the universe and that it had pronounced against him."

Yet the secret of his ruin was that "in the pride of his success he imagined that force, and force alone swayed the destiny of the world."

Mr. Gardiner's history of the commonwealth is held by the reviewer to give a juster view of Cromwell than either Carlyle or Hume or Guizot. Violence, though reluctantly resorted to by the great Protector, brought its own Nemesis in the end. "He might have had the fame of Washington. His place in history is that of a high-minded Napoleon." Says Mr. Gardiner:

"The tragedy of his career lies in the inevitable result that his efforts to establish religion and morality melted away as the morning mist, while his abiding influence was built upon the vigor with which he promoted the material aims of his countrymen."

THE BICYCLE AND TEMPERANCE.

A new temperance auxiliary is discovered by the erudite *Quarterly* reviewer who writes this month on "Trade Unions in Theory and Practice." It is nothing else than the bicycle. Says he: "Excessive drinking is largely the result of the lack of unintellectual amusements such as appear to the duller spirits which are to be found among the poor as well as in every other class. A fall of 25 or 50 per cent. in the cost of bicycles . . . would make the bicycle a more formidable competitor with the public-house than the comparative remoteness of independence and property and all they connote has ever suffered them to be." Here, then, is a task for temperance societies—to find some means of cheapening bicycles.

OTHER ARTICLES.

"Changes in the Unchanging East" is the title of a paper which declares the corruption of the officials to be the chief hindrance to the salvation of China. The acquisition of Wei-Hai-Wei is deplored as an unfortunate necessity. The only safe course for China is held to be the opening of all her maritime and inland ports to foreign trade and the consequent protection of the treaty powers; but this she will not follow.

The poems of Bacchylides are described and discussed in a most interesting article. More ancient documents still supply an instructive paper on prehistoric arts and crafts, which mentions the conclusions of Keane, Huxley, and Schrader, that the cradleland of the Aryan race lay in the Eurasian Steppe country to the east of the Dnieper. The cradleland of the entire human race is found by Keane in a lost Indo-African continent now represented by Madagascar.

THE EDINBURGH REVIEW.

THERE is a great deal of excellent reading in the April number, but not very much which demands special notice. The complexion of this number is in the main historical, "the living present" having scant attention paid to it.

THE BEST AMERICAN FICTION.

A sympathetic survey of "Noyels of American Life" finds "Democracy" to be "the most accomplished work of art." The writer declares that Miss Mary Wilkins has founded a school comparable to that of Galt or Barrie.

"She has studied her New England folk to the marrow of their bones, and she portrays them unsparingly, yet lovingly." An analysis of her "Pembroke" is given and of Mr. Harold Frederic's "Illumination."

"We set Mr. Crane's promise beside the performance of Mr. Frederic, Mr. Allen, and Miss Wilkins as the best that modern American literature has to show. . . . Altogether, the school of American novelists actually existing is rich in widely varied excellence of manner and widely varied range of interest. It is essentially conscientious in its workmanship and serious, even scientific, in aim; upon the whole, a body of literature which is not marked out by any commanding achievement, but which, by its high average of power and vitality, might do honor to any age and any country."

GENERAL BOURBAKI.

A vivid narrative is given of General Bourbaki's life and adventures and his character thus outlined:

"As a regimental officer Bourbaki was superb—a perfect ideal type; but as a general officer he never enjoyed the good fortune of being able to exercise his full powers with a free hand. He had always been under the restraint of another's command. . . . Popular among his men, a general favorite among his equals, he was altruistic to a fault and always sank his own private interests in regard for the welfare of others. Gentle under suffering and loyal to his comrades, he made many friends, and such friendship when gained was never lost. . . . He was never accused of dishonor, and he bore with him to the grave an unsullied reputation."

THE CZAR-CARPENTER.

Peter the Great, his career and character, are sketched in an excellent paper. The myth of his two years' residence as carpenter in the Saardam shipyards is thus disposed of:

"It is by no means certain that the cottage to which pilgrimages are now made ever held the hard-working Czar, and it is an ascertained fact that the days spent in Saardam were exactly eight in number. No doubt he pressed a great deal into that week. He cooked his own food, bought a little yawl, put a new mast into her, and sailed her. He made love to the maid of the

inn and looked at the shops and forges and rope works and at the fifty wharves where merchant vessels were built. During these peregrinations he had stones thrown at him by the street-boys."

INIGO JONES AND CHRISTOPHER WREN.

A paper on "The Understanding of Architecture" describes Inigo Jones as an architect such as none of his predecessors for a hundred years had been. He was the master-mind, the product of his age, as well as the creation of his own genius, the pioneer of individualism in architecture, who absorbed the best that Italian masters could give him, yet was himself characteristically English. He is contrasted with his rival and successor Wren, and not to the advantage of the latter:

"That Wren suffered as well as gained by the universality of his genius, that he virtually began as an amateur, that he was allowed to learn his architecture on the scaffolding of his own buildings, that his taste was uncertain and his work sometimes immature, are propositions which no student of Wren's work can deny."

OTHER ARTICLES.

Archæology is well represented, beginning with recent Babylonian discoveries, from which the reviewer gathers, as all that can be said with certainty of the beginnings of Chaldean civilization in Ur, that "at some early period before 2300 B.C., the kings of Ur were ruling over the whole of Mesopotamia and over North Syria to the shores of the Mediterranean; and that . . . it is probable that they claimed suzerainty also in Palestine to the borders of Egypt." The antiquities of Hallamshire come next in the order of time, and are discussed in a manner certain to arouse intense interest in the hearts of patriotic Sheffielders. English Jesuits and Scottish intrigues, 1581-82, are passed in such review as to show how the Jesuit leaders were forced from purely religious propaganda into political intrigue, just as Elizabeth was compelled to abandon tolerance for persecution. The story of the Elliott clan or Minto family is told. Science is represented by a paper on recent solar eclipses written in a style which suggests an author more at home in Latin composition than in English.

THE CONTINENTAL REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES.

IT is interesting to observe that the *Revue des Deux Mondes* is the only one of the three great French reviews which has ventured to publish anything about the Spanish-American war, and even that is concerned chiefly with the naval strength of the opposing powers, and not with the extremely delicate international questions which the struggle has opened up. We have noticed elsewhere M. Proal's article on "Suicides from Want in Paris" in the first May number.

THE GREEKS.

M. Fouillée contributes a psychological study of the Greeks, in which he shows pretty clearly that the claim of the modern Greeks to be the lineal descendants of the great peoples who made Hellas famous and taught the arts of civilization to Rome cannot be admitted, though it is a mistake to say, with Fallmerayer, that the Greeks of to-day descend solely from Grecized Slavs.

ENGLAND AND FRANCE ON THE NIGER.

M. Auzou undertakes the delicate task of dealing with the thorny problems at issue between England and France in West Africa, which we have often been told of late are at last on the verge of settlement. Of course the paper is written entirely from the French point of view, and the British contention that they were first in the field in regard to the disputed territories is waved aside with a most amusing coolness. But the whole spirit of the article is encouraging to the friends of peace, as well as to those warlike people who believe that England's real enemy is not France.

THE WOMEN OF FRENCH CANADA.

Mme. Thérèse Bentzon, having apparently completed her American studies, has now undertaken a series on the women of French Canada, the first article of which—on the charitable institutions—appears in the second

May number of the *Revue*. She describes in a most interesting manner in this paper the convents of French Canada, and roundly declares that the convents of nuns are much better managed than the convents of monks.

THE SPANISH AND AMERICAN NAVIES.

The public is probably surfeited with elaborate estimates of the comparative naval strength of the combatants in the present war, more especially as it is by this time notorious that no two experts agree either in the facts or in the deductions to be drawn from them. The anonymous article on the Spanish and American fleets which M. Brunetière has provided for the *Revue's* readers is not at all deficient in the customary historical details and lists of warships; and if the writer had stopped there it would not have been necessary to say much about his article. But he takes the view, which seems to be novel, that Spain ought to have declared war at the end of 1897. She was not ready then, but she was less unprepared than the enemy. She should, in the opinion of this authority, have resolutely taken the offensive, destroyed Key West, ravaged the Atlantic coast, and then attacked the only naval force which the United States maintained there. The writer cannot help finding fault with his friends the Spaniards for their lethargy. He reminds them of the "brutal aggressions" committed by England on Spain in 1789, 1779, and 1797, and he concludes by pointing out bluntly that the Spaniards were fools for not taking advantage of their refusal to adhere to the Declaration of Paris, by having recourse to privateering on a large scale.

OTHER ARTICLES.

Among other articles may be mentioned an able study of J. F. Millet, the painter of the "Angelus," and his art, by M. Valbert; some interesting extracts from a forthcoming book about Marshal Canrobert; and a review of Count Tolstoi's book on art by M. Doumic.

REVUE DE PARIS.

THE most interesting article in the May numbers of the *Revue de Paris* is M. Mabilleau's attempt to fathom the causes which led to the recent revolutionary outbreak in Italy.

TAXATION AND USURY IN ITALY.

Although fully admitting the terrible over-taxation which the present government finds it is compelled to exact from the people, he declares that a great number of taxpayers simply do not pay their taxes at all. But, of course, the more prosperous a district the more heavily does the taxation weigh on the farmer and on the peasantry. Thus in some districts every lire of profit drawn from agriculture is paid straight away to the tax collector, and it is in these districts that evictions are constantly taking place. In 1892 there were 2,000 evictions, and in some cases cottages were emptied because the owner did not or would not pay taxes to the modest extent of two liras, and the Treasury, in order to gather in 2,000 liras of taxes, spends 3,000 liras in costs. Specie has practically disappeared, paper money is worth nothing, and now small portions of land are used as ready money. This is so true that nothing like a steady system of sowing and reaping is pursued, and the small proprietors, on whom so much of the wealth and security of a continental country de-

pend, have no heart to work for the future. Another interesting point brought out by the French writer is the extraordinary strides made by usury during the last few years. The wealthier farmers lend money to their tenants and workpeople at 120 and 150 per cent., taking out their interest in work; thus whole families become slaves, and debts are carried over from one generation to another. Mortgages play a great part in Italian agricultural finance; indeed, one member of the Italian Parliament suggested, as the only way of restoring prosperity to agricultural Italy, that every mortgage should be annulled by law, and one of his colleagues observed: "Our country is no longer a geographical expression; it is a mortgaged expression."

MOLTKE'S TRAINING.

It is a curious fact that the Spanish-American war does not seem to have inspired any contributor to the *Revue*; though in this connection Commandant Rousset's careful and elaborate analysis of what made Moltke the greatest military commander of modern times is interesting. He points out that Moltke was sixty before he really, in any true sense, came to the front as a leader. To be absolutely accurate, he was fifty-seven when the Prince Regent of Prussia, who seems to have divined the man's important qualities, lifted him out of the ruck of the more or less talented soldier diplomats of that day. Till then Moltke had never seen war; he served his apprenticeship in 1864, profiting by the lessons he had then learned two years later, when Prussia destroyed the fighting power of her present ally, Austria. Fortunately for himself and for Germany, the great general had occupied an important post in the Berlin War Academy, where several generations of Prussian soldiers had been trained. Thus Moltke, before he ever had any reason to suppose that he would ever take supreme command, was fashioning the men who were to serve under him, and there can be no doubt that he owed the mechanical perfection with which the Franco-Prussian campaign was carried out to the fact that he and his officers were in thorough sympathy and understanding with one another.

TOLSTOI'S TIRADE AGAINST WAGNER.

All lovers of music will turn with eager curiosity to Count Tolstoi's lucid and brilliant account of the impression produced on him by Wagner. Till last winter the great Russian novelist had never had an opportunity of seeing a Wagnerian performance, and when he was told that the second day of "The Nibelungen Ring" was to be given at Moscow, he made up his mind that he would go and see for himself. To him the singing, such as it was, was screaming pure and simple, and he does not seem to have discovered the slightest melody in any one passage. This is how he sums up the first act: "All this was so false, so stupid, that I could hardly bear to remain to the end; but my friends implored me to remain, assuring me that it is impossible to judge of a play from the first act, and that the others would be better." Alas! the second part annoyed Count Tolstoi even more than the first had done, and he declares that he felt exceedingly exasperated to see 3,000 people round him listening in a docile manner to this grotesque absurdity, and at last he left the theater in disgust. "Why," he asks himself, "do people crowd to Bayreuth from every corner of the world?" This is his answer: "Wagner, thanks to the huge sums

of money placed at his disposal by the King of Bavaria, utilized the marvelous power and effected all those things which obscure and falsify art . . . He makes what most people consider poetry his own—sleeping beauties, naiads, gnomes, bobbies, loves, incests, monsters, and singing birds. Everything is calculated with a view to effect." Also Tolstoi evidently believes that Wagner has the power of hypnotizing his audiences, and he gives a very unflattering picture of those who composed the audience when he assisted at a Wagnerian performance. "And this is how a false, gross, and absurd production which has nothing in common with art becomes known to the whole world, costs millions to produce, and corrupts more and more the tastes of the higher classes and their sentiment of art and beauty."

NOUVELLE REVUE.

AS usual, Mme. Juliette Adam devotes a great deal of space in the *Nouvelle Revue* to politics. The first May number opens with an article dedicated to present and future ministers of foreign affairs—on France's colonial policy.

FRENCH COLONIAL POLICY.

The writer, M. de Pouvoirville, does not touch on the West African problem. He deals exclusively with the possessions, actual and to come, of France in the far East. He considers that France has presumptive right to Siam, and he denies that she has any practical interest in furthering the dismemberment of China. He even goes so far as to say that Russia would much prefer the *status quo*. The most interesting point about the article is that, perhaps unconsciously, the writer makes it clear that what the "Colonial party" desire are not colonies in the sense of Australia or Cape Colony, but possessions which, like India, may be a source of immediate wealth. He frankly says that the only reason why France would view with disfavor the partition of China is that she is not strong enough at present to hold in any real sense the territory that she, as a great European nation, would be entitled to as her share of the *partage*.

VASCO DA GAMA.

Don Telles da Gama continues his extremely interesting account of his great ancestor, the Portuguese admiral who discovered the Cape route to India. Few people are aware that Great Britain's colony of Natal owes its name to Vasco da Gama having made the coast on Christmas Day. In honor of the Nativity he christened the spot "Porto Natal." As was indicated last month, Don da Gama has had the advantage of basing his observations upon contemporary and hitherto unpublished documents which unquestionably throw a most valuable light not only upon the personality of the explorer himself, but also on the place-names of India and South Africa.

NAPOLEON'S PROPHECIES.

M. Banal opens the second number of the *Nouvelle Revue* with an analysis of how far the predictions or prophecies made by Napoleon I. have been justified by events. M. Banal is in possession of some notes of conversations held by Napoleon with his secretary and others during the Hundred Days. He seems, if the original writer can be trusted, to have been dowered with a kind of second sight. M. Banal declares that at one moment

(in 1807) Napoleon was on the point of forming a Franco-Russian alliance. "I went so far as to offer the Emperor [Alexander I.] Constantinople," he exclaimed to one of his confidants. Napoleon foresaw the supremacy of Prussia, and he even realized the probability of a United Germany. "Italy will become one kingdom; Spain, deprived of her colonies, will join Portugal; Greece will recover Macedonia and the Ionian Islands; in the Balkans independent states will arise and become as firmly established as are Switzerland and Holland; Austria will have to count with an Hungarian empire; Russia will build up her commercial supremacy at Constantinople, England will do the same in Africa; France will play all alone a philosophical and intellectual rôle." It is now strange to read these sentences, for if really uttered by Napoleon they prove him to have had a singular power of seeing into the future.

HORSEMANSHIP IN DIFFERENT COUNTRIES.

The Duchesse de Fitz-James, a notable horsewoman, contributes a few pages in which she compares the various forms of horsemanship common and individual to Frenchmen, Englishmen, and Germans. She ascribes to her own countrymen grace and *finesse*, to the English rider strength and power, to the German military precision. It would have been interesting to have her views on the various breeds of riding-horses patronized by the three nations, and how far each breed was affected by the idiosyncrasies of the riders.

OTHER ARTICLES.

Madame Adam has been fortunate in securing a hitherto unpublished account of the quaint *Fête de la Fédération* celebrated at Orleans on May 9, 1790.

Other articles consist of the concluding chapters of M. de Saint-Genis' work on Condé's army, the Salon of 1898, and Madame Adam's two open letters on contemporary European politics.

THE GERMAN MAGAZINES.

UNDER the title of "My Apprenticeship," Wilhelm Liebknecht gives us an interesting bit of autobiography in the *Neue Deutsche Rundschau* for April. In June, 1896, Miss Edith Sellers contributed to the *Fortnightly Review* a sketch of the German socialist leader, but in her article the biography may almost be said to begin where Herr Liebknecht leaves off in his autobiographical notes—that is to say, at the point where he had set out for America, but got to Switzerland instead. In 1846, at the age of twenty, he became an apprentice in the carpenter's trade, but we do not hear very much of the carpentering, for it was not long before Herr Liebknecht was at war with Metternich and the existing political system. Had not the demagogue-baiting already cost Pastor Weidig (a relative of Herr Liebknecht's) his life? And on his way home from Berlin to Hesse, through Bohemia, in March, 1846, notwithstanding that his passport was in perfect order, had he not been arrested, on suspicion of complicity in the Polish conspiracy, by Austrian gendarmes, and after being brought before the police, had he not been turned out of the Austrian states and conducted by gendarmes across the frontier? His real wish was to be a professor, but with his political and religious views it was useless to think of it in Germany. There seemed nothing for it but to emigrate with a number of comrades who proposed to set out for

Wisconsin in the following year; and as felling trees and building log cabins would be the first occupation in the new colony to be founded, Herr Liebknecht resolved to learn what he could in the meantime. He worked hard and was quite a model apprentice till one day in August, when he came into conflict with the academic senate in the cause of a young student. In the autumn of the same year he left Giessen for Marburg, and in the autumn of the following year (1847) he was about to cross the Atlantic, when he was induced to retrace his steps to Switzerland, and in February, 1848, we find him in Paris with Herwegh the poet, then in Switzerland again, then in Baden, then in prison, and so forth.

BEETHOVEN AND WAGNER.

The Beethoven biographers and their methods are an attractive study. One of the most interesting and perhaps the most devoted to his subject was the late Alexander W. Thayer, for some time United States consul at Trieste. Strangely enough, his great work does not seem to be so widely known and appreciated as one might have expected it to be, but being written in German, it may be it is only awaiting the translator. Meanwhile we may turn to another industrious Beethoven student, Alfred C. Kalischer, who contributes two delightful articles to the German reviews for April.

In the *Deutsche Revue* Herr Kalischer begins another series of unpublished Beethoven letters, a previous series of forty hitherto unpublished letters from Beethoven to Freiherr N. von Zmeskall-Domanovecz and Nannette Streicher having been brought out by him in the January number of the *Revue*. Since the January series was given to the world Herr Kalischer has discovered fifty more still unknown letters in the Otto Jahn bequest to the Royal Library at Berlin, and it is these he has begun to issue in the April *Revue*.

The other Beethoven article is in *Nord und Süd* for April. It deals with Antonia and Maximiliana Brentano as Beethoven worshippers. Antonia Brentano was the wife of Franz Brentano and Maximiliana was their daughter, and Beethoven considered them "his best friends in the world." In 1812, when Maximiliana was but a child of twelve, Beethoven composed a little pianoforte trio as an encouragement for her to make the most of her musical talent. It is also recorded that shortly after she received the trio she accidentally upset a glass of cold water over Beethoven's head. Later he dedicated to her the piano sonata in E major (op. 109), and to Antonia he dedicated the "Thirty-three Variations on a Waltz by Diabelli" (op. 120). Frau Antonia Brentano died in 1869, nearly ninety years of age. Her daughter Maximiliana became Frau von Plittersdorff, of Frankfurt. Beethoven's letters to the Brentanos are now in the Beethoven house, at Bonn.

Wagner seems inexhaustible. In the April *Neue Deutsche Rundschau* Wagner's letters to Emil Heckel are concluded, and in Heft 10 of *Ueber Land und Meer* Walter Paetow gives a brief description of the Wagner Museum in the Fritz Reuter Villa at Eisenach, which was opened to the public in the summer of last year. The collection was formed by Nikolaus Oesterlein.

POETRY AND ART.

On April 2 occurred the hundredth anniversary of the birth of August Heinrich Hoffmann, the author of

Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles; hence several references to the poet in the German magazines, notably *Ueber Land und Meer* (Heft 10) and *Vom Fels zum Meer* (Heft 16). Hoffmann was born at Fallersleben, and is generally known as Hoffmann of Fallersleben. He composed the melodies for several of his poems, but that did not prevent the musicians from providing other settings, and few poets have been so much honored in this way. *Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles* was written in Heligoland in 1841, and it is sung to the melody of the Austrian imperial hymn composed by Haydn. A brief sketch of the poet appeared in this REVIEW for November, 1892.

A new art monthly, *Ver Sacrum*, has been started at Vienna by the firm Gerlach & Schenk as the organ of the Association of Austrian Artists. The April number contains an article on art criticism by Wilhelm Schölermann, but the pictures, which are beautifully reproduced, form the chief contents. The current number gives examples of the work of Max Liebermann, J. V. Krämer, Rudolf Bacher, Rudolf Alt, Max Kurzweil, and others.

THE ITALIAN REVIEWS.

CONCERNING the Milan riots and the present position of affairs in Italy, the *Nuova Antologia* (May 16) has an outspoken and sensible article by Signor Ferraris, an Italian Deputy. Among the primary causes of the outbreak he places hunger. "Actual starvation," he writes, "in the strict sense of the word may be rare in Italy, but there is a chronic semi-starvation among the laboring classes, who do not earn or consume sufficient for the normal sustenance of life. The governing powers in Italy will always fail as long as they do not take into consideration this melancholy and undeniable fact." The author condemns the weakness and indolence of the present government, which took no measures to deal with the recent rise in the price of wheat, and which, since its first formation, has devoted its energies far more to governing Parliament than to governing the country. As remedies he recommends fiscal reform, organized emigration, the creation of a ministry of labor, and a strong constitutional government. Of the strife between Church and state, however, which lies at the root of all the troubles of Italy, the author says nothing.

The *Civiltà Cattolica* (April 2) has a scathing article on three "supernomini": d'Annunzio, Maeterlinck, and Hall Caine, though on what conceivable principle they have been classed together it would be impossible to say. From the point of view of the *Civiltà* the morals of all three are equally deplorable. Ibsen also appears to have been penetrating of late into the Italian peninsula, but, judging from an article in the *Antologia* (April 16) by V. Morello, without much chance of appreciation. The mid-April number of the *Civiltà* contains an interesting study on the chronology of the life of St. Paul according to recent authorities.

The *Rassegna Nazionale* contains an excellent critical article on Demolins' book, "*A quel tient la supériorité des Anglo-Saxons?*" which has excited so much discussion on the continent. While taking exceptions to certain extreme conclusions, the writer admits that much of what Demolins says of the French nation applies with equal truth to the Italian.

THE NEW BOOKS.

RECENT AMERICAN PUBLICATIONS.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

Our Navy: Its Growth and Achievements. By Lieut. J. D. Jerrold Kelley, U. S. N. Illustrated by Fred. S. Cozzens. 4to, pp. 376. Hartford: American Publishing Company. \$10.

This volume represents the most successful attempt yet made to picture the development of our modern navy. Both text and illustrations serve to remind us of the immensity of the change from the old to the new in naval construction and requirements. The present war with Spain has revived interest in this branch of the national service, and merely to follow with intelligence the newspaper accounts of operations at sea demands a knowledge of the new conditions that few laymen possess. It is one of the merits of Lieutenant Kelley's work that it conveys such information in a popular form, although the thrilling tales of the old navy of Paul Jones, Decatur, Bainbridge, Stewart, Perry, and the rest, are by no means neglected. The illustration of the volume is most appropriate and complete. The twenty-four water-color paintings of warships by Mr. Cozzens have been reproduced by the lithographic process, and more than one hundred pen-and-ink sketches have been added. The work of Mr. Cozzens has been highly commended by Navy Department officials for accuracy and faithfulness to detail.

A History of the United States Navy from 1775 to 1898. By Edgar Stanton MacLay, A.M. With Technical Revisions by Lieut. R. C. Smith, U. S. N. Two vols., 8vo, pp. 698-640. New York: D. Appleton & Co. \$7.

This new edition of our standard naval history comes at an opportune time. A chapter has been added giving an account of the *Maine* disaster, the steps toward intervention in Cuba, the mobilization of the navy in the winter and spring of the present year, and finally of the operations at the outbreak of war with Spain and the battle of Manila Bay. Several timely pictures and maps have also been incorporated in the second volume, and many other important additions and changes have been made.

The Spaniard in History. By James C. Fernald. 12mo, pp. 114. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company. 75 cents.

Mr. Fernald gives in this small volume a kind of character sketch of the Spanish nation. The ordinary chronological method of history-writing is avoided, so far as possible, and an attempt is made to show in a series of striking pen-pictures the leading traits of the Spanish character as they stand revealed in a succession of historical events, from the beginning of Spain's imperial greatness down to the destruction of Montojo's ships in the harbor of Manila. The author gives abundant foot-note references to authorities.

American History Told by Contemporaries. Vol. II. Building of the Republic, 1689-1783. Edited by Albert Bushnell Hart. 8vo, pp. 664. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$2.

The second volume of Professor Hart's admirable publication of the sources of American history is made up, like the first, chiefly of materials which give us interesting glimpses of the personalities of the writers. To this fact the charm of the work is largely due. Peculiarities of style, diction, and spelling are faithfully preserved. This volume throws more light on the spirit and aims of the Revolution than any secondary authority could possibly do.

West Florida, and its Relation to the Historical Cartography of the United States. By Henry E. Chambers. Paper, 8vo, pp. 59. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. 25 cents.

This is an unusually interesting and intelligent discussion of a somewhat obscure episode in American history. The writer maintains the thesis that in limits and jurisdiction three separate and distinct West Floridas have existed—the British West Florida, organized in 1763 as a royal province; the Spanish West Florida, its immediate successor, and the independent state of West Florida, of much narrower limits, which existed only one month in the year 1810. Mr. Chambers clears up many disputed points in cartography.

Colonial and Revolutionary History of Upper South Carolina. By Dr. J. B. O. Landrum. 8vo, pp. 375. Campobella, S. C.: Published by the Author. \$2.

This work embodies the colonial and Revolutionary lore and traditions of Spartanburg County, South Carolina, with much biographical material of more than ordinary interest. It preserves much important information that might otherwise have been lost.

Canada During the Victorian Era: A Historical Review. By J. G. Bourinot, LL.D. 4to, pp. 81. Ottawa: J. Durlé & Son.

This sketch of Canadian progress since 1837, prepared by Dr. J. G. Bourinot, has been reprinted from the Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada. It is prefaced by an excellent map, and the volume is filled out by the insertion of a group of historical illustrations.

A History of Our Country. By Edward S. Ellis, A.M. 12mo, pp. 478. Boston: Lee & Shepard. \$1.

A good popular history of the United States, brought down to McKinley's administration and well illustrated.

How the Dutch Came to Manhattan. By Blanche McManus. 8vo, pp. 82. New York: E. R. Herrick & Co. \$1.25.

The quaint marginal drawings by the author add much to the interest of this little volume. The old Dutch burghers of New Amsterdam are cleverly pictured. The text, though mainly a repetition of an old story, is entertaining throughout.

The American Metropolis from Knickerbocker Days to the Present Time. By Frank Moss, LL.D. With an introduction by Rev. Charles H. Parkhurst, D.D. In three vols., 8vo, pp. 447-420-340. New York: Peter Fenelon Collier. \$4.

Dr. Parkhurst aptly characterizes this work as a "series of itineraries" by which the reader is made familiar with much of the history of Manhattan Island by being led to the very spots associated with important historical events. The last volume of the three is chiefly devoted to the New York City of to-day.

William Ewart Gladstone: His Characteristics as Man and Statesman. By James Bryce. 16mo, pp. 104. New York: The Century Company. \$1.

Of the many eulogies of Gladstone not one that has come to our notice has the permanent value of Mr. Bryce's tribute to his old leader. The author of "The American Commonwealth" served in two of Mr. Gladstone's cabinets and was closely associated with the Liberal chieftain for many years. Several years ago he gathered the material for

this sketch, which within a few weeks he has wholly revised. The final product is not a mere biographical compendium, but an exhaustive analysis of Gladstone's character as statesman, orator, and scholar. It is a remarkably impartial and yet sympathetic review of the most impressive career in modern times.

POLITICS AND SOCIOLOGY.

Financial Management of a War. By Henry C. Adams, Ph.D. Paper, 8vo, pp. 40. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 25 cents.

Professor Adams' very suggestive chapter on "Financial Management of a War" has been reprinted from his volume on "Public Debts." The problems connected with the meeting of war expenditures by taxation and by the proceeds of loans—just the problems that Congress has had to face during the last few weeks—are all discussed by Professor Adams in a masterly manner. This pamphlet is truly a financial "tract for the times."

Political Crime. By Louis Proal. With an introduction by Prof. Franklin H. Giddings. 12mo, pp. 377. New York: D. Appleton & Co. \$1.50.

The French publicist, M. Louis Proal, has made a brilliant and valuable contribution to the study of modern politics. Reviewing European experience, M. Proal deals with many forms of political corruption to which this country is happily a stranger, but as a people we are by no means free from the blight of venality. M. Proal's exposures suggest other wrongs which have been too easily condoned in the past. America might, indeed, furnish the material for a volume like this. It would have less of dramatic incident to relate, but the facts that it would disclose are perhaps not less significant than those of which M. Proal writes.

Social Evolution. By Benjamin Kidd. New Edition. 12mo, pp. 411. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$1.50.

The new edition of Mr. Kidd's "Social Evolution" contains considerable additions, including the author's reply to criticisms of his theories.

The Unquiet Sex. By Helen Watterson Moody. 12mo, pp. 159. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.25.

In this brief series of essays, written in a graceful and piquant style, the attitude of the modern woman toward certain phases of social progress is well set forth. The chapter-heads, "Woman Collegian," "Women's Clubs," "Women and Reforms," "The Evolution of 'Woman'" and "The Case of Maria," serve to give something of a clew to the subject-matter of the little volume. The writer's point of view in discussing these topics is peculiarly her own.

A Parliamentary Syllabus. By Joseph T. Robert. 8vo, pp. 62. Chicago: Scott, Foresman & Co. 50 cents.

Rules of Parliamentary Procedure. By John L. Branch. 12mo, pp. 75. New York: The Monograph Publishing Company. 75 cents.

Shattuck's Advanced Rules for Large Assemblies. A Supplement to the Woman's Manual of Parliamentary Law. By Harriette R. Shattuck. 16mo, pp. 136. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 50 cents.

The compiler of "A Parliamentary Syllabus" is the principal of a school of parliamentary law in Chicago and a brother of Col. H. M. Robert, author of "Robert's Rules of Order." The "Syllabus" is designed as an introduction to larger works.

Mr. John L. Branch, of the New York Bar, has prepared a brief popular exposition of modern parliamentary law for the use of clubs, societies, conventions, and mass meetings.

Mrs. Shattuck has compiled a book of "Advanced

Rules" to serve as a supplement to the very popular "Woman's Manual of Parliamentary Law," now in general use among women's organizations.

LITERARY CRITICISM.

William Shakespeare: A Critical Study. By George Brandes. Two vols., 8vo, pp. 411—439. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$8.

Dr. Brandes, the great Danish writer and critic, whose work is not altogether unknown to English and American readers, has made an important contribution to Shakespearean criticism. His study of the poet appears in Copenhagen in three volumes. These have been translated into English by Mr. William Archer, Miss Mary Morison, and Miss Diana White, and are now published in two volumes, the proofs of the whole work having been revised by Dr. Brandes himself. The author has not confined himself rigidly to the critic's office, but has entered with enthusiasm on the task of reconstructing, as it were, the personality of Shakespeare from the fragments of evidence found within the plays themselves and from countless external facts and inferences.

The Poems of Shakespeare. Edited, with an introduction and notes, by George Wyndham. 12mo, pp. 499. Boston: T. Y. Crowell & Co. \$2.

A scholarly edition of "Venus and Adonis," "Lucrece," the "Sonnets," and "A Lover's Complaint," prepared by a member of the British Parliament. The editor's introduction and notes together occupy considerably more than half the volume, the former containing a well-written sketch of Shakespeare's life and the latter dealing with the numerous knotty problems that have arisen in connection with the poems. The whole forms an excellent example of sound and healthful literary criticism.

How to Study Shakespeare. By William H. Fleming. With an introduction by W. J. Rolfe. 16mo, pp. 444. New York: Doubleday & McClure Company. \$1.

This book should prove especially helpful to Shakespeare clubs. It forms an excellent guide to the study of eight of the principal plays. In the case of each play the source of the plot is first considered; then follow explanatory notes on the text, a table of acts and scenes in which each character appears (useful in assigning readings to members of clubs), a series of questions on subjects suggested by the play, and finally a list of books for collateral reading.

The Shorter Poems of John Milton. Arranged in Chronological Order, with introduction, by Andrew J. George, M.A. New York: The Macmillan Company. 60 cents.

Professor George has succeeded in presenting within the small compass of this volume considerable historical, biographical, and critical material which could not easily be found elsewhere by the inexperienced student. The book grew out of a suggestion by Senator Hoar, who confessed his own difficulties in comprehending allusions in "Lycidas." Many such difficulties, in this and other poems, are cleared away by Professor George's scholarly notes.

Tennyson's Debt to Environment: A Study of Tennyson's England as an Introduction to his Poems. By William G. Ward. 16mo, pp. 100. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 50 cents.

A modestly helpful addition to the list of works devoted to Tennyson. The tone of criticism represented in its pages is taken from a broad and sympathetic study of the Victorian era in English history.

The Best of Browning. By Rev. James Mudge, D.D. With an introduction by Rev. William V. Kelley, D.D. 12mo, pp. 252. New York: Eaton & Mains. \$1.50.

In this volume Dr. Mudge gives a selection from Browning's poetry, with biographical and critical studies and notes.

Matthew Arnold and the Spirit of the Age: Papers of the English Club of Sewanee. Edited by the Rev. Greenough White. 8vo, pp. 148. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$1.25.

These papers well deserved publication in a form calculated to insure a reading by a larger circle than that for which they were originally prepared. The English Club, of Sewanee, Tenn., is one of the most vigorous institutions of its kind in the South. Some of the work of its members appears from time to time in the pages of the *Sewanee Review*, which, so far as we know, is the only quarterly journal in America devoted exclusively to literary studies. For the maintenance of this periodical the faculty and students of the University of the South and the members of the English Club are deserving of the highest praise. A year's study of Matthew Arnold as the representative critic of the social and literary life of his time afforded the material of a highly instructive and suggestive volume. The individual writers of the papers disclaim originality, but the series taken as a whole presents many novel points of view and contributes not a little to intelligent criticism and genuine culture.

Emerson, and Other Essays. By John Jay Chapman. 12mo, pp. 247. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.25.

Mr. Chapman's essays are all readable, and while the opinions expressed may antagonize certain cherished beliefs and sympathies of the reader, the form of the expression goes far to win reluctant assent. Mr. Chapman delights in epigram and in terse statement. Next to his "Emerson," Mr. Chapman's study of Walt Whitman is likely to attract more attention than anything else he has written thus far. Mr. Chapman's views of Whitman are expressed with the utmost frankness, and would hardly form a satisfactory confession of faith for any group of followers of the Whitman cult.

Criticisms, Reflections, and Maxims of Goethe. Translated, with an introduction, by W. B. Rönnefeldt. 12mo, pp. 295. New York: A. Lovell & Co. 40 cents.

This volume contains Goethe's criticisms of Shakespeare and Byron, together with several other literary essays and fragments, and a full collection of Goethe's famous "Reflections and Maxims."

French Literature of Today: A Study of the Principal Romancers and Essayists. By Yetta Blazé de Bury. 12mo, pp. 284. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$1.50.

This volume contains brief appreciations of Pierre Loti, Guy de Maupassant, Zola, Edmond de Goncourt, Jean Martin Charcot, Paul Bourget, Eugène Melchior de Vogüé, Ferdinand Brunetière, Jules Lemaitre, Anatole France, Madame Blanc ("Th. Bentzon"), and Paul Verlaine. The writer's aim has been to make the "essence of the French literary genius" felt by American readers.

A History of Italian Literature. By Richard Garnett. 12mo, pp. 443. New York: D. Appleton & Co. \$1.50.

Dr. Garnett's volume appears in the same series with

Gilbert Murray's "Ancient Greek Literature," Professor Dowden's "French Literature," and Edmund Gosse's "English Literature," each of which is a model in its kind and has already been noticed in this REVIEW. Like its predecessors in the series, Dr. Garnett's book deals with Italian literature as a whole rather than with writers as individuals. It does not profess to be "a string of biographies," as the author remarks in the preface, "but a biography of Italian Literature herself regarded as a single entity revealed through a succession of personages, the less gifted among whom may be true embodiments of her spirit for the time being."

In Praise of Omar: An Address before the Omar Khayyám Club. By the Hon. John Hay. 12mo, pp. 15. Portland, Maine: Thomas B. Mosher. 25 cents.

The address by Ambassador Hay at the dinner of the Omar Khayyám Club in London, December 8, 1897, was pronounced by those who heard it "a masterpiece of literary oratory." It has been published by Thomas B. Mosher, of Portland, Me., in attractive form, and will be appreciated by all admirers of the Persian bard.

MAPS AND CHARTS.

Special Map Illustrating the Spanish-American War. New York: (Imported by) Charles Scribner's Sons. 25 cents.

The war map published in England by George Philip & Son and imported to this country by the Scribners is one of the most accurate and convenient that we have seen. The submarine cable lines and ocean steamship routes are clearly indicated, and the Philippines, as well as the West Indies, and represented in detail and apparently with reasonable accuracy.

Comparative Synoptical Charts of History. Toronto: Comparative Synoptical Chart Company.

A very satisfactory series of historical charts has been prepared under the supervision of Mr. A. H. Scaife. The distinctive feature of these charts is the application of an exact time-scale in the presentation of any given historical period. The idea of distance between events is thus conveyed accurately and impressively. Many ingenious devices are employed in representing historic movements to the eye. Mr. Scaife's chart of the Cuban question covers the past fifty years of Cuba's history more graphically. It more than fills the place of a printed volume on the subject. The same is true of the chart devoted to Mr. Gladstone's life and times. Mr. Scaife also publishes wall charts of United States, English, and Canadian history, a special chart of the American Civil War, a genealogical tree of British sovereigns from 494 to 1897, and the history of the first century of the Christian era, including the principal events in the life of Christ.

English Literature: Comparative Chart of Prominent Authors. Compiled by J. B. Horner. New York: The Macmillan Company.

All the more important English authors, from Caedmon to Herbert Spencer, are represented on this chart, which should be a valuable aid to the student in fixing dates and relations.



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Abbreviations of Magazine Titles used in the Index.

[All the articles in the leading reviews are indexed, but only the more important articles in the other magazines.]

AP.	American Amateur Photographer, N. Y.	DR.	Deutsche Revue, Stuttgart. Ed.	NW.	New World, Boston.
AAPS.	Annals of the Am. Academy of Pol. and Soc. Science, Phila.	EdRNY.	Educational Review, N. Y.	NC.	Nineteenth Century, London.
AMRR.	American Monthly Review of Reviews, N. Y.	EngM.	Engineering Magazine, N. Y.	NAR.	North American Review, N.Y.
APS.	Appleton's Popular Science Monthly, N. Y.	EM.	España Moderna, Madrid.	NR.	Nouvelle Revue, Paris.
A.	Arena, Boston.	FR.	Fortnightly Review, London.	NA.	Nuova Antologia, Rome.
AA.	Art Amateur, N. Y.	F.	Forum, N. Y.	OC.	Open Court, Chicago.
AI.	Art Interchange, N. Y.	FrL.	Frank Leslie's Monthly, N. Y.	O.	Outing, N. Y.
AM.	Atlantic Monthly, Boston.	GM.	Gentleman's Magazine, London.	OM.	Overland Monthly, San Francisco.
Bad.	Badminton, London.	G.	Godey's, N. Y.	PMM.	Pall Mall Magazine, London.
BankL.	Bankers' Magazine, London.	GBag.	Green Bag, Boston.	PSQ.	Political Science Quarterly, Boston.
BankNY.	Bankers' Magazine, N. Y.	GMag.	Gunter's Magazine, N. Y.	PA.	Photo-American, N. Y.
BW.	Biblical World, Chicago.	Harp.	Harper's Magazine, N. Y.	RN.	Rassegna Nazionale, Florence.
BU.	Bibliothèque Universelle, Lausanne.	HM.	Home Magazine, N. Y.	Refs.	Réforme Sociale, Paris.
Black.	Blackwood's Magazine, Edinburgh.	HomR.	Homiletic Review, N. Y.	RRL.	Review of Reviews, London.
BTJ.	Board of Trade Journal, London.	IA.	Irrigation Age, Chicago.	RRM.	Review of Reviews, Melbourne.
Bkman.	Bookman, N. Y.	JAES.	Journal of the Ass'n of Engineering Societies, Phila.	RP.	Revue de Paris, Paris.
CanM.	Canadian Magazine, Toronto.	JF.	Journal of Finance, London.	RDM.	Revue des Deux Mondes, Paris.
CFM.	Cassell's Family Magazine, London.	Kind.	Kindergarten, Chicago.	RE.	Revue Encyclopédique, Paris.
CasM.	Cassier's Magazine, N. Y.	K.	Knowledge, London.	RG.	Revue Générale, Brussels.
CW.	Catholic World, N. Y.	LHJ.	Ladies' Home Journal, Phila.	RPP.	Revue Politique et Parliaméntaire, Paris.
CM.	Century Magazine, N. Y.	LH.	Lelsure Hour, London.	RRP.	Revue de Paris, Paris.
CJ.	Chambers's Journal, Edinburgh.	Lipp.	Lippincott's Magazine, Phila.	RS.	Revue Scientifique, Paris.
CR.	Charities Review, N. Y.	Long.	Longman's Magazine, London.	RSoc.	Revue Socialiste, Paris.
CR.	Chautauquan, Meadville, Pa.	McCl.	McClure's Magazine, N. Y.	R.	Rosary, Somerset, Ohio.
C.	Cornhill, London.	Mac.	Macmillan's Magazine, London.	San.	Sanitarian, N. Y.
Cos.	Cosmopolitan, N. Y.	Men.	Menorah Monthly, N. Y.	Scots.	Scots Magazine, Perth.
Cosmop.	Cosmopolis, London.	Met.	Metaphysical Magazine, N. Y.	Scrib.	Scribner's Magazine, N. Y.
Dem.	Demorest's Family Magazine, N. Y.	MidM.	Midland Monthly, Des Moines, Iowa.	SR.	Sewanee Review, Sewanee, Tenn.
DH.	Deutscher Hauschatz, Regensburg.	MisH.	Missionary Herald, Boston.	Str.	Strand Magazine, London.
		MisR.	Missionary Review, N. Y.	USM.	United Service Magazine, London.
		M.	Month, London.	WR.	Westminster Review, London.
		MM.	Munsey's Magazine, N. Y.	WM.	Werner's Magazine, N. Y.
		Mus.	Music, Chicago.	WPM.	Wilson's Photographic Magazine, N. Y.
		NatM.	National Magazine, Boston.	YR.	Yale Review, New Haven.
		NatR.	National Review, London.		
		NEM.	New England Magazine, Boston.		



THE AMERICAN MONTHLY REVIEW OF REVIEWS.

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW.

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THE "VIZCAYA" AS SHE LAY STRANDED AFTER THE DESTRUCTION OF CERVERA'S SQUADRON.

For the remarkable photograph from which the above is reproduced, and for a number of others with which Mr. Churchill's article on the naval fight at Santiago is illustrated (see page 168), we are indebted to the courtesy of Mr. Hearst, of the *New York Journal*, who was present with his yacht and a famous New York photographer, and succeeded in obtaining a series of pictures probably unparalleled in naval annals.

THE AMERICAN MONTHLY

Review of Reviews.

VOL. XVIII.

NEW YORK, AUGUST, 1898.

No. 2.

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD.

*Our New
Island
Territory.*

Five years ago, when the treaty providing for the annexation of Hawaii negotiated under President Harrison's administration was a leading topic of argument and discussion, there were very few men on either side of the question who took the ground that Hawaiian annexation would signify the entrance upon a new era in our political and international history. The controversy at that time was largely of a personal nature. The opposition to Hawaiian annexation afterward shifted its ground from time to time. At length, in the present year, the stand was squarely made upon the line of firm opposition to all territorial expansion on the part of the United States and to all policies looking toward a larger American participation in the affairs of the world in general. It is extremely fortunate that the Hawaiian question should thus finally have been faced and settled upon its true merits. The attempt in the first year of the last administration to destroy the Hawaiian republic and to take up a discredited and untrustworthy personage—neither noble in lineage nor competent to rule—and to replace her upon a tinsel throne, with power to wreck great American interests and with the one bloodthirsty desire to behead magnificent Americans like Dole, Thurston, and Judd, was the most disgraceful chapter in the history of more than a hundred years of American diplomacy. The stain of it can never be wholly wiped out. Happily, however, it has all receded so far into the past that it might have happened in the administration of Martin Van Buren, so far as the issues of this year are concerned. No question of Indiana personal politics has in the end been allowed to affect the destinies of Hawaii.

*The Blessings
of Delay.*

The reverses and delays that always at the moment seem so harmful when some just and important cause is pending often prove useful in the end. And so it has been in the case of the Hawaiian Islands.

Their ultimate annexation has not been doubtful to men of broad vision. Meanwhile, it has turned out a fortunate thing that the Hawaiian republic should have had the experiences of the past five years. Opportunity has been found for the careful analysis of all the leading problems that the island community must deal with for a long time to come. The men who are best fitted to exercise public leadership have been brought to the front and have been thoroughly tested. President Dole has been revealed to his fellow-men of Hawaii, to the United States, and to Europe as a man of the highest type and a statesman of great breadth and ability. The administration of this little island republic has been a model of honesty and intelligence. The people have been better off by far than they ever were before. The old personal issues, having to do with the scandalous conspiracy for the reinstatement of "Queen" Liliuokalani, had disappeared. Minister Willis himself had seen the futility of the policy that he had been sent to Honolulu to carry out, and before his death in the islands he had entered upon relations of a very frank and friendly nature with the government to which he was openly accredited, and had abandoned his clandestine negotiations with the ex-queen to whom he had been secretly accredited by the administration at Washington. Congress had most vigorously disavowed and resented the diplomatic policy of duplicity, and there was no longer any danger that our administration might use the navy to destroy the Hawaiian republic.

*The Politics
of Sugar.*

Thus the issue was shifted from the claims of the deposed Liliuokalani to the economic aspects of annexation. The new treaty submitted soon after President McKinley entered the White House failed to secure the necessary two-thirds vote of the Senate, solely on account of what we may term the "politics of sugar." The performances of the Sugar Trust are always too subtle, mysterious,

and variable to be understood by the ordinary citizen. A wholly new element of opposition to Hawaii had arisen, however, in the organization of agricultural interests seeking to promote the growth of the sugar-beet throughout the United States. These interests were taught by their leaders that they must strike fierce blows at the cane-sugar industry whenever the opportunity offered. They were therefore brought into the fight against Hawaii, because annexation was supposed to mean the permanent extension of our tariff system to those islands and the free admission of their sugar. It is true that their sugar is now and for many years has been admitted freely. But these special American interests were proposing to secure a repeal of the reciprocity treaty. There is such a thing as carrying zeal beyond the point of discretion or common-sense. The sugar schedule of the Dingley tariff is so arranged as to be peculiarly favorable to the development of the beet-sugar industry of this country; and if under such conditions it cannot develop and hold its own in competition with the sugar brought from the cane-fields of Hawaii or the West Indies, it has not sufficient vitality to deserve any further stimulation. It will, of course, flourish.

How the War Changed the Case. After all, the sugar question was a temporary one—not fit to be the deciding factor in a problem of so much moment as the expansion of the national domain. It has required the object-lesson of a foreign war to throw all the personal and temporary objections against Hawaiian annexation into the background of relative unimportance, where they properly belonged. The facts of the war have kindled large and generous sentiments and have also broadened the horizon so that men could take a larger view of our national needs and destinies. The attitude of President Dole, his cabinet, and the Hawaiian Congress on the outbreak of our war against Spain was deserving of the admiration it compelled on all hands. There was nothing theatrical about it nor any appearance of playing a part for the sake of exciting American sympathies. Nor was there, on the other hand, any cold bargain or any anxious hesitation. Quietly and without any fuss whatever the Hawaiian Government made itself the ally of the Government of the United States at a moment when such alliance was of immense value and importance to us. Our campaign in the Philippines would have been rendered doubly difficult if the Hawaiian authorities had observed the rules of neutrality. They had been on terms of amity with Spain, and the Spanish crown was represented by a diplomatic officer at Honolulu. Nevertheless, every facility was accorded to our

navy and the army transports to recuperate and take on supplies at Honolulu, and we were accorded as much liberty to make use of the islands for our purposes in the Pacific as we were exercising on our own soil, at Key West or the Tortugas, for our campaign in the Atlantic.

How Congress Responded. To have refused under such circumstances to allow the Hawaiian Islands to enjoy the security that would come to them from the protection of the American flag would have been something worse than ungracious. To many people it would have seemed a misdeed almost as unworthy of our powerful Government as was the conspiracy of five years ago for the overthrow of the Hawaiian republic. The House of Representatives, which a few months before had been strongly influenced by the beet-sugar argument, promptly rose to the just demands of the more serious situation, and on June 15 passed the Newlands resolution by a vote of 209 to 91. There had always been a clear majority in the Senate in favor of annexation, and this majority had been increased by the new reasons that the war had created; but a small minority, powerless to withstand the sentiment of the country in the end, set themselves by obstruction and filibustering to postpone the vote for as many days or weeks as possible. In view of the serious business upon which the country had entered, it is exceedingly hard to find any excuse for the conduct of these men. They were entitled to a fair opportunity to state the grounds of their opposition. Beyond making such a statement, they were guilty of the offense of taking advantage of the rules of the Senate to obstruct the business of the country at a time of war. Fortunately for their reputations, the gentlemen who were said to have made a compact for unlimited obstruction gave way after they had prevented a vote for nearly three weeks. The termination of a debate that threatened to be endless was due in large part to the great tact and good temper of Senator Davis, Senator Allison, and the majority leaders, who had adopted the tactics of giving the minority all the time they wanted and attributing their opposition to very high and serious motives.

Republicans Mainly for Annexation. The capitulation came on the afternoon of Wednesday, July 6. The number of Senators present was 63, exactly two-thirds of whom voted for annexation and one-third against. If all the Senators had been in their places the majority would apparently have fallen a little short of two-thirds of the body. The only Republican Senator who voted against annexation was Mr. Morrill, of

Vermont, now in his eighty-eighth year and by far the oldest man in active public life at Washington. The views expressed in Mr. Morrill's speeches against annexation were almost purely of the argumentative and theoretical sort; and, with all due respect to this venerable and conscientious New England statesman, they do not seem to have had much relation to practical facts and conditions. Three other Republicans would have voted against annexation if they had not been absent or paired. These were Thurston, Spooner, and Gear, of Iowa.

Not a Proper Party Issue. The 42 affirmative votes included several prominent Democrats. It is not going to prove so easy as some of the public men of the Democratic party have seemed to suppose to turn the question of our acquisition of territory into party capital for the purposes of the next Presidential campaign. The annexation of Hawaii is just as much an accomplished fact as the annexation of Texas. And it is not good politics to map out future campaigns in the face of fixed facts and settled issues. It is certainly true that the Democrats, quite as much as the Republicans, urged the Cuban intervention that brought on our war with Spain. It is also certain that a Democratic President would have followed the same lines of policy that President McKinley has pursued since the war drums began to beat. No President—whether he called himself Republican, Democrat, or Populist—could have done otherwise than honor and support the position that Dewey took at Manila after his incomparable victory over the Spanish fleet. That position required the sending of reinforcements. All this made necessary the use of the Hawaiian Islands. From the moment of such use annexation became inevitable.

A Timely Object-Lesson. President McKinley, of course, had always been a strong advocate of Hawaiian annexation, and the Newlands resolution received his approving signature promptly on July 7. Coming precisely as it did, this annexation vote had a significance much greater than a similar vote could have had five years ago. For although at that time many of the advocates of annexation based their arguments upon the necessity of a larger American outlook and a position from which America might in the twentieth century participate with her due share of authority in the affairs, political and commercial, of the Pacific Ocean, it was none the less true that most men looked upon Hawaiian annexation as an isolated topic, and did not think of it as important chiefly by reason of its relation to a new policy of American ex-

pansion, naval power, and commercial progress. Thanks to five years of delay, we have annexed Hawaii, not only with something like unanimity or public approval, but with the generally recognized and frankly avowed fact that this expansion of American sovereignty is only one step in

PRESIDENT SANFORD D. DOLE, OF HAWAII.

(The foremost civilian figure in our new Pacific policy.)

a national policy for which the outburst of enthusiasm throughout the whole land is the most remarkable political sign of recent times in the United States. The opponents of Hawaiian annexation were laughing to scorn the Admiral Walkers and Captain Mahans who had told us that we needed the Sandwich Islands for strategic and naval purposes. Many volumes would fail to hold all the speeches and articles in which it was shown beyond a doubt that those islands could never under any contingency be of the slightest strategic or naval use to us, but, on the contrary, would prove a colossal burden and probably engulf us in utter ruin. And now the simple facts of current history have refuted all those arguments and silenced all those sneers. For, having failed to acquire the Sandwich Islands, we have been under necessity of using them in violation of international law, because they are indispensable to us in the naval and military operations we have been obliged to carry on in the Pacific Ocean. Not to have had them would have been disastrous.

*What Hawaiian
Neutrality
Would Have
Signified.*

The American people have learned the lesson quickly and taken it to heart deeply. They see the danger and folly of our further ignoring the necessity for outlying posts and coaling stations and for a navy commensurate with our importance as a nation. But for the splendid American loyalty of President Dole and his associates, we should have been plunged into a most dire predicament. For it was assuredly the right, as under ordinary circumstances it would have been the duty, of President Dole to declare neutrality between Spain and the United States. That being the case, we should not have been able to make use of the Hawaiian Islands as a halting-place, coaling station, and source of supplies for our Philippine expedition, unless we had made a show of force and seized Honolulu. Complications, however, would have arisen at once. Our violation of Hawaiian neutrality would have justified President Dole and the Spanish Government alike in a swift appeal to all the powers of the world. And it is by no means unlikely that Germany, Russia, Austria, France, and Italy would have sent warships to Honolulu. Our Government at Washington would have been admonished to respect the right of the independent government of Hawaii—which had been accepted as a sovereign state and accorded a place in the family of nations—to hold the status of impartiality and to obey the international rules that define the duties of neutral governments in time of war. Our position would have been almost equally difficult in logic and in fact; and we should probably have been compelled to recede from it. The train of consequences that would have followed such joint action for the protection of Honolulu can, of course, only be imagined. It is not unreasonable, however, to believe that if the continental powers had thus successfully asserted themselves to prevent our violation of Hawaiian neutrality, they would almost certainly have gone further and protested against Dewey's blockade of Manila.

*What We Owe
to Mr. Dole.*

It is true that we might have managed somehow to send an expedition to the Philippines without breaking journey at Honolulu. But the matter would have been rendered vastly more difficult in a dozen different ways, and at least several additional weeks would have been required to embark our forces. Thus the European powers, emboldened by their success in shutting us out of Honolulu, would have found excuse enough for landing marines at Manila and protesting against Dewey's policy in the harbor. They might have made the plausible argument that no adequate land

forces could have arrived within from three and a half to four months after Dewey's destruction of the Spanish fleet. A little sober reflection must show any man that our whole policy in the present war, so far at least as the Pacific Ocean is concerned, has of necessity turned upon the naval use and control of the Sandwich Islands. The unfriendliness of the last administration might easily have driven Hawaii to seek shelter under a European protectorate. In that case our Philippine expedition would have been useless, if not impossible. President Dole's action, therefore, in throwing neutrality to the winds and welcoming the United States forces has probably availed more than any other one thing since the war opened to keep us out of dangerous complications with the European powers. Since Hawaii had already ratified the annexation treaty, our acceptance in war-time of Hawaii's invaluable hospitality could have involved nothing less in sound morals than the completion on our part of the annexation programme. With all petty acrimonies removed, Hawaiian annexation comes about in a fashion that makes it a spirited and a thoroughly creditable chapter in American history, more picturesque in its circumstances than any preceding annexation that we have made since the treaty of peace with England in 1783. and surely not less honorable than any other.

*Population
Conditions
in Hawaii.*

The Sandwich Islands have been the home of a considerable number of American families for a long time. The grandchildren of the American missionaries who transformed the islands are now mature men and women. They send their children to an excellent American college at Honolulu that has been in existence for many years, although it is the custom for young Hawaiian-Americans to obtain at least a part of their educational training in this country. Our race exhibits no sign of deterioration in those islands. The men of the second generation have shown great ability, and the young men of the third generation are worthy of their American ancestry. It is true, of course, that the native Hawaiians and the Chinese and Japanese agricultural laborers constitute the bulk of the population. But the influences that have shaped institutions and given type to the progress and civilization of the islands have been distinctively American. There are by far more people of negro blood than of white in South Carolina; but to say that South Carolina is not an Anglo-Saxon community in the strictest sense is to play with mere verbal fallacies. The welfare of all races in the Sandwich Islands requires that they should be under white control. It is sheer nonsense to talk of obtaining the consent

of the entire population to annexation, if one means to include the great body of coolie, yellow-skinned laborers who are there not as domiciled families, but as indentured visitors, working on the five-year-contract plan, with the prospect of either voluntary or involuntary return to their own homes at the end of the labor period. These laborers have been much better off under President Dole's government than in their own countries. If they have not been allowed to participate in the administration of Hawaii, where they are only sojourners, it is enough to reply that they do not, in fact, participate when at home in the governments of China or Japan. As to the Hawaiian natives, they are—under the present Hawaiian constitution—accorded as much political privilege as they are capable of exercising. Their rights will be far better assured under American oversight than they could possibly be under the government of corrupt and half-barbarous monarchs of their own race, easily swayed by scheming adventurers. Moreover, the race is dying off.

The Suffrage Problem.

The purpose of government is to accomplish certain practical results for the community at large. The universal extension of suffrage in a country like the United States has not been due to any abstract or metaphysical conception of the inherent rights of individuals, but simply to the fact that our white population has, upon the whole, been in times past so homogeneous that it was deemed reasonable and safe to remove most restrictions and to put the suffrage upon the simple manhood principle. In the South the great mass of negro illiteracy has brought about, in one State after another, a gradual modification of the practice of manhood suffrage. But this has been in order that the original end and object of universal suffrage might not be defeated. All that can reasonably be asked anywhere is that the suffrage be broad enough to include those reasonably well qualified to exercise it. The problem can certainly be worked out in the Sandwich Islands without injustice to any race or element of the population if it is taken up in a practical way.

The Hawaiian Commission.

By virtue of the terms of the annexation resolution, President McKinley has appointed a commission of five men to consider carefully all the questions essential to the adjustment of governmental relations in our new territory. These commissioners will presumably be ready to report to Congress next winter. The board of five commissioners consists of President Dole, of Hawaii, Judge Frear, of the Hawaiian Supreme Court, United States Senators Morgan and Cullom, and Mr. Hitt,

SENATOR CULLOM, OF ILLINOIS.

(Chairman of the Hawaiian commission.)

chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs. Senator Cullom will preside. It is a remarkably well-selected commission. The Hawaiians are represented by two men of the highest qualifications; our House of Representatives is recognized in the appointment of the chairman of its committee that has dealt with the Hawaiian question; and the United States Senate, which shares responsibility with the President in matters of outside relationship, is represented by one Republican and one Democrat. These distinguished gentlemen will be able to recommend promptly such legislative action on the part of Congress as may be necessary to perfect the mechanism of administration under the change of national sovereignty, and meanwhile everything will have gone smoothly under existing Hawaiian laws. There is no dearth of administrative talent in Hawaii; and, happily, the able public men of those islands are almost to a man thoroughly American in all their sentiments and traditions and intimately familiar with our history and government. The Hawaiian territory will therefore come under our general system without any perceptible jar or friction. Its acquisition is one of the great events of this year.

*Our Flag
on the
Ladrones.*

After necessary administrative legislation next winter, which Congress ought to find easy enough when the commissioners have made their report, it will be desirable to take up promptly the question of a submarine cable from our Pacific coast to Hawaii. Surveys have all been made, and the question has had so much consideration in times past that no great delay ought to be experienced in carrying the project to a conclusion. It may well be supposed that Congress will be willing to extend this cable ultimately along the route our ships have taken all the way to Manila. Government ownership of this cable would be better than the private-subsidy plan; but in any case the cable must be laid. For our flag flies not only over the Hawaiian group, but also in the islands known officially as the Mariannes and more popularly as the Ladrones. As a part of the wonderful budget of news that made the celebration of July 4, 1898, so memorable—the budget that included the announcement of the destruction of Cervera's fleet—was the notice that the advance guard of our expedition to the Philippines had duly reached Manila Bay and that the cruiser *Charleston* had paused long enough on the way to take formal possession of the Ladrone group and to raise there the American flag. It does not of necessity follow, to be sure, that the islands are thus made permanently a part of the domain of the American people. On the other hand, however, it is very much more likely that the flag will remain than that it will ever be hauled down. The commander of the *Charleston*, Captain Glass, found the Spanish governor and garrison totally unaware that war had broken out. There was nothing for them to do, of course, but to surrender to the *Charleston* and to go on board as prisoners of war. In their place Captain Glass left a small American force, and the Ladrone group has now for several weeks been actually administered in the sovereign name of the United States of America.

*An
Interesting
Group.*

A perfectly direct line drawn from San Francisco to Manila passes through the Ladrone group. Honolulu lies some distance south of that line. Nevertheless, a direct line from Honolulu to Manila also passes through the Ladrone group. The Ladrones extend from north to south in a row 400 or 500 miles long, and are usually said to comprise about twenty islands. They lie directly north of the Caroline group, which it will also be our duty to claim and protect, and they are perhaps 1,500 miles from Manila and 3,500 from Honolulu. They have a population of only 8,000 or 10,000, the natives being akin to those of the

Philippines. They are small islands, but by no means insignificant; for their total area is usually set down as about 1,250 square miles. They are of considerable commercial importance. They have a varied topography, with mountains and valleys and abundant rainfall, and they are extremely productive. Under improved methods of government and agriculture, such as the United States would easily introduce, the already important exports of the Ladrones would be very rapidly increased. They are exceedingly salubrious, and would yield large supplies of products, both of the temperate zone and of the tropics, under American exploitation. A direct cable line to Manila would naturally find a halting-place at San Ignacio de Agana, which is the capital of the islands and is situated on the largest of the group, Guajan, which is of a rounded contour and 30 or 40 miles long.

*"Put Your-
self in His
Place."*

As for the question of the political future of the Philippines, it must be remembered that the war is not yet over. Under circumstances like those now existing, no patriot in the White House would stop for many minutes to consider what party he belonged to. He would simply act, in the highest sense, as President McKinley is trying to do, for the honor and lasting benefit of the whole nation. A Democratic President would have no easier sway over unforeseen circumstances than a Republican. We are actually in the Philippines at present because we had to go there. We shall remain there until the time has come when good and sufficient reasons appear for our withdrawal, just as the English will unquestionably remain in Egypt, for the great benefit of the Egyptians and the world at large, until the time comes when it appears the proper and suitable thing for them to evacuate. It may be that the time for England's withdrawal from Egypt is not going to arrive in the near future. And in like manner it may turn out that the work of the United States in the Philippines will require an occupation that neither this administration nor yet the next can wisely terminate; and all this will be independent of the question whether a Republican or a Democrat should be elected President in November, 1900. Mr. Grover Cleveland and Mr. William J. Bryan, who represent the leadership of the antagonistic wings of the Democratic party (both of them, if we mistake not, on the same day), made speeches late in June in dire condemnation of what is called the forward American policy. But it is extremely difficult to see what either Mr. Cleveland or Mr. Bryan could have done—if actually in the White House and charged with the responsibility of carrying on the present mo-

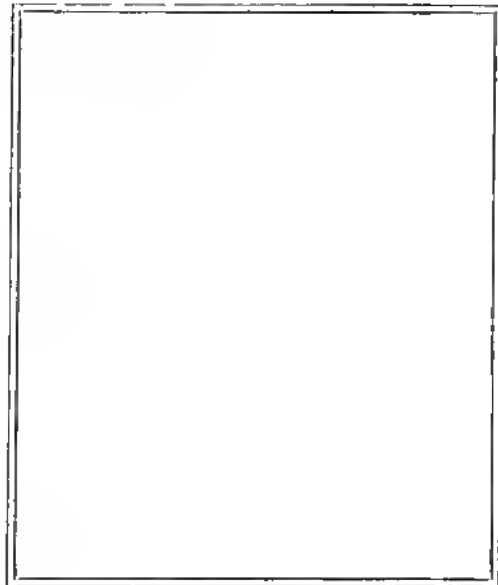
mentous undertakings of the country—to avoid precisely the positions that President McKinley has found it necessary to assume. To quote Mr. Cleveland's own famous phrase: "It is a condition and not a theory that confronts us." It is not a question of going forth like a lion seeking whom we may devour, but, in the first place, a question of carrying on with vigor and efficiency a war which Mr. Cleveland himself made inevitable by the doctrines set forth in his famous message on Cuba, and, in the second place, a question of facing the responsibilities that have fallen upon our shoulders as a part of the price of victory.

Some Plain Consequences.

To thrash the Spaniards is to throw their colonial estates into bankruptcy under circumstances which compel us to assume the receivership. We owe a duty not merely to the native races in the Philippines, but also to all persons of European race or extraction who own property there or have business interests of any sort, including the non-combatant Spanish population on the islands. At present there seems to be no way by which we can make over that responsibility to any other sovereign power. We may not like the task and may think ourselves ill-qualified. But when we cast about for an alternative we are likely to find that the easiest and simplest solution, at least for the immediate future, is for us to exercise sovereignty where Spain has lost it in consequence of our aggressive action. In short, we are at this moment in such an attitude at Manila that we must in any case complete our conquest before we can withdraw, and we have no apologies to make for being in that attitude. When we shall have completed the conquest—presumably within a few days or a few weeks—we shall have to administer the islands until the end of the war and the conclusion of a treaty of peace with Spain. We shall conclude no treaty of peace until our victories all along the line have been so complete that we can dictate the terms.

Shall We Let Spain Stay in the Philippines?

There must be involved in the conclusion of a treaty with Spain the settlement of the specific question whether or not, having extinguished the Spanish sovereignty in the Philippines, we shall choose to reestablish it. We shall then be obliged to consider carefully the fact that our victorious position at Manila had from the beginning been closely bound up with the cause of the Philippine insurgents. We shall have to remember Admiral Dewey's relations with General Aguinaldo. We shall have forced upon our attention the remarkable facts—which will yet come out in far greater detail than they have hitherto been



GENERAL AGUINALDO.

(Leader of the Philippine Insurgents.)

presented—of General Aguinaldo's campaign in May, June, and July against the Spanish troops in various parts of the Philippine Islands, and particularly in the vicinity of Manila. We shall not find Aguinaldo and his ambitious fellow-leaders to be the most tractable and delightful of allies, perhaps, but they have much to their credit. Congress and the American people will be likely to take the ground (which the President and the administration are also pretty certain to assume) that when the grand settlement is made at the conclusion of the war our vigorous allies, the Philippine insurgents under Aguinaldo, have very much more title to our consideration than the Spaniards who have robbed and tyrannized over the Philippine population. There is a good deal too much of the spirit of liberty and of true chivalry in the American people to allow the Philippine Islands to be handed back to the Spaniards after all that has happened since the first day of May, when Dewey and his men rose so early but breakfasted so late.

Partisanship Should Keep Hands Off the War Issues.

In short, the American people will be inclined to look squarely at all the facts; and they will not find it easy to give either a Republican or a Democratic color to any essential question having to do with our duty and our responsibility in the Philippine Islands. So far as we are aware, nobody in the United States who is in a position to act or to speak with any large measure of influence is

thinking of annexing the Philippines as a part of any gaudy scheme of national glory or cheap "imperial" aggrandizement. It is the plain and simple fact that we are there with some work to do. We must complete that work before we withdraw. And it is the sort of work that cannot be done in a month or a year. It is not for ourselves alone that we shall do it, but for the welfare of all races and all interests in the islands, and incidentally for the benefit and progress of the world at large. The few individuals who are lifting up warning voices to inveigh against the so-called "imperial policy of aggrandizement" are merely attacking their own closet-made man of straw. No part of the country has so quickly appreciated the bearing of the new facts and conditions as the great West. If, therefore, Mr. Bryan's speech on Nebraska Day at the Omaha Exposition was intended, as many of his friends have said, as a bright and early announcement of the issues upon which he would like to enter the race for the White House in 1900, we must express the opinion that he would better have stayed on the deck of his 16-to-1 free-silver-coinage craft, rather than have engaged passage on a ship so certain to founder as that of opposition to our performing those inevitable tasks for humanity that must result from our stripping Spain of her colonial empire. Partisanship is not always the duty of the hour. Congress, with absolute unanimity, supported Cleveland at the time of the Venezuela boundary crisis. And again, with small regard for party lines, Congress has supported President McKinley ever since the outbreak of the Cuban war. Mere party talk—ninetenths of which in any case is cant and humbug—can afford to wait. There is no more sense just now in making a party issue over the question what we shall do with the Philippines than in trying to make party capital one way or the other out of the heroic exploits of our navy and our army.

*Spain Now
Cut Off
from Cuba.* The month which our record includes has witnessed the completion of the most important part of the work which—as explained in these pages last month—had been mapped out by the authorities at Washington as constituting the plan of their campaign

against the Spaniards. The fleet of Admiral Cervera was the principal factor in Spain's ability to carry on a protracted war against the United States. With this fleet removed, Spain's colonial possessions were beyond her reach. For purposes of warfare, the lack of a navy made Cuba as remote from Spain as the planet Jupiter. It is a singular fact that with all the wire-cutting and organized work on the part of our Government to stop telegraphic communication, the Spaniards never through the whole campaign seemed for a moment to experience any difficulty in cabling back and forth from Madrid to Santiago, as well as to Havana and Porto Rico. This was true up to Saturday, July 16, after the completion of the Santiago campaign, when by sheer accident, according to reports, the battleship *Indiana* found the cable (from Santiago to Europe by way of Jamaica) through its entanglement with an anchor. This, it is understood, will have deprived General Blanco, at Havana, of the only line which had remained available for his communications with Spain. He will have been obliged since that date to rely upon the ingenuity of his agents and spies in smuggling communications through the line of the blockading fleet to some neutral cable office in the English, Dutch, or French West Indies.

*The Mischief
Wrought by
the Cable.* This final severance of direct cable communication, while not affecting the Santiago situation, will have an important bearing upon the position of General Blanco and his forces at Havana. Even though the Spanish Government at Madrid was as little

able to render any direct assistance to General Blanco as if he were on some other planet, nevertheless, so long as it could communicate freely with him by telegraph it was able to exercise a moral control over him. It has naturally suited the purpose of the Madrid government to have the army in Cuba maintain its hopeless resistance as long as possible. If the Santiago cable could

short, the Madrid leaders look upon Cuba as virtually thrown to the wolves, and are merely hoping that it may detain the wolves long enough to permit their own escape.

Spain's Fatal Stubbornness. This policy can do Spain no good in the end. Every week of futile and stubborn resistance that adds to the great volume of expense incurred by the United States in the prosecution of the war must change somewhat the conditions upon which the United States can afford to make peace. Already the experiences and circumstances of the war have involved the whole of Spain's colonial empire. Without a navy and without the means of creating one, Spain has become totally incapable of maintaining distant possessions in any responsible manner. Even if the United States should make peace at this stage and leave the Philippines and Porto Rico nominally in Spain's hands, the Philippine insurgents would have to be reckoned with, and they could not be easily conquered. Moreover, it would not be easy for Spain even to maintain herself against the insurrectionary mood of the Porto Ricans. Viewed from every standpoint, Spain has made necessary the total relinquishment of her colonial pretensions. Unfortunately, there did not seem to be a single man in Spain, even after the conclusion of the Santiago campaign, who was able to entertain this idea. The Sagasta government went so far as to announce that it could only consider peace negotiations on the basis of the retention by Spain of all her former possessions excepting Cuba alone, and that the Cuban question would have to be decided by a popular vote in Cuba as between the alternatives of independence and autonomy under the Spanish flag.

SEÑOR SAGASTA.

have been cut in the early days of June, when Commodore Schley bottled up Cervera's fleet in Santiago harbor, it is wholly probable that the eastern end of Cuba could have been conquered without the great loss of life that resulted from the bloody conflicts of July 1 and 2, while it is also probable that we should have secured Cervera's ships by surrender and added them to our navy. But Admiral Cervera and Generals Linares and Toral were, unhappily for themselves, obliged to receive daily cablegrams from Madrid; and they were not prepared to accept the responsibility of disobeying orders. It would have been better for them and their men if they had themselves cut the cable wires in order to be relieved of the necessity of giving any attention whatever to instructions from the helpless and distracted cabinet of the home country. General Toral's stubborn resistance when nothing was to be gained by it and Admiral Cervera's fatal dash out of the harbor on July 3 were wholly due, so far as present information goes, to positive orders from Madrid. Naturally the politicians in Spain, knowing perfectly well that Cuba is forever lost, are thinking only of their own situation, and have not been dealing with the Cuban question in the interest either of Spanish civilians or Spanish soldiers actually on Cuban soil. In

Off for Porto Rico. The capitulation of Santiago was, in fact, a signal, not for peace negotiations, but for the more rapid and vigorous prosecution of our previously arranged plan of campaign. The way was now clear for the expedition to Porto Rico on the one hand, and, on the other, for the naval adventure under Commodore Watson's leadership across the Atlantic to the neighborhood of the Spanish coast. The President and his Cabinet, fortunately, were of the opinion that the shortest and safest way to a conclusion of the war was to push it all along the line. Consequently, while the surrender at Santiago was still the theme of great rejoicing throughout the United States, General Brooke, who had been designated as an active leader of the military forces that were to invade Porto Rico, was in conference with the President and the official group at Washington, making all arrangements

for embarking if possible by about July 20. General Miles, meantime, was actually embarking from the Santiago neighborhood with an advance guard of several thousand men. He sailed on the 20th. It was hoped that the campaign in Porto Rico would prove easy, healthful, and almost free from fighting.

Some Chapters of Naval and War History. Commodore Watson, on his part, was busily preparing his fleet for the thrilling episode of a voyage across the Atlantic. Meanwhile the successive installments of the Philippine expedition were gradually approaching their destination, greatly to the relief of Admiral Dewey and his plucky comrades. We are glad to be able to give to our readers this month from highly competent pens several chapters of war history that will be thankfully read by many who find themselves somewhat confused by reason of the amplitude and the overlapping of the newspaper accounts. Mr. John A. Church, formerly editor of the *Army and Navy Journal*, a military writer of great experience and authoritative knowledge, has summed up for us the Santiago campaign as conducted on land under the leadership of General Shafter. Mr. Winston Churchill, himself a graduate of the Naval Academy, and, as our readers will remember, the author of our character sketch of Admiral Dewey two months ago, has told in a most graphic way the story of the marvelous naval fight which resulted in the complete destruction of Admiral Cervera's fleet on July 3. Mr. Park Benjamin, a widely read au-

Photo by Staffens.

MAJ.-GEN. JOHN R. BROOKS, U. S. A.

(Who goes to Porto Rico with General Miles.)

thority on naval matters, tells us about Commodore Watson and his projected expedition to the coast of Spain. It is possible, of course, that in the period while this number of the *Review* is running through the presses something may have happened to change the Watson programme. But as it now appears the Watson expedition will have set sail before August 1. In any case, the fact of its being definitely planned will have made the project a part of the naval history of our war with Spain.

Camara's Return from Suez. For the very announcement of the prospective Watson expedition had, by July 20, done more to stir up public sentiment in Spain to a realizing sense of the inconvenience of being at war with a powerful foreign nation than the destruction of two fleets, the surrender of an army, and the loss of the easternmost part of Cuba. It had the further effect of bringing back to Spanish harbors the sole surviving group of warships flying the Spanish flag, which had actually passed through the Suez Canal on July 6. Camara's fleet had nominally set forth for the Philippines. The battleship *Pelayo* and another ship, the *Empeador Carlos V.*, were reported as in fairly good

"AN AFRICAN ON THE COAL PILE."

(Appropos of Camara's failure to secure a coal supply at Port Said.)—From the *Journal* (Minneapolis).

what the Spaniards had really hoped to accomplish by the movements of Cervera's and Camara's fleets. At present both topics are involved in deep mystery. If this surviving squadron of Camara's had been in prime sailing and fighting condition, it is hard to see how we could have prevented it from seizing Honolulu and striking San Francisco. The government at Madrid had evidently counted a good deal upon the possibility of Cervera's escape from the neck of the Santiago bottle. As every one has since found out, the brilliant exploit of Hobson and his comrades in sinking the *Merrimac* had not, in fact, completely ob-

THE SPANISH SQUADRON AS PHOTOGRAPHED AT PORT SAID.

condition, while the half dozen other vessels of the squadron were regarded as ineffective. How this fortuitous concourse of ships—some of them obsolete and others hopelessly ineffective either in machinery or in armament—could ever in war-time have made their way safely to the Philippines is not easily conjectured. If they had arrived there, Dewey's fleet would have sent them inevitably to join Montojo's squadron at the bottom of the bay. Even without reinforcements Dewey could have given a brilliant account of himself. But it is to be remembered that the monitors *Monterey* and *Monadnock* were due to arrive at Manila on or before August 1, not to mention the presence of less formidable reinforcements like the cruiser *Charleston*. The Spanish Government, when Camara was ordered to pay the canal tolls and pass through the Suez Canal, was perfectly aware that the *Charleston* had already reached Manila and that the formidable monitors—which, once in position off Cavite, were capable by themselves of defending Manila against the Spanish fleet—were due long before Camara could have completed the voyage. It is hard to believe, therefore, that there was ever any serious intention to send him to the Philippines.

structed the Santiago channel. It had not been futile, for it would still seem that Spaniards and Americans both had for a time regarded the hulk as an impassable obstacle. Subsequently the Spaniards had discovered that the *Merrimac*

It is quite possible to suppose, as was frequently rumored, that Camara's real purpose was to surprise Honolulu, take on coal and supplies, and then make an assault on our Pacific coast, bombarding San Francisco at a time when we were without a warship of any consequence upon our entire Pacific seaboard. Some time we shall probably know

Was Camara
Aiming at
San Francisco?

ADMIRAL CAMARA SETTING FORTH ON HIS MYSTERIOUS VOYAGE.
From *Blanco y Negro* (Madrid).

lay a little to one side of the center of the narrow channel, and that a single ship carefully piloted could make its way past the wreck. This news was undoubtedly sent by cable cipher to Madrid, where it was also doubtless supposed that the Americans were still laboring under the impression that Hobson had firmly sealed up the passage. The Spanish programme then called for a bold dash past the *Merrimac* and out of the mouth of the harbor at some favoring hour when the American squadron seemed less completely on guard than usual. If the squadron had escaped, it might at least have kept Sampson and Schley occupied with a baffling chase for some time to come. This would have postponed indefinitely the Watson expedition to the Spanish coast, and might have covered Camara's plans against San Francisco. The destruction of Cervera's ships, however, under the most fearful cannonading ever known in the history of naval warfare, altered the situation. It made possible the definite announcement of the expedition to Spain, with the consequence of Camara's recall through the Suez Canal and the whole length of the Mediterranean Sea, back to the home shores. Commodore Watson will naturally be ambitious to find Camara and his fleet, although it is hardly conceivable that the Spaniards should give an American navy the opportunity to destroy their third and only remaining squadron.

Since the war was begun for the purpose of accomplishing the Spanish evacuation of Cuba, there is an air of keeping hold upon the main thread of the controversy in that part of the terms of capitulation at Santiago which provides that the United States shall give the surrendered Spanish troops prompt

and free passage back to Cadiz or some other peninsular port. General Toral informed General Shafter that his surrender embraced an army of about 25,000 officers and men, besides the so-called volunteers and guerrillas who were a part of the Spanish population of Cuba and were not to be transported to Spain. Of this body of 25,000 Spanish soldiers about half were under General Toral's immediate command in the lines of Spanish defense at the town of Santiago, while the remaining half were at Guantanamo and other garrisoned points in the portion of Santiago province included in the terms of surrender. That section of the province is the extreme easternmost tip of the island beyond a line projected from Sagua de Tanamo on the north coast to Acerraderos on the south, and is about 5,000 square miles in extent. The whole world agrees that General Toral and his Spanish troops had fought with great bravery. When General Shafter, upon the conclusion of the terms of surrender, made his first visit of inspection into the city he was astonished at the intricacy and the extent of the defensive works, including trenches, street barricades almost innumerable, barbed-wire fences, and other military constructions intended to retard the expected attempt on the part of the Americans to capture Santiago by assault. General Shafter declared that it would have cost the lives of five thousand men to have surmounted these obstacles and to have captured the city.

Fighting
Cuban
Fevers.

To have waited longer, while starvation and the lack of water (the supply having been diverted by the American troops) were reducing Santiago, would, on the other hand, have subjected our army to an enormous loss of life through fevers and all



MAP SHOWING THE SECTION OF CUBA SURRENDERED TO THE UNITED STATES.

ducing the Cuban ports to a sanitary condition which shall make our own country exempt henceforth from imported febrile epidemics.

*Future Movements
of the Two
Santiago Armies.*

Admiral Cervera and the principal officers of the Spanish navy were brought to the United States, where at the Annapolis Naval Academy they were almost immediately accorded full liberty on parole. The ceremony of raising the American flag over the governor's palace at Santiago occurred at noon on Sunday, July 17. The preliminary negotiations had been conducted by General Shafter in a manner highly creditable to his character as a soldier and a man. The Spanish officers were treated with delicacy and consideration, and the transfer of sovereign authority at Santiago was accomplished in a most dignified fashion. It was expected that General Shafter would remain in Santiago province with the great body of his troops, healthfully encamped upon high ground, where they would be ready for a gradual movement westward, in pursuance of the further Cuban campaign. The plan of sending the 25,000 surrendered Spaniards back to Spain, though at first it seemed to some people a needless concession, came within a few days to be understood throughout the United States as an extremely felicitous part of the bargain. In Spain, on parole, the men could do us no possible harm. Since the Spaniards do not hold any appreciable number of American prisoners, we could not have gotten rid of these soldiers by the process of exchange. To have transported them to the United States and fed them, in durance, until the end of the war, would have involved very much greater expense and trouble than to send them home at the outset. There are certain political and national elements in Spain that would doubtless prefer not to have these men introduced as another factor of uncertainty into the ominous situation at home. For that reason it is not impossible that they will be sent by the Spanish Government into the camps of the Canaries or the Balearic Islands. A large part of Spain's home forces has already been transported to those island barracks and encampments.

*American
Courage
Vindicated.*

The military side of the Santiago campaign will for a long time furnish a theme for controversial discussion among the military critics. It is not for us to say whether or not there was too much precipitancy in General Shafter's aggressive movements of July 1 and 2. It has tempered our exultation over the victory to remember, as we constantly must, how deadly was the conflict, what fearful risks our men unflinchingly assumed, and how

SURGEON-GENERAL STERNBERG, U. S. A.

sorts of camp diseases. The season of heavy rainfall had set in, and for a number of days our men were working in trenches or rifle-pits that had been flooded by torrential precipitation. Furthermore, there was rapidly spreading through the lines at the front a very suspicious form of fever. The doctors at first refused to pronounce it the much-dreaded "yellow jack," but it was obvious that they were disposed to deal with it as if it were indeed the most malignant type of yellow fever. Afterward it became known that they regarded it in fact as yellow fever in a mild form. The surgeons feared greatly for the final results if the army could not be promptly taken out of its long line of semi-circular intrenchments sweeping about the town of Santiago and placed in camps on high land under favorable conditions. The surrender of General Toral made all this possible before the fever had cost a considerable number of deaths. We are fortunate in having, in the person of the surgeon-general of the army, Dr. Sternberg, one of the highest authorities in the world upon the treatment and management of yellow fever. It was almost inevitable that in the prosecution of a Cuban campaign our troops should to some extent have become infected with the scourge that has so often in times past made destructive visits to our mainland from its pestilential abodes along the Cuban coast. We shall find our most important compensation for the cost of this war in re-

A SPANISH CAMP IN THE CANARIES.

many valuable lives were sacrificed. About one aspect of the Santiago campaign, however, there will be unanimity. Greater personal courage has never been exhibited in warfare than our troops—both the regulars and the volunteers—showed to the full extent of their opportunity for display of valor. The Spaniards fought magnificently; but our men, as the aggressors, charging up steep inclines against a sheltered and intrenched enemy, were the ones whose qualities were put to the full test. There were plenty of men on foot at Santiago, privates as well as officers, who showed that same sort of high spirit that Hobson had shown some days before by his brave act in the harbor. Europe had quite generally believed that Americans were traders and money-makers and that they were not fighters. The governments and the military authorities of Europe have taken note of Santiago and revised their opinions. Europe had also supposed that with drill under good officers and with the latest patterns of small arms and equipment almost any sort of human cattle would do very well in the ranks as food for bullets. This Santiago experience now serves to remind the whole world that the conditions of modern warfare may not, after all, be so different as had been supposed from the conditions of earlier times, where the individual man was of some account.

Our Troops
Man for
Man.

American life and freedom, more than that of any other country, have developed the individual sense of responsibility. Thus it happens that there are plenty of companies of American volunteers now in the field, almost any member of which might within a few weeks or months gain experience enough

to enable him to lead the company effectively. Of no other troops in the world could this be said. The average young American has grown up with a habit of thinking and acting for himself; and when he goes a-soldiering he is capable of throwing as much personal zeal into charges like those at Santiago as if he were fighting a duel and the fate of his country and all he held dear depended upon his personal exploits. The well-drilled troops of European countries are formidable enough, certainly. But there are resources of intense personality in such

men, as, for instance, the members of Col. Theodore Roosevelt's regiment of "Rough Riders," that count, in a crisis, for a great deal more than the passive mechanical excellences of the trained soldiery of the military powers. If necessary for the defense of the nation, President McKinley could upon a few weeks' notice put into the field two million young Americans, characterized in general by the pluck, the dash, the familiarity from childhood with a gun and a horse, the quick American adaptability, and the intense patriotism that we have discovered in the regiments that fought at Santiago.

The Raw
Material
for Soldiers.

It is not boasting, but the sober truth, to say that no other nation possesses in the great mass of its population any such large percentage of splendid fighting material. Great Britain has in her young men of the higher classes from whom she draws her officers as brave and capable an element as can be found in the world. But her farm laborers are no more to be compared with the sons of American farmers than with an Australian football team. Nor are the young men of her industrial centers—Manchester, Sheffield, and the rest—in any manner equal to the young men of American towns in physical development or in personal initiative and adaptability. There is something, of course, in the life of young countries that develops individual force; and the qualities which give superiority to American soldiers would be found in like manner, undoubtedly, in Canada or Australia if the young men of those freedom-loving lands were engaged in a foreign war. It is on some accounts to be regretted that President McKinley has not seized

the present opportunity to give at least a half million young Americans the opportunity to enlist and go into camp. To be sure, it is not likely that their services would be needed at the front. But a few weeks of hard drilling in healthful camps in their home States would fit them for any emergency that might arise. They would form a great reserve force ready to respond quickly at any time within the next ten or fifteen years if their country should need to take up arms.

*Germany
Needs
a Lesson.*

The object-lesson, moreover, would be salutary in certain European quarters. There has been some reason to fear that although the European powers were not likely to disturb us while the war was pending, they might attempt to interfere in the settlements to be made at the end of the war in a way very repugnant to American pride. If President McKinley had utilized this period of actual warfare for raising a much larger volunteer army than he has yet called to the ranks, the additional expense might have been a good investment considered as an insurance premium against possible European meddling. The Germans have certainly been acting in a most disagreeable manner in the Philippines. A less cool and clear-headed man than Admiral Dewey might have been embarrassed beyond his ability to maintain himself by the behavior of Admiral Diedrichs and the German warships under his command in the Philippine vicinity. Admiral Dewey, however, has been at once patient, tactful, and firm as

ADMIRAL GEORGE DEWEY.
(From his latest photograph.)

steel. The Germans are apparently anxious to avoid any act that would bring them into conflict with the United States, while engaged in constant intrigues with a view to gaining some points for themselves. The Spaniards will soon have to learn, if they have not already found it out, that they have nothing to gain from encouraging this German meddlesomeness, and that, on the contrary, they are likely to be punished the more severely in the end for all such outside interferences. Fortunately, a perfect understanding has existed all along between Admiral Dewey and the officers of English ships in Chinese and Philippine waters, and every move in the German game of intrigue only makes more likely some far reaching Anglo-American plans in the Pacific that will not serve to promote Germany's colonial ambitions.

*An Intriguing
Government.* Germany is a great nation, with marvelously expanding industries and with a people whose colonizing ability

has been amply demonstrated. Millions upon millions of Germans have come to the United States, to the enduring benefit of this country. America wishes the German people all prosperity and looks upon them as destined to play a great

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GERMANY IS KEEPING HIS EYE ON UNCLE SAM.

But there is another fellow keeping his eye on Germany.
From the Tribune (Minneapolis).

part in the new tasks of developing and civilizing the world. There ought to be nothing but friendship and good understanding between Germany and the United States. Unfortunately, the German Government does not fairly represent the German people; and that government is becoming a dangerous factor in international affairs through its persistent and unscrupulous meddling, with or without a pretext, on every possible occasion. Its intrigues helped to defraud Japan of the full fruits of the victory over the Chinese. German intrigue, again, armed and guided the villainous Turks in their campaign against the Greeks. German intrigue having thwarted attempts to save the Armenians, threw the Cretans to the wolves. German intrigue in South Africa has only served to make mischief and stir up bad blood between Englishman and Boer. And now German intrigue has been endeavoring to embarrass the United States, with a view to acquiring a part of Spain's forfeited estates. But Germany will learn by experience that it is as great a mistake to interfere with our policy in the Philippines as to meddle with the plans of England in South Africa.

Europe's View of Our Mission in the Philippines. We have not gone to the Philippines with any passion for conquest or annexation. We are there through the stern necessities of war. Circumstances have now brought us into such relationship with affairs in those islands that we are not likely to withdraw our jurisdiction in a hurry. Our withdrawal will certainly not be expedited by German intrigue or menace; and, on the contrary, it may be considerably retarded by just that sort of conduct. German interests in the Philippines have not justified the concentration at that point of so heavy a squadron. The German fleet has maintained clandestine relations with the Spaniards and has made itself obnoxious to Admiral Dewey in many ways that will have been reported by Dewey to our Government. For all of which Germany will gain nothing but a certain measure of distrust and ill-will. The arrival of reinforcements is about to make Dewey decidedly stronger in the waters of the Far East than Diedrichs. It is perfectly understood that Englishmen will welcome, rather than resent, an American occupation of the Philippines, on the understanding, of course, that America should take a high and generous view of her mission in that part of the world. The Russians have already informed us, unofficially, that our presence in the Philippines will have their entire good-will, and that no question could possibly arise on their part except from a possible difference of opinion as to who should succeed us in case of our withdrawal.

Germany hopes for the distribution of the group, the United States perhaps keeping a port or an island, Spain retaining a slice, and Germany getting as much as possible. But any such arrangement would make endless trouble. At the present moment the only two powers that could exercise sovereignty in the Philippines without causing serious international disturbance are Spain and the United States; and circumstances have conspired to make Spain's rule virtually impossible. The logical law of exclusion thus leaves the United States in necessary possession.

England Observes the Glorious Fourth. The people of England, for the first time in the one hundred and twenty-two years that have elapsed since the Declaration of Independence was promulgated, joined the Americans last month in celebrating the Fourth of July. The growing friendship between the two leading bodies of English-speaking people will be all the more secure if it includes friendliness and good-will toward all other nations. The very fact that Englishmen and Americans now understand one

R. D. Dewey

WELL! WELL! WELL! JOHNNY BULL CELEBRATES THE
FOURTH OF JULY.

From the Tribune (Minneapolis).

another so well that there is no possibility of their drawing the sword against each other, constitutes the best reason in the world why they can afford to be good-natured and tolerant in other directions. Mr. Chamberlain and his English followers who have so loudly advocated an Anglo-American alliance while breathing out threatenings against Russia, France, and others, are—to put it mildly—the most injudicious of politicians. Everything in the present international situation ought to aid in the promotion of a good understanding between England and Russia. We in the United States do not want alliances, but only frank and honorable friendships. As between the people of Great Britain and the United States, the bonds are so numerous and are interwoven so closely that the worst blunders of their governments could not now alienate two nations so closely akin. It ought to be the policy of the two governments in their dealings with one another to value these relationships between the English-speaking peoples as a source of great contingent strength and security to each. The British empire has made its way magnificently without alliances, and it is in no need of any at the present time. American friendship, however, and good understanding it needs and desires. And these it has won at a stroke by its splendid neighborliness toward us, in every nook and corner of the world, during the past four months.

*Russia and
the English-
Speaking World.*

A very able ambassador has come to the United States from Russia. Count Cassini knows his business exceedingly well. He cannot see the reason why Uncle Sam should not be on more cordial terms with John Bull than he was in days gone by, without a sacrifice of the old traditions of friendship between Russia and the United States. The policy of Lord Salisbury's cabinet, inspired largely by Mr. Chamberlain, has been a mistaken and a dangerous one in its hysterical antagonism to Russia's natural and reasonable desire to obtain an ice-free port for her trans-Siberian railroad system. Russia is doing a great piece of work for the world in opening up northern Asia, and the English have taken the wrong tone in their hostility to the presence of the Russian Bear at Port Arthur. Mr. Chamberlain will not succeed in drawing the United States into an alliance for the purpose of thwarting Russia's policy on the northern frontiers of China. Our influence will, doubtless, be added to that of England in the expression of the reasonable view that the Chinese ports should not be appropriated by Russia, Germany, or any other power, for the sake of shutting out the commerce of the world. But

COUNT CASSINI.

(New Russian ambassador to the United States.)

Russia has not yet taken any final position on that question which could justify the alarm and dismay that have been so commonly expressed in England. In fact, M. De Witte, the great finance minister of Russia, has of late made several tariff concessions to British trade which point in quite the opposite direction.

*Affairs in
Her Majesty's
Empire.*

The recent by-elections in England continue to illustrate the fact that the political pendulum has begun to swing back toward Liberal ascendancy. Foreign rather than domestic questions seem to be provoking the reaction against the Salisbury administration. Questions of church and education, however, have within the past few weeks been much discussed in Parliament, and the debates have invariably benefited the Liberals. Looking farther afield under the Union Jack, we find Australian federation brought to a definite standstill through the unfortunate fact that New South Wales in the recent election did not give a sufficient majority. The federation scheme swept the field in Victoria, South Australia, and Tasmania, and in New South Wales itself there were 71,000 votes for federation and only 65,000 against it. But it had been previously agreed that there must be 80,000 affirmative

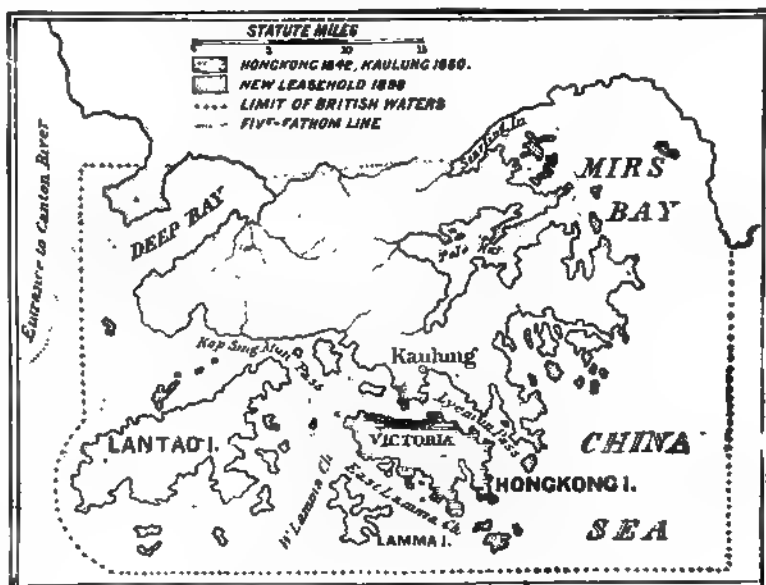
MAP TO SHOW SETTLEMENT OF ANGLO-FRENCH BOUNDARY DISPUTE IN WEST AFRICA.

votes cast in that colony. Time will overcome all difficulties and federation must become an accomplished fact within a few years. The Parliament of Cape Colony late in June passed a vote declaring its want of confidence in the ministry of Sir Gordon Sprigg; whereupon Sir Gordon, instead of meekly resigning, dismissed the Parliament and ordered an election. It seemed probable that the so-called Progressives would carry the day, with the result of making Mr. Cecil Rhodes prime minister.

British
Gains of
Territory.

As extremely creditable to the good sense of the two countries and as a cheerful indication of the progress of public morals and civilization, it is to be noted that England and France have at last amicably composed their serious differences over their respective frontiers in the Niger region of West Africa. The details of the settlement have very slight importance as compared with the advantage

of having an irritating dispute of that kind finally cleared up. The British would seem, as usual, to have secured the better end of the bargain. This, however, it should be said, is by no means due to superior cleverness in the negotiations, but rather to the fact that their claims were decidedly



ENGLAND'S NEW TERRITORY AT HONG KONG.

the more substantial ones. And while they have thus made sure of all that they really needed on the Niger, they have also been acquiring another and a far more important bit of territory for their ever-growing empire—namely, the lease for ninety-nine years (which, of course, means forever) of a district on the mainland of China immediately adjacent to the island of Hong Kong. This lease includes about two hundred square miles, with Mirs Bay on the one side and Deep Bay on the other. It protects the important post of Hong Kong from any possible advance from the mainland. The English will undoubtedly proceed to erect impregnable fortifications upon the new slice of territory. The Spaniards, by the way, have been deeply concerned during the past few weeks on account of England's apparent intention to strengthen the fortifications at Gibraltar. The Spanish papers have been full of Gibraltar illustrations and also of denunciations of the English.

*Kaiser
and
Reichstag.*

In addressing the regiments that form the Prussian body-guard at Potsdam, several weeks ago, upon the completion of his tenth year upon the throne, the Emperor William indulged in some very frank reminiscences. He declared that he had been misunderstood and distrusted in every quarter excepting one. The army, he avowed, had always believed in him, and he in turn had placed his reliance upon the troops. The outside world has freely remarked—what most people in Germany say with bated breath and in strict confidence—that the imperial career of William II. has been that of a man mischievously erratic. Germany, however, has made great strides in these past ten years, and William has not as yet involved his country in a foreign war. He has lately witnessed the turmoil of another Reichstag election, the results of which have not materially altered the strength of parties, although the Emperor's chief enemies, the social democrats, now have 56 members as against 48 in the preceding chamber. At least, the Emperor William is a man of amazing energy and versatility; and it seems likely that he will yet make some stirring chapters in European history.

*A New
Cabinet
in France.*

We publish elsewhere an article by Baron Pierre de Coubertin on the politics and problems of France. This article follows several others that we have published in our series on contemporary issues in the leading countries of Europe. Its appearance has been deferred a little on account of the absorption of Americans in our own new problems. The recent elections had justified the

opinion that the Méline cabinet—the longest lived of any that has been in office under the Third Republic—would continue without disturbance. It resigned, however, on an issue more theoretical than practical, as to the relation of the regular republicans to the radicals. A repudiation of radical support left the ministry with too small a majority for working purposes. It took two weeks—from June 15 to 29—to install a new cabinet. The well-known radical leader, M. Brisson, is now prime minister, and M. Delcassé has taken the place of Hanotaux as foreign minister. M. Bourgeois is also in the cabinet. The new leaders are men of talent, experience, and high character, and so far as their personalities go they are eminently creditable to France. Their support in the Chambers, apparently, is not coherent enough to promise them more than a very brief term in office.

*Rudini's
Downfall.*

In the same period while the French were forming a new ministry the Italians were undergoing a like experience. Rudini had not been able to keep his backing in the Chamber after the touch of civil war some weeks ago at Milan. General Pelloux is now the prime minister, and a naval man, Admiral Canevaro, is minister of foreign affairs. Rudini had appealed to the King to sustain him in a high-handed policy for the dissolution of the Chamber and the levying of taxes by royal decree—which would have amounted in its essence to a Rudini dictatorship. The new ministry announces a totally different attitude toward Parliament and the country, and it remains to be seen whether its mild manners will prove effective.

*Austria's
Open Sores.*

Austria's marked sympathy with Spain and undisguised dislike of the United States does not by any means argue the ability on her part to act with unity or energy. The plain fact is that internal dissensions are constantly increasing. The Emperor has taken matters into his own hands, and for the past month or more he has been carrying on the government of Austria quite after the fashion of a czar. The disagreements between the rival racial elements of the Austrian empire, particularly between the Germans and the Slavs, are apparently beyond power of reconciliation. The experiment of allowing the Czech language to be used officially in Bohemian schools and courts has only made the quarrel worse. The German opposition to the new plan is more violent than was the Bohemian opposition to the old plan of a single official language. The Emperor has been obliged to modify the arrangement for the sake of pacifying the Germans. In Galicia and other

provinces agrarian discontent has broken out in something like open revolution. Thus troubles multiply throughout the realms of Francis Joseph. He has ruled for fifty years and has gained the personal loyalty of his subjects. After him, it is to be feared, will come the deluge.

*Remarkable
Record
of Congress.*

The members of the Fifty-fifth Congress, when the session adjourned on July 8, went home with a most uncommon budget of interesting material with which to enliven their constituents during the campaign that has already opened in most districts. President McKinley has shown himself a past master of tact and diplomacy in dealing with Congress. This has done a great deal to make the wheels turn smoothly at Washington. It has been a very remarkable session on many accounts. The unanimity with which both houses of Congress voted the fifty-million-dollar fund in the earlier days of the session and the patriotic spirit in which the President's war policies have been supported by both houses have been a chief factor in the enhanced respect that the United States has gained abroad. The war-revenue bill was enacted in substantially the form that the finance department of the administration desired, and the war loan was duly authorized upon satisfactory terms. For the first time since the Civil War Congress has appropriated more liberally for naval construction than the Secretary of the Navy has asked in his annual report. New legislation has reorganized the army upon approved modern lines. Laws passed in this session have prohibited American citizens from engaging in the business of killing fur seals in the north Pacific, and have granted the money due to British subjects by virtue of the awards allowed for the detention of Canadian sealing vessels. We have already commented upon the completion of the Hawaiian annexation project, and it remains to mention the enactment, after many years of discussion, of a national bankruptcy bill.

*The New
Bankruptcy
Law.*

The bankruptcy measure as passed embodies many compromises in matters of detail. Upon the whole, it is regarded by all interests as a very reasonable and practicable piece of legislation. The process of liquidation has been going on, in spite of the lack of national bankruptcy provisions. But at this time, when the tide is setting unmistakably toward the return of prosperity, it is particularly desirable that energetic men, who became deeply involved a few years ago through widespread conditions of adversity that were beyond their control, should now have their hands unfettered

and be allowed to plunge freely into the thick of business affairs. The farmers of the great West have been paying off their debts magnificently. Many of the merchants and business men of the towns, however, can never by any possibility disentangle themselves from old obligations without going through a bankruptcy court. The sooner such cases are adjusted the better it will be for everybody concerned. The bankruptcy bill, as passed, had been in the hands of a conference committee of the two houses for several months. It was finally worked out in detail by a subcommittee of the conferees consisting of Senator Knute Nelson, of Minnesota, and Representative George W. Ray, of New York. Mr. Ray and the House conferees represented, in general, what has been known as the Torrey bill—a measure thought by Mr. Nelson and his friends to be rather too hard upon the debtor. Mr. Nelson and the Senators, on the other hand, were considered by the advocates of the Torrey bill as not solicitous enough for the creditor. When the conferees finished their work the bill was perhaps as nearly fair to everybody concerned as is humanly possible. A bankruptcy law is most needed, not at the hour of severest business depression, but rather when the times are turning from bad to good.

*Western
Prosperity
and the
Omaha Fair.*

The great interior of the United States—thanks to a hard experience that has taught economy and thrift, and two or three years of good prices for grain and live-stock—is already well out of its period of affliction. The West is not looking forward to an era of booms and speculation, but counts upon great gains in the development of its resources and the repayment of borrowed capital. Taking the country in general and its different crops on the average, the present season is one of great promise. The Omaha Exposition has not yet attracted the attention that it deserves, principally by reason of the more thrilling spectacles of our war situation. But the attendance through the remaining months of August, September, and October ought to be very large. There will soon be represented on the exposition grounds the Indian congress, comprising representatives of twenty-five or thirty tribes—some hundreds of Indians in all—with wigwams, costumes, and everything else in exact conformity to the original customs of the particular tribes. There is to be a great cattle show in October. The architectural scheme at Omaha has won the enthusiastic praise of all those who have been privileged to visit the exposition; and although it is on a much smaller scale than the World's Fair at Chicago, it is generally

agreed that in point of beauty and fairy-like charm the Omaha buildings will bear comparison with those at Jackson Park.

The War Loan.

The success of the war loan fully justifies the expectations that we had already expressed. Secretary Gage, as well as the New York bankers, did not seem to believe at all that the small investors would absorb the loan. The newspapers, almost without exception, predicted that the small investors would over-subscribe the entire sum. The result shows that the newspapers were right and the financiers wrong. The subscriptions for amounts of \$5,000 or less aggregated a great deal more than the total \$200,000,000. All those whose subscriptions were for sums less than \$5,000, however, received the full amount. Those who had subscribed the even amount of \$5,000 had to be content with about 20 per cent. This experience, in time of war, throws into somewhat painful contrast the premiums paid by the last administration, in time of profound peace, to a New York syndicate for helping the Government to sell American securities to the Rothschilds. If the Government had wanted \$2,000,000,000 last month instead of \$200,000,000, the people of the United States would have over-subscribed the amount with alacrity.

A New Phase of New York Politics.

The New York Legislature, which had completed its regular session on March 31, was in special session by call of Governor Black during the week beginning July 11. Provision was made for allowing soldiers in the field to vote in the fall elections, and \$500,000 was placed at the governor's disposal for military purposes. The great question before the special session, however, was one of a very different sort. As our readers generally are aware, the Greater New York charter continued the former plan of assigning to the police board the duty of election commissioners. Mayor Van Wyck and the Tammany managers, desiring to make a change in the position of chief of police, had some weeks ago removed the two Republican members of the bi-partisan board, appointing in their places two men who, though nominally Republicans, were thought to be willing to obey Tammany orders. As soon as the board was reconstituted Chief McCullagh was deposed, and Captain Devery (whose name has an unpleasant prominence in the records of the Lexow commission) was raised to the position of chief. The Republicans looked upon this maneuver as having direct reference to the fall elections. Mr. Platt and his organization appealed at once to Governor Black to call the Republican

Legislature of the State into special session for the sake of taking the control of elections out of the hands of the police authorities. The bill as actually passed last month creates a metropolitan elections district, in which Westchester County is added to the Greater New York—for no reason, apparently, except to take the matter clearly outside of municipal jurisdiction. Under the terms of the bill Governor Black has appointed John McCullagh, the ex-police chief, as State superintendent of elections. The superintendent has, in turn, authority to select some six hundred deputies from lists furnished him by committees of the party organizations. There is no intention in this measure to promote any unfair methods at the polls, the sole object being to circumvent the Tammany trickery that Republicans were anticipating. Nevertheless, this habit of appeal to the Legislature to protect the city against itself is, in the long run, a worse evil than the evils which it is intended to avert.

Some Woeful Accidents.

Few are the months which do not bring their chapters of disaster by sea and by land. The one of which most note was taken last month was the sinking of the French liner *Bourgogne* as a result of a collision off the Banks of Newfoundland. She was on her way from New York to Havre and carried many passengers, of whom only a few were rescued. The most painful part of the record lies in the fact that only one woman was saved. Seven hundred and fourteen persons had sailed on the ship; only 164 escaped with their lives, and these were nearly all of them members of the crew. Comment seems superfluous. An American ship—the *Delaware*, of the Clyde line—had to be abandoned only a few nights after the loss of the *Bourgogne*, on account of fire. Perfect discipline was maintained; all passengers received due attention; not a life was lost. In England there was an unfortunate accident on the occasion of the launching of a new battleship. It occurred at a ship-yard in East London, where an enormous crowd was gathered to see the Duchess of York, who was expected to christen the *Albion*. The plunge of the vessel threw up a mass of water that wrecked a bridge or platform on which some hundreds of people were standing. About forty women and children were drowned. Such casualties, serious as they are, seem tame, however, when compared with the sublime horrors of the smashing of Cervera's fleet on the Cuban coast, amid the thunders of thirteen-inch guns and the incessant rattle, screech, and roar of the lesser artillery. Most wonderful of all is the preservation of American life in that deadly rain of missiles.

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS.

(From June 21 to July 30, 1898.)

COMMANDER PILLSBURY, OF THE DYNAMITE CRUISER "VENEVIVUS."

WAR BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND SPAIN.

June 21.—Landing of troops from the American transports begins at Balquiri, seventeen miles east of Santiago de Cuba....The Spaniards on the Ladrone Islands capitulate to the United States cruiser *Charleston*.

June 22.—Direct cable communication is established between Washington and Guantanamo, Cuba....Troops are dispatched from Camp Alger for the reinforcement of General Shafter in Cuba....The auxiliary cruiser *St. Paul* is attacked, while off San Juan, Porto Rico, by the Spanish torpedo-boat destroyer *Terror*; the *St. Paul's* fire disables the *Terror*, killing an officer and two men and wounding others.

June 23.—The landing of the troops near Santiago is completed....The United States monitor *Monadnock* sails for Manila.

June 24.—In advancing from Balquiri General Young's brigade of cavalry and the "Rough Riders" (dismounted), under Colonel Wood and Lieutenant-Colonel Roosevelt, encounter a superior force of Spaniards near Sevilla; a heavy fire is opened on

the Americans; Sergt. Hamilton Fish, Jr., of the "Rough Riders," is killed, and Capt. A. K. Capron mortally wounded; the enemy is finally driven from position, after the Americans have sustained a loss of 16 killed and 41 wounded....The Spanish Cortes is dissolved.

June 25.—American troops under General Chaffee occupy Sevilla, abandoned by the Spaniards.

June 26.—The American outposts are within four miles of the city of Santiago.

June 27.—The third Manila expedition, consisting of the transport ships *Indiana*, *Ohto*, *Morgan City*, and *City of Para*, commanded by Gen. Arthur McArthur, sails from San Francisco....It is announced at Washington that an armored squadron under Commodore Watson will sail for the coast of Spain....Brig.-Gen. G. L. Gillespie is ordered to take command of the Department of the East, headquarters at Governor's Island, New York harbor, in place of Brig.-Gen. R. T. Frank, who is ordered to report for other duty.

June 28.—President McKinley issues a proclamation extending the blockade of Cuban ports to those of the southern coast and instituting a blockade of the port of San Juan, Porto Rico.

June 29.—Gen. Wesley Merritt sails from San Francisco for the Philippines....General Snyder's division of the Fourth Army Corps, numbering more than 8,000 men, sails for Santiago to reinforce General Shafter.

June 30.—The cruiser *Charleston* and the three troopships of the first Philippine expedition arrive at Cavite.

July 1.—The heights of El Caney and San Juan, overlooking Santiago, are taken by the American troops; General Lawton's infantry (Chaffee's brigade leading) attack El Caney, and after nine hours of fighting carry the Spanish defenses at that point, with heavy losses

on both sides; many Spaniards are taken prisoners; the advance on San Juan is made by the regular cavalry (dismounted), the First Volunteer Cavalry ("Rough Riders"), and the Seventy-first New York; the heights are carried after a terrible sacrifice of life; General Linera, commanding the Spanish forces, is wounded, and his second in command is killed.

July 2.—The Spaniards attempt to retake San Juan; after severe fighting they are finally repulsed; General Lawton's troops extend the American lines north of Santiago; several thousand Spanish reinforcements succeed in entering the city; the total American losses in the two days' fighting are: Killed, 23 officers and 208 men; wounded, 81 officers and 1,208 men; missing, 79 men.

July 3.—The Spanish fleet under Admiral Cervera attempts to run out of Santiago harbor, but is pursued by the *Brooklyn*, the *Oregon*, the *Iowa*, and the *Tezas*, of the American squadron, and the converted yacht *Gloucester*; of the Spanish ships, the *Infanta Maria Teresa*, the *Almirante Oquendo*, and the *Vizcaya* are

PALACE OF THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL AT SANTIAGO DE CUBA.

forced ashore in a sinking condition and surrendered; the *Cristobal Colon* makes a desperate effort to escape, but is finally run ashore under the fire of the American ships forty miles from the harbor; the two torpedo-boat destroyers *Furor* and *Pluton* are wrecked within four miles of the harbor; Admiral Cervera, Captain Eulate, of the *Vizcaya*, and more than 700 officers and men are taken prisoners; terrible loss of life is reported on the Spanish ships; the American loss is 1 killed and 2 wounded....General Shafter gives notice to General Toral, commanding the Spanish forces in Santiago, that he will shell the city and that women and children should leave at once.

July 4.—President McKinley conveys to Admiral Sampson the congratulations and thanks of the American people for the victory over the Spanish fleet off Santiago de Cuba.

July 5.—Santiago still refuses to surrender; the truce is extended.

July 6.—The Spanish authorities at Santiago exchange Lieutenant Hobson and his seven men for prisoners taken by our troops....The Spanish squadron under Admiral Camara is reported at Suez.

July 7.—General Miles leaves Washington for Santiago....Thousands of refugees leave the city of Santiago....An extension of the armistice at Santiago is granted in order that non-combatants may have time to leave the city and to permit the Spanish commander to communicate with Madrid regarding surrender.

July 8.—The American lines in front of Santiago are greatly strengthened, and siege-guns and mortar-batteries in position for bombardment....Admiral Camara's squadron reenters the Suez Canal for its return voyage to Spain....The *Concord* and *Raleigh*, of Admiral Dewey's fleet, take possession of Isla Grande in Subig Bay, near Manila; the *Irene*, a German ship which had interfered to protect the Spaniards against the insurgents, withdraws on the arrival of the American ships....President McKinley nominates the following brigadier-generals of volunteers to be major-generals: Hamilton S. Hawkins, Henry W. Lawton, Adna R. Chaffee, and John C. Bates; Col. Leonard Wood, First Volunteer Cavalry, and Lieut.-Col. Chambers

DR. SANARELLI.

(Discoverer of the yellow-fever bacillus.)

is hoisted over the palace; the Spanish troops march out and give up their arms; all the country east of a line drawn through Acerraderos, Palma, and Sagua, with the troops and munitions of war in that district, are surrendered also, the United States agreeing to transport the troops back to Spain....The remaining transports of the second Manila expedition arrive at Cavite with United States troops.

July 18.—President McKinley issues a proclamation regarding the government of Santiago.

July 20.—The United States awards the contract for transporting Spanish prisoners to Spain to the Spanish Transatlantic Company....General Wilson starts from Charleston for Porto Rico with 4,000 troops.

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS.

June 21-23.—The Senate debates the annexation of Hawaii.

June 24.—The Senate adopts the conference report on the bankruptcy bill by a vote of 43 to 13.

June 25.—The Senate adopts the conference report on the sundry civil appropriation bill; opponents of Hawaiian annexation resort to filibustering tactics.

June 28.—The Senate begins consideration of the general deficiency appropriation bill....The House adopts the conference report on the bankruptcy bill and passes several measures relating to the army.

June 29.—The Senate adopts the general deficiency appropriation bill and adopts a resolution of thanks to Hobson and his men and to Lieutenant Newcomb for his rescue of the *Winslow*.

June 30-July 5.—The Senate continues discussion of the Hawaiian annexation resolution.

July 6.—The Senate, by a vote of 43 to 21, passes the resolution providing for the annexation of Hawaii to the United States; the House amendment to the general deficiency appropriation bill is concurred in....The House adopts the Senate amendment to the general deficiency appropriation bill.

July 7.—The Senate passes a bill giving to Adjutant-General Corbin the rank of major-general.

July 8.—The second session of the Fifty-fifth Congress comes to an end by the adjournment of both branches.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—AMERICAN.

June 22.—Ohio Republicans endorse the war policy of the national administration and renominate the State officers....Michigan Democrats, Silver Republicans, and Populists nominate a fusion State ticket, headed by Justin R. Whiting for governor.

June 28.—Maine Republicans renominate Governor Powers.

June 29.—Pennsylvania Democrats nominate George D. Jenks for governor....Georgia Democrats in convention nominate Allen D. Candler for governor.

June 30.—Minnesota Republicans nominate ex-Mayor William H. Eustis, of Minneapolis, for governor....Maine Democrats nominate Samuel L. Lord for governor.

July 5.—Governor Black issues a call for the New York Legislature to meet in extra session July 11.

July 7.—President McKinley signs the resolution passed by Congress for the annexation of Hawaii to the United States; the cruiser *Philadelphia* is ordered to Honolulu to raise the American flag over the islands.

July 9.—As commissioners to Hawaii President McKinley appoints Senator Cullom, of Illinois; Senator

THE LATE REAR ADMIRAL DANIEL AMMEN, U. S. N.

McKibbin, Twenty-first Infantry, are nominated to be brigadier-generals, and Lieut.-Col. Theodore Roosevelt, First Volunteer Cavalry, to be colonel.

July 9.—General Toral, in command of the Spanish forces in Santiago, offers to surrender the city if his troops are allowed to withdraw with their arms; this proposition is declined by General Shafter.

July 10.—Reinforcements for General Shafter arrive at Siboney....Admiral Cervera and the other officers and men of the Spanish fleet destroyed at Santiago arrive at Portsmouth, N. H., as prisoners of war of the United States.

July 11.—General Miles arrives in Cuba and confers with General Shafter and Admiral Sampson....General Shafter renews his demand for the unconditional surrender of Santiago; renewal of bombardment is again postponed.

July 14.—General Toral consents to the surrender of Santiago and the Spanish troops there, on condition that they be sent back to Spain.

July 15.—The Spanish Government issues a decree suspending the rights of individual citizens....The fourth Manila expedition, consisting of the steamships *Peru* and *City of Pueblo*, with 1,700 troops, sails from San Francisco, General Otis in command.

July 16.—Admiral Cervera and the captured officers of his fleet are quartered at Annapolis, Md., as prisoners of war....The transport *China*, of the second Manila expedition, with reinforcements for Admiral Dewey, arrives at Cavite.

July 17.—The city of Santiago de Cuba is formally surrendered to General Shafter, and the American flag

Morgan, of Alabama; Representative Hitt, of Illinois; ex-President Dole and Justice Frear, of Hawaii.

July 11.—The New York Legislature meets in extra session to provide for the expense of equipping troops, for the counting of votes cast by soldiers at the front, and for honest elections in the State.... Secretary Alger issues orders attaching the Hawaiian Islands to the military department of California.

July 13.—The National League of Republican Clubs meets in Omaha, Neb.

July 16.—The extra session of the New York Legislature adjourns after passing bills providing for the expense of the National Guard, for bi-partisan representation on boards of election inspectors, for changes in the method of conducting city elections, and for the counting of the soldier vote in State elections.... Governor Black, of New York, appoints ex-Chief of Police McCullagh, of New York City, State superintendent of elections.

July 20.—Vermont Democrats nominate a State ticket.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—FOREIGN.

June 25.—M. Peytral having been unable to form a new French Cabinet, the task is intrusted to M. Henri Brisson.

June 26.—Marquis Ito resigns as Prime Minister of Japan.

June 27.—The second balloting for members of the German Reichstag shows socialist gains.

June 28.—A new Japanese Cabinet is formed by Okuma Stagaki.... M. Brisson completes the organization of the new French Cabinet.

June 29.—A new Italian Cabinet is formed, with General Pelloux as prime minister.

June 30.—The French Chamber of Deputies passes a vote of confidence in the Brisson ministry.

July 4.—An attempted revolution in Montevideo, Uruguay, is put down by force of arms; 60 persons are killed and 300 wounded.

July 5.—The British House of Commons, by a vote of 266 to 144, rejects John Redmond's resolution for the redress of Ireland's taxation grievances.

July 12.—The Italian Chamber of Deputies approves the measure for restoring order in the country.... A formidable rebellion is reported in the West River district of China, nine towns having been taken by the insurgents and the imperial troops defeated in battle, with heavy losses.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

June 21.—Delegates from Salvador, Honduras, and Nicaragua meet at Managua to form a constitution of a federal union.

June 23.—Count Cassini, first Russian Ambassador to the United States, is presented to President McKinley.

June 26.—It is announced that the claims of Italy against Haiti have been adjusted.

June 29.—The commissioners to represent the Canadian government in the adjustment of differences with the United States are appointed.

July 1.—The Wei-Hai-Wei treaty between China and Great Britain is signed.

July 4.—The anniversary of American independence is celebrated in Great Britain and in some of her colonies.

July 12.—The Peruvian Congress approves the protocol between Chile and Peru.

July 14.—The Swiss Federal Council prohibits the importation of American fresh and dried fruits.

July 16.—President McKinley appoints as commissioners to represent the United States in the proposed adjustment of relations with Canada Senator Fair-

RAMON BLANCO,
Spanish Captain-General of Cuba.

banks, of Indiana; Senator Gray, of Delaware; Representative Dingley, of Maine; John A. Kasson, of Iowa; and John W. Foster, of the District of Columbia.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH.

June 21.—At the launching of the British battleship *Albion* at Blackwall 37 spectators are drowned by the wrecking of a platform.

June 23.—A Chinese war vessel at Port Arthur is wrecked by a typhoon and 130 of her men are drowned.... Strikers attack non-union workers in the planing-mills and sash factories at Oshkosh, Wis.... Cornell wins in the boat-race with Yale and Harvard at New London.

June 24.—Captain Sverdrup's arctic expedition sails from Christiania on the *Fram*.

June 26.—The arctic expedition under Walter Wellman sails from Tromsø, Norway.... The Clifton House at Niagara Falls is destroyed by fire.

June 28.—Wisconsin's semi-centennial as a State is celebrated in Milwaukee.... A new combination of distillers is formed, with a capital of \$24,000,000.

June 27. — William Henry Rhawn, a well-known Philadelphia banker, 66.

July 1. — *Col. Charles A. Wikoff, Twenty-second Infantry, U. S. A., 61....*Lieut.-Col. John M. Hamilton, Ninth Cavalry, U. S. A., 59....*Maj. Albert G. Force, First Cavalry, U. S. A.

July 6. — Dr. Cornelius E. Herz, of Panama Canal notoriety, 53....Prof. James Monroe, of Oberlin College, formerly a member of Congress.

July 7. — Parker Pillsbury, anti-slavery agitator, 89.

July 11 — Rear Admiral Daniel Ammen, U. S. N., retired, 78....Ex-Senator Omar D. Conger, of Michigan, 80.

July 12. — Rev. Dr. Samuel Buckingham, of Springfield, Mass., 86....Maj. William G. Moore, superintendent of police, Washington, D. C., 69.

THE FRENCH LINE STEAMER "LA BOURGOGNE."

(Sunk on July 4, sixty miles from Sable Island, with the loss of five hundred and sixty persons.)

July 1.—Edwin Austin Abbey, American painter, is elected to membership in the Royal Academy.

July 2.—Owing to a stereotypers' strike no newspapers are published in Chicago....The University of Pennsylvania wins in the boat-race with Cornell at Saratoga.

July 4.—The French line steamer *La Bourgogne* collides with the British ship *Cromartyshire* and is sunk sixty miles south of Sable Island; 560 of the 725 persons on board are drowned.

July 6.—The Chicago newspapers are issued again, the Typographical Union deciding that the stereotypers' strike is illegal and declining to assist it.

July 12.—The new Japanese cruiser, *Kasagi*, makes an average speed of 22½ knots an hour on her trial trip.

July 18.—The Anglo-American League holds its organization meeting in London.

July 18.—Zola and Perreux, on their second trial for libel, are sentenced to a year's imprisonment and to pay a fine of 8,000 francs each, with costs.

OBITUARY.

June 21.—Rev. Dr. David D. Demarest, professor in the theological seminary of the Reformed Church at New Brunswick, N. J., 79.

June 23.—Col. S. Van Rensselaer Cruger, of New York City, 54.

July 14.—Mrs. Elizabeth Lynn Linton, novelist and essayist, 78.

July 17.—George Alfred Pillsbury, capitalist, of Minneapolis, 82....Gen. John Stuart Williams, of Kentucky, ex-United States Senator and hero of Mexican and Civil wars, 78.

July 20.—Admiral Thomas Leeke Massie, known as the "Father of the British Navy," 96.

IMPORTANT CONVENTIONS IN AUGUST.

The fiftieth anniversary of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, to be held at Boston, August 22-27, promises to be a most successful meeting. Foreign scientists will take part and foreign scientific bodies will be represented by delegates.

The American Bar Association will hold its twenty-first annual meeting at Saratoga, August 17-19. The International Law Association has determined not to hold its meeting in America this year.

The American Social Science Association will also meet at Saratoga, August 29. This body meets annually to discuss current questions in jurisprudence, economics, and education.

The second meeting of the League of American Municipalities, membership in which is held by the cities of this country and Canada, will be held at Detroit, August 1-4.

* Killed in battle before Santiago de Cuba.



CARTOONS—CHIEFLY SPANISH—ON THE WAR.

HOW THE STUPID CAMPBELL WAS OUTWITTED BY CERVERA.

From *Don Quijote* (Madrid.)

THE Spanish cartoons, ten of which we reproduce on this and the following pages, are well worth studying for the light they throw upon the state of public opinion in Spain. It happens that the most striking ones are this month selected from *Don Quijote*; but *El Gedeon*, *Blanco y Negro*, *Nuevo Mundo*, *Barcelona Comica*, and the other Spanish papers that regularly publish cartoons, all show the same amazing perversity in their treatment of facts. We do not think for a moment that the Spanish cartoonists are in a conspiracy to deceive their public. The cartoonists themselves are undoubtedly as blind as most of the Spanish editors and all of their constituents.

Our opening cartoon, for instance, shows the fleet of Cervera as successfully slipping past Sampson at Santiago; while another on the following page represents Cervera as having Schley bottled up,

GENERAL LINARES—THE MAN OF THE DAY.

From *Blanco y Negro* (Madrid.)

all in dead earnest and not as a joke. On page 151 Admiral Dewey is represented as a rat caught in Spain's Philippine trap; and up to this very moment, probably, the majority of the people in Spain think that Govern-

McKINLEY TO OLD MRS. BRITANNIA: "Wouldn't you like a bite yourself?"

From *Don Quijote* (Madrid).

McKINLEY UP TO DATE, AND WORSE TO FOLLOW!
From Don Quirote (Madrid).

or-General Augusti at Manila holds Dewey virtually as a prisoner of war. The drawing from *Blanco y Negro* on the first page shows General Linares, chief in command at Santiago, easily repelling the assault of Shafter's troops, represented as wild boars. Poor President McKinley is depicted in this column as shockingly disfigured by reason of his series of pummelings, particularly at Santiago de Cuba. The flag cartoon is based upon a Spanish report that American warships sailed under Spanish colors in stealing a march on the forts at Guantanamo. Upon the strength of this report the United States is charged with the crime of piracy.

YANKEE PIRATES.
From Don Quirote (Madrid).

CERVERA TO SCHLEY: "You will soon see that it is I who have you bottled up!"—*From Don Quirote (Madrid).*



THE "MERRIMAC" INCIDENT.

From *Comico* (Madrid).THE PREDICAMENT OF DEWEY.
From *Don Quijote* (Madrid.)

Sagasta in the home country, Augustin in the Philippines, and Blanco in Cuba are all tugging at the poor reserve squadron of Camara, with which they hope to protect their exposed sea borders.

The small cartoon from the *Madrid Comico* is meant to express the Spanish theory that the *Merrimac* exploit was a piece of sheer foolhardiness on the part of the excited and incompetent Sampson, all for the benefit of the Spanish on-lookers. It will certainly be worth while to follow the subsequent work of these Spanish cartoonists, in order to see if they can ever bring themselves to the point of recognizing and admitting defeat. We shall report on that point next month.

THE ANGLO-YANKEE ALLIANCE.

SPAIN TO FRANCE: "Hit Johnny Bull as hard as you can, and I'll take care of the pig."
From *Barcelona Comico* (Barcelona).

The friendly relations between England and the United States form a subject of constant discussion in Spain; and the writers as well as comic artists of the press are quite as angry at England as at the United States. On the opening page we have reproduced a cartoon in which (symbolically) the two English-speaking countries are represented as eating together; and on this page they are drinking the health of the Anglo-Saxon alliance, while France and Spain in the background are preparing to annihilate the Saxon race.

Our always original and ingenious neighbor, *El Hijo del Ahuizote*, of Mexico, likes nothing so well as to puncture absurd Spanish pretensions. Its cartoon on this page represents the advance of the Yankee fleet in the distance, while

THE LAST SHEET.

SAGASTA: "Don't pull! You'll uncover your mother."
From *El Hijo Del Ahuizote* (City of Mexico).

PROVERBS IN PRACTICE.

"Tell me with whom you go, and I'll tell you who you are."
—Spanish Proverb.

From *Blanco y Negro* (Madrid).

disposed to consider the annexation of Hawaii to the United States a matter of considerable public interest. The *Tribune* represents Senator Cushman K. Davis, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, as the officiating physician, and the *Journal*, in turn, exhibits Uncle Sam as weighing the lusty Hawaiian infant in the folds of the United States flag.

A LUSTY INFANT.

Born to Mr. and Mrs. Columbia.
From the *Tribune* (Minneapolis).

WEIGHING THE BABY.

From the *Journal* (Minneapolis).

THE BATTLE WITH CERVERA'S FLEET OFF SANTIAGO.

BY WINSTON CHURCHILL.

I.

THE victory of July 3, 1898, far from overshadowing that of Admiral Dewey at Manila, simply proves, if proof were needed, that our navy is homogeneous. We like to believe and to know that any one of its flag officers would have taken a squadron into a yawning black harbor in the far East to grapple with and overcome unknown dangers; that any of its juniors would have steamed with the *Merrimac* at certain destruction and almost certain death into a narrow channel filled with mines and lined with batteries. We thank God that these men were born under the Stars and Stripes, and that he has given them the skill and the might and the right which have saved their lives in time of peril. And the words of Captain Philip, of the *Texas*, spoken when that wonderful Sunday's work was done, have thrilled his countrymen and his race with a sacred feeling no writer can define. He stood on the quarter deck of his ship and said to those who had shared with him the dangers of that battle as they listened with bared heads: "I want to make public acknowledgment here that I be-

live in God the Father Almighty. I want all you officers and men to lift your hats and from your hearts offer silent thanks to God Almighty."

That the United States had a navy before this war began is a fact that has been but little appreciated both at home and abroad. On the continent of Europe it was openly declared and secretly hoped that the Spanish navy would be more than a match for ours. There were Englishmen—and Americans, too, who had not read their history—who forgot that a leopard cannot change his spots, and they shook their heads and feared that we should meet defeat at the first, until we could build more ships and get more men. When the *Maine* blew up in Havana harbor there were people all over this country—patriotic men and women undoubtedly—who honestly believed that the cause of the accident, if not a breach of discipline, was at least due to a faulty construction of the ship. For many years this branch of our service has been persistently underrated by those who knew nothing of what they spoke. At every grounding or leak or other mishap to our new ships many murmured and scoffed, and some of the papers actu-



THE CRUISER "CRISTOBAL COLOM." .
(Last of the Spanish ships to be abandoned July 3.)

ally published jokes about the insecurity of our battleships. If any of these critics, after four years of the hardest kind of work at Annapolis, were put on the bridge of a warship and told to conduct her from port to port, they would perhaps appreciate that the successful handling of a war vessel, even in times of peace, is one of the most difficult tasks in the world and is only acquired after a lifetime of the most assiduous study and the practice of it.

The naval profession, if properly followed—and our naval men have so followed it—may well be said to be the most exacting and inclusive of any. A naval officer must be an expert in half a dozen branches of science, any one of which in civil life is deemed sufficient for one man. His work is never done. In order to pass his examinations at every grade he must keep up with the advance in steam engineering, in gunnery, electricity, and modern ship-building, and in much else. He must have international law at his fingers' ends, and he must be able to think and decide quickly in the most trying of situations. If he makes a false step he is court-martialed. It is not all dancing o' nights. There

a college crew training for a race, the eyes of the people have been elsewhere until the reputation of a nation is seen to be at stake, and they turn with a start of apprehension and guilt at their neglect. Had there not been far-seeing and public-spirited men who persistently hammered at Congress for the ships already granted, the officers who have sacrificed all mean ambition and money-getting to the service of their country would have had the blame of any defeat which might have fallen on our flag for the lack of ships.

And what, it may be asked, has been happening in the Spanish service? In the first place, the Spanish officer has had nothing like the initial training undergone by the American. Very few of them would prove equal to the test, and here is the root of the whole evil. The question resolves into one of race in the very beginning, and it is not the Spaniard's fault that he was not born with the mechanical ability, the vitality, and the thirst for professional knowledge of the Anglo-Saxon. Next there is the moral element. When the *Vizcaya* visited New York this spring the bills of the supplies she bought

there were made out in largely augmented amounts for submission at Madrid. The money that has left the Spanish treasury for target practice and for coal for fleet evolutions has found its way, like many millions of pesetas before, into official pockets, while the Spanish officers have sat under café awnings and smoked cigarettes and drunk absinthe and discussed the lack of discipline that destroyed the *Maine*.

Another radical cause of the inefficiency of the Spanish navy is the enlisted man, whose condition seems worse than in any other service. He is kidnaped by unscrupulous agents, as was the custom in the time of Frederick the Great and

THE CRUISER "VIZCAYA."

(The *Vizcaya*, *Oquendo*, and *Infanta María Teresa* were of the same class and closely resembled one another.)

is the ceaseless round of target practice, which has done more than anything else to win this war—for the United States has believed in target practice above any other nation—and of drills afloat and ashore besides, meaningless rumors of which only reach the ear of the citizen. In time of peace the navy has been preparing with what scant materials Congress has granted it, and like

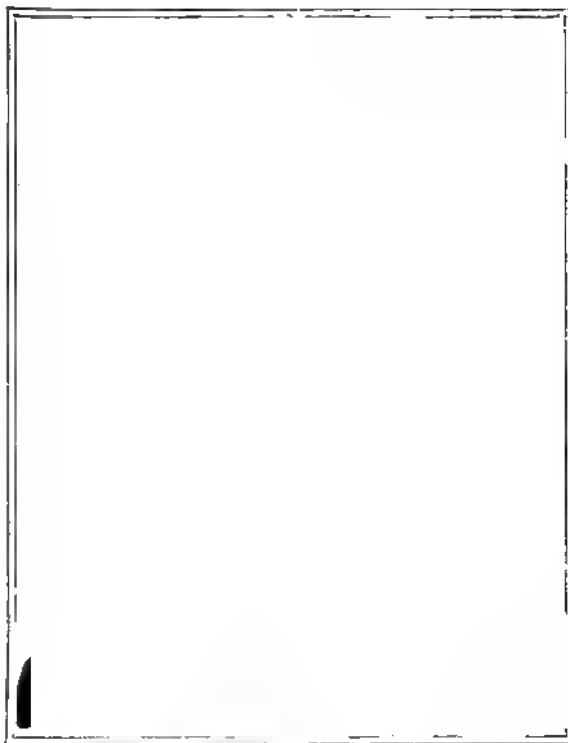
of George III., besotted and stolen from his home in the provinces or from the taverns along the wharves in the seaport towns, and carried aboard ship to lose his freedom forever. He is beaten without mercy for the slightest offense, and sometimes killed. Naturally these sailors desert at every opportunity, and numbers of them are said to have gotten away from the ships Spain

sent to our naval review in New York. Men who have been any time in such drudgery can have no self respect nor *esprit de corps*, and it is not surprising they had to be filled with wine at Santiago and threatened with revolvers before they would go out to meet the Americans. Again, Spain's naval officers are appointed as a rule from the ranks of the nobility, just as were the colonial officers in Cuba and the Philippines, not because of their fitness to command a ship, but because the particular family of influence to which they belong wished it. And, lastly, the

lack of mechanical genius in the national character had compelled the government to employ on their warships English and Scotch engineers, all of whom, as a matter of course, gave up their places when it came to fighting their own race. Consequently the greater part of the engines and boilers were promptly ruined.

As for ships, it may be of interest to know that the Spanish Government, on paper at least, was not so badly equipped when the war began. Compared with the United States, they were rich in two very essential classes of vessels which we

lacked, the fast armored cruiser of the *Vizcaya* type, that is at once a commerce-destroyer and a battleship; powerful enough, if properly handled and manned, to meet any ship in our navy except our four largest battleships, and swift enough to run away from these. They had seven of them, all near of a size and armament. The second class consisted of the torpedo-boat destroyers, much vaunted by experts in Europe and America, until the very mention of them was sufficient to throw timid people into a hysteria. The name of this craft is somewhat misleading. They are in reality merely a logical development of the torpedo-boat, being larger and of greatly increased speed, more seaworthy, and carrying more rapid-fire guns than the smaller vessels. Spain had six of these fresh from the best English yards. In addition to these ships she has a number of protected and unprotected cruisers, unarmored, like ours, and of no great size; of gunboats, torpedo-gunboats and torpedo-boats. Some of them were in the Philippines and are now accounted for; some in Cuba and some at home. The lot might, under good management, have proved a considerable source of trouble to us. Then there is the *Pelayo*, the battleship with which Admiral Camara



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REAR ADMIRAL SAMPSON.

ited to the credit of the gentlemen who handled the money. She was recently modernized by friendly neighbors beyond the Pyrenees. The *Carlos V.*, a magnificent vessel about the size and type of our *New York* and *Brooklyn*; some converted merchant liners and two old broadside ironclads of 8 knots, the *Numancia* and the *Vitoria*.

There was no little anxiety in this country when it became known that Admiral Don Pascual de Cervera y Topete had sailed from the Canary Islands with what Admiral Colomb, the celebrated English expert, rightly called "four of the finest cruisers in the world" and "three of the latest kind of torpedo-boat destroyers." The combination was indeed sufficiently formidable to cause apprehension. Three of the vessels, the *Vizcaya*, the *Almirante Oquendo*, and the *Infanta Maria Teresa*, were 7,000 tons each, 340 feet in length, with the moderate draught of 21 feet 6 inches, with 12 inches of armor except at the gun positions, 10.5 inches, with a three-inch protected deck, and the remarkable speed of 20 knots. Each carried two high-power 11-inch guns, ten 5.5-inch (those of the *Vizcaya* alone of this size being rapid-fire), eight 2.2-inch, and eight 1.4-inch rapid-fire, two machine guns, and eight torpedo tubes. The fourth cruiser, the

COMMODORE W. B. SCHLEY.

has been cruising in the Suez Canal, which has been building for some dozen years, a large part of the appropriations for her having been depos-

Cristobal Colon, was of 6,840 tons, with a length of 328 feet and the same speed, a draught of 24 feet, had but six inches of armor and 1.5 of protective deck, and two 10-inch guns mounted in barbette instead of turrets. She had, however, ten 6-inch rapid-fire guns, six 4.7-inch, ten 1.4-inch, three machine guns, and five torpedo tubes. The coal capacity of all four was 1,200 tons. There is reason to believe, though at present I cannot find an authority for the statement, that their armor was not harveyized. It is also said to have been most emphatically stated by the captain of the *Cristobal Colon*, as well as by Admiral Cervera, that the ten-inch guns of this ship were still in the pocket of the Spanish minister of marine.

It certainly seemed, as far as material went, that Cervera had everything that could be wished. Since the *Oregon* was still rounding the South American continent, we had but three vessels in West Indian waters which his could not meet upon equal terms, the *Indiana*, *Iowa*, and *Massachusetts*, and they averaged three knots less than their trial trips. Our second-class battleship *Texas* with her 12-inch armor and displacement of 8,315 tons was about a match for the *Vizcaya* type in all save speed, where she fell over two knots short. It is true that she carries four twelve-inch guns, but the *Vizcaya* exceeded her largely in the six-inch class and in guns of smaller caliber. The monitors could never hope to get near the Spanish admiral. He had more than ample strength to give battle to any squadron of our cruisers that might oppose him, even though it might number in its composition the lightly armored *New York* and *Brooklyn*. And no better

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THE UNITED STATES CRUISER "BROOKLYN."

When he was forced out of the Canaries on April 29 by Portugal's long-delayed proclamation Don Pascual had the world before him. There were any number of things he was expected to do. He could cut off and destroy the *Oregon*, for one; and he could bombard a coast city or two without fear of Commodore Schley's unarmored squadron at Hampton Roads. Or he could go to the West Indies and indulge himself to his heart's content in the favorite national pastime of hide and seek, run the blockades, and laugh at our eleven-thousand-ton battleships. And strategists on both sides of the Atlantic were mapping out campaigns for him.

It was not generally known at that time that the movements of Spanish squadrons are dictated not by naval, but by political, experts, and that the key to the whole matter lay in the internal condition of the peninsula itself. Sagasta and his associates were working with all their might, not to defeat the foreign enemy, but to be beaten by that enemy in such a manner as to save the throne for young Alphonso. They knew better than any one else, and from the outset, that defeat was inevitable, and squadrons and men were sacrificed without a qualm. It is very doubtful whether any one in power at Madrid, or even Admiral Don Pascual de Cervera y Topete himself, had any very clear idea what was to become of him and his when he left for America. It is impossible not to feel for Admiral Cervera. He seems to be a good man and a brave man, and has so far exhibited none of the traits of his nation. With only a week's full supply of provisions he was turned loose by his government quite as pitilessly as his fellow-countrymen are in the habit of pushing a magnificent bull into the ring, and his only instructions seem to have been to do anything rather than meet Admiral Sampson. The men who manned his

THE "GLOUCESTER."

(Converted yacht *Corsair*.)

vessels than his destroyers, with their twenty-eight-knot records for scouting, can be imagined: their swiftness and deadliness were his safeguard against being followed and watched by American ships.

squadron understood this, and the knowledge was not calculated to instill even a set of slaves with any great degree of enthusiasm. With apologies to Admiral Cervera, imagine the Duke of Alva or Medina Sidonia with a company of medisevals in the turrets and engine-rooms of the

Then ensued a period of conflicting rumors, of hopes rising and falling, of declarations and denials from Madrid and every island in the West Indies. Commodore Schley, not being a man to affirm before he is certain, was silent. But Lieut. Victor Blue had gone ashore, made his way over the wild mountains, and at the risk of his life had seen the Spanish fleet riding at anchor in the quiet bay.

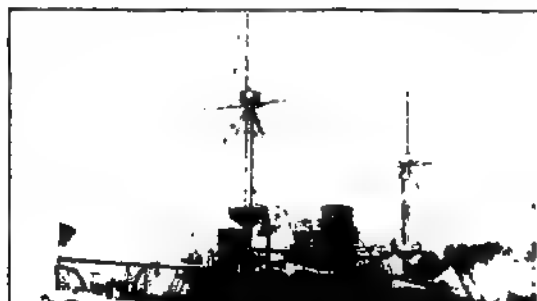
But Cervera's fate, contrary to public opinion, was not yet decided. To use a vigorous expression, he was not to be *got at*, as nothing would have been easier than to sink with the mines the leaders of a squadron attempting the narrow entrance, and so obstruct the channel for those coming behind. The chances of the Spanish admiral's escape were very fair, for the season of violent tropical storms was at hand, one of which would have sufficed to scatter our fleet and enable him to put to sea. Then, too, a bold rush on a dark night with the destroyers at the head of his line concentrated at one point of ours might have had a partial success. Fully realizing the gravity of allowing even one of the Spanish vessels to

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THE BATTLESHIP "IOWA."

Cristobal Colon, Almirante Oquendo, Vizcaya, and Infanta Maria Teresa short of food and coal, and we have something like the situation.

There is no time to trace in detail the various incidents which led up to the battle of Santiago. How Admiral Cervera was at first reported back in Cadiz, and on May 12 unexpectedly appeared at the French island of Martinique, where he received a budget from the news bureau established in Canada by the enterprise of Señor Polo y Bernabe. At Martinique he left the destroyer *Terror*, the ruin of her machinery having already been accomplished by her native engineers; how next he was heard from at Curaçoa, his ships high out of water and bargaining for a pittance of slack coal long condemned by the Dutch Government. In the meantime Admiral Sampson, creeping along the Haitian coast with his monitors and battleships on his return from the bombardment of San Juan, heard of the arrival of the Spanish squadron, and made all the haste he could to place himself in the Windward Passage in order to guard Havana. Schley had come down from Norfolk, and picking up a battleship or so at Key West was stationed in the other route of the Yucatan passage. But Cervera did not come. Presently, steaming cautiously along the southern Cuban coast, the commodore peeped into Cienfuegos and then pushed on to Santiago. We shall never forget that the harbor of this place is shaped like a bottle with the neck toward the sea, but a mucilage bottle would nearer express it, with a twisted neck, and the high hills prevent any ships inside from being seen from without.



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THE BATTLESHIP "TEXAS."

get away, Admiral Sampson joined Commodore Schley with every available ship he could bring, and there began that campaign of weary waiting and unsleeping vigilance that told heavily on every man of the fleet, of unrelaxing responsibility that wore out the commanders.

No precautions dictated by bravery and prudence were omitted. The batteries were shelled repeatedly, and not without effect. Lieutenant Richmond Pearson Hobson's feat of sinking the *Merrimac* in the narrowest part of the channel has kindled the pride of race in England and America. At this writing Mr. Hobson has just returned to a grateful nation, to tell us that as he steamed into the passage in the face of that

THE BATTLESHIP "ORISKANY."

dreadful fire the *Merrimac's* rudder was shot away, which prevented her from being swung, as was thought, clear across. But his sacrifice has not proved in vain, as the presence of the collier's hull restrained Admiral Cervera from making his attempt at night, when he would have had more chance of success. Next, 600 men of the marine corps were landed at Guantanamo, some forty miles west of Santiago and the nearest practicable harbor, and the three days and nights of hard fighting undergone by them, without sleep, during which they drove back a superior force of the enemy, has established the courage and efficiency of this branch of the service beyond a doubt. After that our fleet had a refuge in case of a hurricane.

But a Power that has ever fought on our side kept the seas calm.

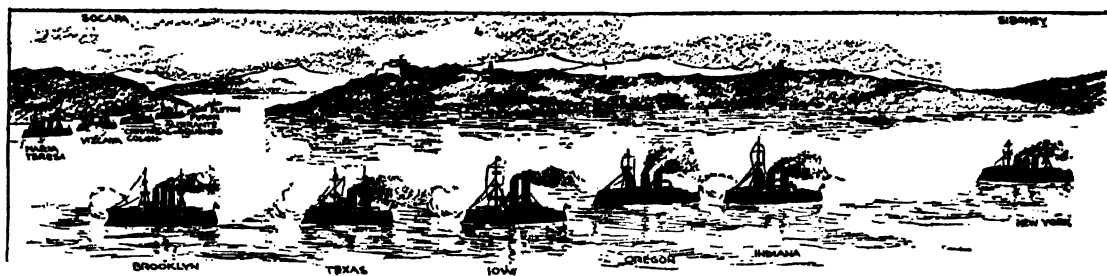
II.

On the morning of July 3 the American ships were at Sunday quarters, the formal ceremony of the week. Bright-work was cleaned, ditty-boxes stowed away, and the men stood in immaculate mustering clothes while the officers of divisions made the round of inspection with buckled swords. Afar, from the extreme right of the line, came the faint tinkle of three bells from the flagship *New York*, and was taken up ship by ship until it reached the *Brooklyn*, away to the westward, flying the pennant of Commodore Schley. Then the Sabbath stillness

was broken only by the swish of water against iron sides and the low tones of a captain questioning a man about a lanyard or an ensign discussing a gun. On the bridge stood the navigator, beside him the bronzed quartermaster sweeping the shore with his glass, and the meditating chaplain gazing at the clear-cut, sullen profile of the Morro across the water, breaking white in the dazzling sunlight.

Suddenly a quick movement from the quartermaster found a quicker reaction along the line of heads of the after divisions. The navigator seized his binoculars with a low cry, for a thin drift of smoke had lifted over the hills to the right of La Socapa. Then the messenger had called the captain—he already had his foot on the lower step of the bridge ladder—and the command "All hands clear ship for action!" rang out and was passed along man to man from poop to fore-castle, the big gongs responding deep in the bowels of the ship.

There was no swearing, no gesticulation, no confusion. Long weeks and years of discipline and practice does not lead to these things; it teaches men that emergency in life is the rule and not the exception. Signal officers needed not to pick up their books for reference. "The enemy is coming out" in red and white and blue was tugging at every halyard from the little *Vixen* to the mighty *Iowa*, which had fired a warning three-pounder, and answering pennants on every yard-arm. The powder divisions were



From the New York Herald.

POSITION OF THE AMERICAN SHIPS AS THE SPANISH FLEET CAME OUT OF SANTIAGO HARBOR.

assembled on the lower decks, magazines were opened, and hoists were rigged and shot and shell were soon on their way to barbette and top and turret. Splinter nets were spread. In the ward-room the officers' mess-table was covered, buckets and drains in place, and the surgeons stood waiting with their knives in a long, shining row. Engineers were at their posts below reading the messages as though another hour might not see them scalded in the steam of their own boilers, and every rod and wheel of that leviathan machinery was oiled and polished and ready and quickly turning at full speed. It was the massive *Oregon*, which had steamed the length of two oceans without breaking a valve, that first began to move.

The film of smoke above the hills had become a thick black mass, and then a warship was made out tearing for the open with the spray dashing high over her bows. Against the green of the sloping shore hung the red and yellow flag of Spain, and high on her masthead snapped the admiral's pennant. Scarcely had she cleared the channel before her helm was thrust hard apart, and she swept around in a great circle and started for her life down the coast. "The enemy is going west" signaled the *Vixen* at the first swerve of the bow, as she scuttled out of the *Brooklyn's* fire, and the *Resolute* was already dashing off to Siboney, where the admiral was in conference with General Shafter. Another vessel shot out of the narrow way, then another and another, and then came the gleam of those peculiar white waves which naval men know so well belong to a torpedo-boat in full cry. Panting and throbbing like live things mad with terror the six ships, prides of the Spanish navy, were running for the open sea.

Don Quixote was tilting full speed at the wind-mill!

The intensity of that moment was too great to enable those who looked to grasp details, and it will probably be many weeks, if not months, before the correct records of the complex incidents which followed are obtainable. Newspaper ac-

counts and even official reports differ so widely that it is impossible at the present writing to sift the truth from the mass of letters, dispatches, etc., that have been published. The three cruisers *Infanta Maria Teresa*, *Almirante Oquendo*, and *Vizcaya* were so much alike that they could not be identified at any distance, but the *Cristobal Colon* was easily distinguishable by a mast between her two pipes. Even her place in the original column is a subject of dispute. However, the probable order in which the Spanish squadron appeared is the following: The *Maria Teresa* led, flying Cervera's flag, followed by the *Vizcaya*, *Cristobal Colon*, and *Almirante Oquendo* in the sequence given, and lastly by the two destroyers. Although the Spanish officers who were sent to Portsmouth stated that the *Colon* had started last of the four cruisers, the official report of the *Vixen* places her third, and the above order seems to tally most exactly with what occurred afterward.

It also seems perfectly clear that by reason of their positions the *Brooklyn*, *Texas*, *Iowa*, and *Oregon* lying from four to six thousand yards off the mouth of the harbor, were the only vessels besides the yachts to oppose the enemy. They were amply sufficient. With the best disposition in the world the *Indiana* never really got into the fight, being too far to the eastward; the *New York* was off Siboney and the *Massachusetts* was coaling at Guantanamo. It was evident that if the Spaniards were to be met at all it was to be ship for ship.

Little expecting such good fortune, our fleet was nevertheless prepared for this occasion. To the extreme west of the fighting line lay the *Brooklyn*, Captain Cook, Commodore Schley's flagship; to the extreme east was the *New York*, and these two were the most powerful of our fast ships. Whichever direction the Spanish admiral might choose, the arrangement was perfect. Chance sent Don Pascual into the arms of the officer who upheld American honor in Chili and the Orient, who cleared the Congo of pirates, who rescued Greely from the frozen North—

Commodore Winfield Scott Schley. And he proved more than equal to the occasion.

There was no time to wait for the orders that every captain knew by heart. Admiral Sampson had said: "If the enemy tries to escape, the ships must close and engage him as soon as possible and endeavor to sink his vessels or force them ashore." This order was brief and explicit and was carried out to the very letter.

Next the *Brooklyn* came the *Texas*, Captain Philip, then the *Iowa*, Captain Evans, and the *Oregon*, Captain Clark. With buglers sounding "General quarters" and annunciators beating "Full speed ahead," without collision or fouling they bore down upon the enemy as though his coming had been no surprise at all. After them steamed the *Indiana*. The *Oregon* gathered headway so fast that she passed the *Iowa* and the *Texas* and edged in after the *Brooklyn*. Cutting a foaming wake away to the right, under the cliffs of Morro, was the little converted yacht *Gloucester*, formerly Mr. J. P. Morgan's *Corsair*, and perhaps her captain was a trifle more eager than any other to get at the Spaniards. He was none other than Lieutenant-Commander Richard Wainwright, who had been executive officer of the *Maine* when she was blown up in Havana bay, and he was looking for the *Pluton* and the *Furor*. The fact that the *Gloucester* was no match for either of them singly did not bother Mr. Wainwright. With a quiet word of satisfaction that spoke volumes to a fellow-officer on the bridge he sent the yacht for all that was in her straight for the harbor's mouth.

There was a period of breathless waiting for the battle to begin, but it was not long before the Spaniards opened with their long guns, sending up the water in great columns around our ships, though doing little else. They were promptly backed up by the Morro and the batteries not disabled in bombardment, and their aim was chiefly directed at the center and east of our fleet, undoubtedly in the hope of cutting off some of the vessels which would otherwise join in the chase. The first shot fired in the action was from the forward turret of the *Maria Teresa*, an eleven-inch shell directed at the *Brooklyn*. Our ships were closing up rapidly, and they were not

slow to respond, one of the first shells thrown by the *Indiana* in return falling squarely on the *Teresa's* deck. The *Brooklyn*, rushing headlong for their line with a superb disregard for superiority, tackled without hesitation the *Teresa* and the *Vizcaya*. On she pressed until the smoke from the three ships mingled and the noise of their guns became a continuous roar. Captain Eulate's ship flew from her masthead a large silk flag embroidered by the ladies of the province of Vizcaya. It was being torn to ribbons, so he hauled it down and replaced it with another.

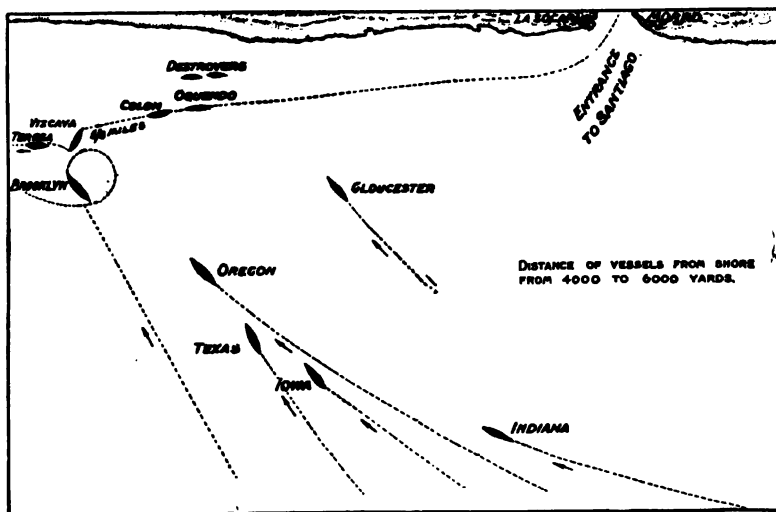


DIAGRAM SHOWING THE RELATIVE POSITIONS OF THE AMERICAN AND SPANISH VESSELS WHEN THE "VIZCAYA" ATTEMPTED TO RAM THE "BROOKLYN."

The American flagship could still be seen heading shoreward when the bows of the *Vizcaya* gave a suspicious lurch, and those watching held their breaths, for they knew she was preparing to ram. But the commodore was not to be caught so. The enemy was met by a storm of shot that blinded him, and raking the *Vizcaya* as she passed, the *Brooklyn* swung with a port helm in a great arc of twelve points until she was headed westward and had brought the *Vizcaya* and *Teresa* on her starboard bow. This was as pretty a maneuver as ever went to show the sagacity of an American commander in battle.

Naval officers who were there declare that the most inspiring sight of that day was the *Oregon* rushing to the help of the flagship. A glamor has hung over this battleship ever since the war began, and it has been the pride of the nation to follow her from her home in the Pacific around Cape Horn to fight the nation's battles. As she approached the Spaniards her high bow wave told of a speed that dismayed them. The big thirteen-inch guns in her forward turret were speaking

THE "MARIA TERESA" AFTER THE BATTLE.

rapidly and with accuracy; in the after turret machinists were mending a slight break in one of the guns while the one beside it was being served and fired over the ship's deck.

This was without question the most critical juncture of the action; on it hung the reputation of a service and of a nation. For the Spanish ships were supposed on the best of authority to be at least three knots faster than any battleship we had. At the outset the hope of those upon whose shoulders the blame would fall was to cripple the enemy at a distance, and some of the most remarkable target practice ever indulged in took place about 10 o'clock on that morning. The Spaniards were struck again and again by our battleships in the offing, and the effect of this on the final result cannot be underestimated. The enemy were not yet limping, however, and when it was seen that not only the *Oregon*, but even the *Texas* and the *Iowa* were gaining on the dons, a wild exultation got into our men, even into the naked stokers in the burning fire-rooms, and they poured in the coal and sent the steam higher and higher.

The *Oregon* began sheering to the west. She was engaging the sternmost cruiser, but for a space only they kept along together, and she passed on to leave the *Oquendo* to the *Texas* and *Iowa*. Then, like the first trickling of blood from a wounded antagonist, the men of the *Brooklyn* running with the van of the Spanish column saw a tell-tale wisp of smoke rising from the poop of the *Maria Teresa*. It was the beginning of the end.

At half-past 10 the ships were too busy to

strike the bells. Stifling white clouds had settled over the water, lifting only to disclose some vessel with a sash of flame around her and straining every nerve. Mighty sounds echoing back from the Santiago mountains mingled with the noise of the light batteries, like a policeman's rattle. The hot breeches of the great guns and the tropical sun beating on the steel tops of the turrets started the sweat in white furrows down the grimy faces and bare backs of the gunners and wet the sanded decks. Shot could be heard striking the ships, exploding with terrific sharpness in the air above or with a muffled roar between the decks below. Now and anon anxious inquiry passed from the bridge to the palpitating depths underneath and from crew to crew, but always the cheery cry "All right!" came back above the din of battle.

It was a proud hour for Captain Philip. Since before the war, since the time she sunk a schooner at her dock trial, the *Texas* had been the butt of funny people all over the United States. They sneered when her sea-valve collapsed in the Brooklyn Navy Yard and she settled a couple of feet, and told her to fill up with Ivory soap. But the Spaniards thought better of her when she twisted the guns of their land batteries out of shape, and they had special instructions to sink her if she came within range. To give them credit, they did their best. Indeed, the good old ship must have astonished herself as she overhauled the *Oquendo*. As she closed nearer and nearer Captain Philip and his aids stood coolly on her bridge until the range became deadly, and scarcely had they reached

the conning tower before a shot tore through the wheel-house which would have killed them all. The *Iowa* was close behind. One huge shell had gone off on her berth deck, starting a fire that was quickly controlled by the fire division. Others struck her on the water-line, but the cellulose in the coffer-dam swelled and kept out the water until the patent leak-stoppers could be

foremost destroyer was seen to pause, stagger like some mortally wounded animal, and then to start uncertainly for shore. A great ball, black and white, smoke and steam, went up from her pipes, and she settled before she made the rocks, leaving her men struggling black specks in the water. The shot is credited to Ensign Gise, of the *Texas*. Then the *Pluton*, despairing, turned, in the vain hope of getting back to Santiago, only to run into the *Gloucester*, which sunk her with such dispatch that she barely touched the beach. And this was but five miles from the Morro.

Mr. Wainwright was the first officer to begin that day the work of mercy. He had done his part, a glorious part, in avenging the *Maine*, and when his enemies were helpless he was prompt to give them aid. His boats were quickly lowered to rescue the living and to protect those who had reached the shore from irresponsible bodies of Cubans in the woods. This done, he hurried on after the battle which was still fiercely raging between the larger ships. He had need to hurry, for things of momentous importance were happening behind the smoke.

The *Maria Teresa*, though showing signs of distress, had kept on, and the *Brooklyn*, running a clean wake a mile abeam, pounded her unceasingly, sparing more than one shell to the *Vizcaya* for her ugly intentions. But the *Oregon* had now fallen heir to Eulate's ship and was seemingly having no trouble in dropping a choice collection of shells, some of them weighing over half a ton, aboard of her. For some time, however, our captains had been scenting a situation now about to develop, and which perhaps was apparent from the very first to the keen-eyed little *Vixen*, barking and watching the fight outside of the *Brooklyn*. It was plain to them that the *Cristobal Colon* was to be the Gordian knot; her captain, Emilio Diaz Moreu, was reputed the ablest commander in the Spanish fleet, and he had been attending strictly to getting away and had reserved his fire. At first the *Cristobal* had been separated from the *Vizcaya* about three-quarters of a mile; now she had closed the gap and had edged well inshore of her column, and opened up all at once with her smokeless powder at the *Oregon*. Captain Clark saw the danger and had a talk with the engine-room, and the great gray ship, sound in wind and limb, responded to the call like a noble horse that feels the spurs. The strength of a nation that knows no defeat was in her frames, and the pride of that nation fought her guns and guided her with a sure hand.

It was then that the alpha and omega of the Spanish line began to totter. One by one the

THE BOW OF THE RUINED "VIZCAYA."

put on. Yet another found a bed in her armor without going off, a guest, by the way, that caused some embarrassment when the fright was over. Just as these two ships got well into the chase the destroyers made a dash for them, but the command "Repel torpedo-boat attack" was caught up, the secondary batteries were turned on, the *Oregon* joining in, until the water around the *Pluton* and *Furor* looked like a mill-pond in a violent hail-storm.

They doubled and ran under the lee of the land, Wainwright after them, the enemy's rapid-fire guns "cutting the *Gloucester's* hair." How they contrived to miss the yacht will always remain one of the miracles of Spanish gunnery. The crews of the destroyers were fighting gamely, too, and aiming at their particular black beast. But the *Gloucester* never swerved a foot, and her captain seemed entirely unaware that his decks were drenched by the Spanish shell. His eyes were on the two scurrying forms ahead, and his shot followed them.

Suddenly—and such things seem to happen in battle in a marvelous and inscrutable way—the

THE "ALMIRANTE OQUENDO."
(Showing her condition after the battle.

THE "ALMIRANTE OQUENDO."

(Two small boats in foreground going from American ships to take prisoners just after the battle.)

guns of the *Teresa* became dumb; smoke and flame burst out beside the great turret that guarded her after deck. Slower and slower she moved, swerving now to the right, now to the left, now to the right again, and headed blindly for the rocky coast, the *Brooklyn* raking her as she swept on, the *Oregon* raking her until down dropped the arms that had waved for centuries from castle and truck and up went the white flag of surrender. And far astern, with the fire of destruction eating her vitals, the *Oquendo's* crew, no longer thinking of their guns, in a terrified bunch behind her superstructure beheld the fate of their admiral. Over went her helm, her ensign halyards were reversed, and the *Ericsson*, which had raced all the way from Siboney with a war-headed torpedo in her bow, passed her as she drove high upon the reef, a smoldering ruin with a blanket waving from her fore-castle.

In consternation at the terrible work of these sailors and ships of the young republic, but resolved like the people to which she belonged to die hard, the *Vizcaya* still held her course. To sink, even to injure a vessel of the enemy was all that her captain asked, and he sent the men to the turrets time and again, only to be blinded and smothered and killed. But when the heat

was broiling them and the escaping steam was burning them to death the *Vizcaya*, too, was turned landward, groping for the entrance to Acerraderos. She found the reef instead, and now lies to mark the limit of American conquest gained by the fall of Santiago.

It was then only seven minutes past 11 o'clock, and all save one of the Spanish ships had been surrendered or destroyed.

But the *Colon*, shaking herself clear, made a desperate dash for freedom, trusting in some turn of the luck to rid herself of the *Brooklyn* and outrun the heavy battleships, for the *Oregon* and the *Texas* hung to the chase. It was the simple story of the Anglo-Saxon against the Latin over again, or more specifically of clean machinery and boilers and self-respecting engineers. The figures were: *Oregon*, speed 16.8 knots; *Texas*, speed 17.8 knots; *Cristobal Colon*, speed 20 knots. Making an equal allowance for foul bottoms, which is more than fair to Spain, the fact that our two battleships were in at the finish would certainly be a puzzling one were it not for the key. Some fifty miles west of Santiago the *Cristobal* was forced ashore, and surrendered at twenty-three minutes after 1.

In the meantime the *New York*, with all her boilers in commission, had been racing westward

all the morning. After a magnificent run of nearly four hours she overtook the ships which had so faithfully followed and destroyed the Spanish squadron in time to see the last vestige of it disappear.

III.

The brightest side of the simple character of our American sailor—the side upon which the people love best to dwell—is his tenderness, his bigness of heart. His strong arm is ever ready to sustain the helpless. Even in times of peace rarely a week passes aboard the ships that death is not braved to save a comrade. Some of this reaches the press, but the most of it does not. Could the short life be written of Ensign Breckinridge, who was swept off the *Cushing* as she was going to Havana before the war and died after his rescue, many a gilt-edged biography would pale in comparison. But three years out of the Academy, he had taken six drowning men from the sea. Once, when he was standing on the deck of the *Texas*, the ammunition hoist gave way and the shot began falling into the powder. From the edge of the hatch Mr. Breckinridge threw himself at the running bunch of strands and was carried around and around until his clothes were torn from his body and his hands and arms were stripped and bleeding. But there was no explosion. And he was one of many. The charity that belittles all else is the creed of ward-room and steerage and fore-castle, where the man without money is he who has the most.

Is it a wonder, then, that at Santiago the miserable Spanish crews were saved by those whom they sought to destroy? As our men pulled shoreward to the rescue the smoke from the burning ships darkened the sun, and where the paint had peeled the armor plate showed the whitish-pink color of hot iron in daylight. Guns left loaded were sending their shots in every direction, and every few minutes a dull roar from below and a shower of burning powder-grains, like a flower-pot, told of a magazine overtaken. Struggling in the water or dragging themselves up the beach were all the Spaniards who could get off, and they had left their wounded comrades to their fate. The American officers and men climbed the ladders and went into

these burning hells, tenderly lifted the groaning and despairing sailors from the hot decks, and bore them out of the stifling smoke to their own vessels. Admiral Cervera, when taken from a raft near his flagship, in vain begged Lieutenant Huse, of the *Gloucester*, not to enter the *Maria Teresa*, where the fire was near the powder. On the *Vizcaya*, all except those in the water or the cravens, who, fearing to leap, swung frantically by the boats' falls, were broiled to death before the *Ericsson* and the cutters from the *Iowa* could reach her. The ship's *padre*, when taken aboard the torpedo-boat, nonchalantly refused to get up from a chest which was needed for the wounded, and was promptly thrown off by Ensign Edie.

It is a pleasure to record that some of the Spaniards behaved magnificently. When taken aboard the *Iowa* the junior surgeon of the *Vizcaya* refused to have his wounds bound until his men were cared for. One of the young officers insisted on mounting the sea-ladder alone, and with his left arm dangling from his side he saluted the deck with his right as he touched it. The guard was paraded for Captain Eulate as, suffering in mind and body, he was half carried aft. With a sad fondness he kissed his sword and surrendered it hilt forward, and tears of grati-

THE WRECK OF THE "COLON."

tude rolled down his cheeks when Captain Evans refused it with a bluff gesture and seized his hand instead. Captain Eulate will never forget that, nor the cheer the crew of the big battleship gave him, and by virtue of their captain's chivalry he still wore the sword when he reached Portsmouth, and was seen more than once on the trip to give it an affectionate caress.

The Spanish loss on that Sunday was in the neighborhood of 300 killed and 150 wounded and 1,800 captured. The captain of the *Almirante Oquendo*, following the example of another Spanish commander off the Chilean coast some thirty years ago, committed suicide. Of the cruisers the *Colon* suffered least, but the twisted and shattered wrecks of the other three and of the destroyers make it seem miraculous that any aboard them could have escaped alive. Great, gaping wounds in their sides disclosed sights too horrible to mention. The *Vizcaya's* bows were blown out by her own torpedoes, and the raking shell from the *Brooklyn* had killed and wounded 80 men in its flight. The *Teresa* lost one of her military masts, the *Oquendo* both of hers. The present indications seem to be that the *Colon* and the *Teresa* may be saved. After the former ship had surrendered her sea-valves were treacherously opened; the *New York* with her great nose pushed her carefully into shoal water, where she sank.

The board of naval officers which examined the Spanish hulls has made the important recommendation that no torpedoes shall henceforth be carried on cruisers and battleships, on the ground that the large ships have small chance to use them effectively in battle, and as being more dangerous to friend than foe. Naval constructors are again reiterating that little or no wood shall be used in war vessels; the smoke from it is peculiarly suffocating, and nothing is quicker to demoralize the men at the guns; that there should be some adequate protection for the fire-mains, which were ruptured on the Spanish ships almost simultaneously with the starting of the fire. As bearing upon this one officer from the *Teresa* gives a graphic account in the *New York Herald* of the state of affairs during the fight: "A shell from the *Brooklyn* went into the admiral's cabin and set fire to the after part of the ship. A shell from the *Texas* pierced our side armor and exploded in the engine-room, bursting the main steam-pipe. We signaled the engineer to start the pumps, but got no reply, and then found that all below in that part of the ship had been killed. At that time it was like hell on our bridge."

The American loss was 1 man killed, George Henry Ellis, of the *Brooklyn*, and 1 wounded. On the *Texas* a landsman was flung down a hatch by the concussion when the twelve-inch guns were trained over the decks; he broke his arm. Although our vessels were struck repeatedly, the *Brooklyn* thirty-six times, the shots were principally from the secondary batteries. Marvelous to say, the heavy shells that pierced exploded inside the ships without loss of life, and the fire they started was quickly controlled.

The victory in its racial, moral, and material aspects reminds one irresistibly of that over the Spanish Armada. But it has no dark spot upon it. The Spaniards were fed and clothed by the Americans, their wounded were tended by our surgeons, their dead wrapped in their own flag and buried with all the honors of war. Nor by word or deed was any one of the prisoners reminded of his humiliation.

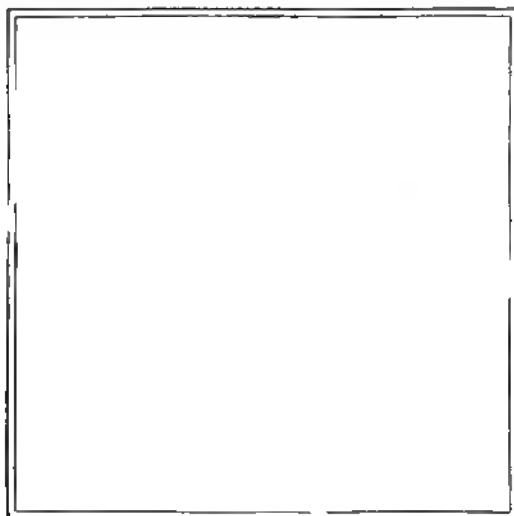
Some curious and interesting facts were volunteered by Admiral Cervera and his officers. It was, of course, particularly desired to know why he came out of Santiago. The reason he gave was that he preferred to lose his ships at sea like a sailor than to have them ignobly destroyed in a land-locked harbor. But it is to be feared that the admiral is trying to shield his government, for it is scarcely possible that the judgment and humanity with which American officers credit him could have dictated any such course. The truth is that he was repeatedly ordered out by Madrid and that he and his men were sacrificed on the altar of politics. The last and imperative order came on July 2, and he would have made the attempt that night had not the Americans inconsiderately neglected to illuminate the passage with their search-lights, and he could not pass the *Merrimac* in the dark. On Sunday morning the Morro signaled that the *Brooklyn* and the *Texas* were the only large ships west of the entrance. Lieutenant Sharpe's report, from the *Vixen*, states that the strong current had sent all the ships somewhat to the eastward of their positions. Admiral Cervera decided that the Americans would be having church, and giving his captains instructions to concentrate their fire on the *Brooklyn* and to try to disable her, he started out. The prisoners frankly admitted that they had been amazed by the rapidity and deadliness of the American fire, and said that the light batteries of our ships had driven them from their guns again and again. Most of the prisoners were overwhelmed with astonishment at the kind treatment they received.

It is not likely that this battle will teach a great deal to strategists or reveal much besides Spanish inefficiency and that the Anglo Saxon is still a great sea-fighter. Torpedo-boat destroyers, in spite of the wretched handling the Spaniards gave them, appear to have lost ground, for it would seem that a large number of these craft will be necessary to do any damage to a watchful fleet of ships manned by expert gunners. British critics are now convinced that our overgunned vessels will not turn bottom upward from their own fire. And, what is less important, M. Marc Landry and other French gentlemen of pro-Spanish tendencies have been silenced.

THE SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF SANTIAGO.

BY JOHN A. CHURCH.

THE first campaign of the army in Cuba has lasted a month and is in every respect as brilliant and, except in the severe losses we have experienced, as fortunate as the remarkable successes of the navy. We have won a decided victory and obtained the surrender of one tenth of the soil of Cuba, with two fine harbors and 20,000



MAJ.-GEN. WILLIAM R. SHAFER.

(Commanding the United States troops before Santiago.)

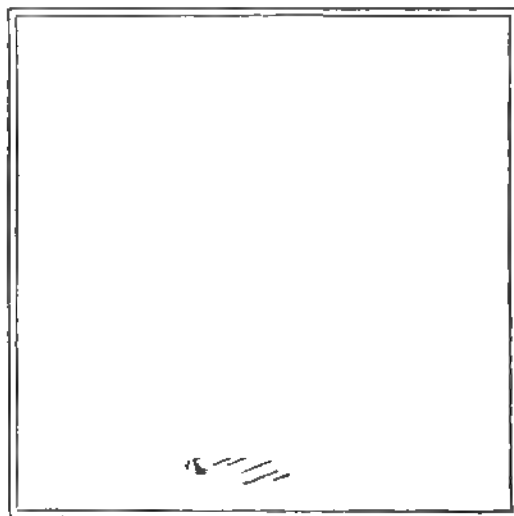
or 25,000 of the Spanish troops. Strange as it may seem, this is the first campaign ever fought by the regular army of the United States with volunteers assisting. In all our other wars the volunteers have formed the principal strength of the army, in which the regulars played a subordinate part numerically, however distinguished in conduct.

The month of June is notable for the first landing of troops in Cuba and the first land battles of the war. On the 10th of that month a body of marines, about 600 strong, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Huntington, landed without opposition at Guantanamo, a fine port about fifty miles east of Santiago Bay. It is the most easterly of the good harbors on the south coast of Cuba. Camp was established on a hill overlooking the bay, and there the marines were attacked on the 11th by a force of Spaniards said to number more than 1,500 men, who were driven off after a sharp fight. At first there

were stories of carelessness in picketing the camp, but our subsequent experience at Santiago has shown that the thick and thorny underbrush of the Cuban soil gives remarkable advantages to a wily and creeping foe. It presents conditions of scout and picket duty that seem to be somewhat novel, for even our regulars, many of whom have fought the Indians, had to learn its peculiarities by experience and at some loss. Fighting was more or less constant until the 14th, when we made our counter attack and drove off the enemy once for all time. Our losses were 6 killed and 10 wounded. The Spaniards seem to have lost 100 or more.

After the last fight the troops moved camp to a more defensible position, which we have held ever since in peace. It has proved to be a remarkably healthy place, only one or two cases of sickness occurring among the 1,000 men we have there now. This camp is named Camp McCalla, after the commander of the *Marblehead*.

This was our first experience of wounds made with the small-caliber, swift-moving, long-range bullets, and their shattering effects gave rise to stories that the enemy were using explosive bullets, but wounded Spaniards show that our own Krag-Jørgensen rifle produces the same effects. The Spanish volunteers shoot a 45-caliber brass-tipped bullet which may produce poisonous ef-



GENERAL LINARES.

(The Spanish commander at Santiago, wounded in battle.)

fects when the brass strips and remains in the wound.

The Cubans gave us effective aid in these fights and lost heavily. Thirty of their wounded were cared for on our hospital ship, the *Solace*. They were about 1,000 strong at Guantanamo.

Subsequent events have made clear the object and wisdom of landing at Guantanamo. The opposition encountered there was not, and was not expected to be, serious, and since the first four days we have occupied the bay in peace. It gave us at once a retreat for our vessels in case of storm, the only objection to which was that if a storm arose severe enough to send our ships to shelter Admiral Cervera might take the chance of flight, defying the dangers of the sea. Now that that risk has been disposed of our fleet has enjoyed a practicable refuge for transports for a month past, an advantage we could not have secured so easily at the more strongly defended port of Santiago. Undoubtedly the occupation of Guantanamo was good strategy.

General Shafter, after many trying delays, left Tampa, Fla., on June 14, with a fleet of thirty-five transports carrying 16,000 men and convoyed by fourteen warships. It was the largest expedition in our history and the largest anywhere since the Crimean War, forty-four years ago. The voyage was made slowly to allow all the transports to keep with the fleet, which did not arrive off Santiago until June 20. The use of steam exclusively permitted the fleet to move with a uniformity of alignment that probably has

on each flank of the transports, and the whole fleet covered the sea for eight miles in length and one in breadth. Sailing along the north coast of

GEN. CALIXTO GARCIA.

(In command of the Cuban forces in the vicinity of Santiago.)

Cuba, it rounded Cape Maysi, the eastern extremity of the island, and turned westward along the south coast to the vicinity of Santiago de Cuba, which it reached at noon on June 20. The weather was excellent throughout the voyage.

On the 22d the landing was made, and Admiral Sampson's order issued the day before disclosed the following plan of operations: A strong feint of landing was made at Cabañas, two and a half miles west of Santiago Bay, where the Spaniards had one of their most effective batteries. The *Texas*, *Scorpion*, and *Vixen* ran in and engaged this battery, while ten of the transports, ranged two miles from the shore, occupied themselves busily in lowering

LANDING-PLACE OF AMERICAN TROOPS AT BAIQUIRI.

not been seen since the old days of galleys. The transports moved in three lines, 1,000 feet apart and with an interval of 600 feet between the ships of each line. War vessels were stationed

boats and hoisting them on board again. At the same time a body of 500 Cubans made a demonstration west of the place. All this was done to draw the attention of the Spaniards away from

the coast east of Santiago Bay, where, at Baiquiri, Altares, and Aguadores, other ships of the fleet were engaged in shelling the shore. The actual landing took place at Baiquiri, twelve miles east of the bay. At that point there is a well-built iron pier 500 feet long, the property of an American mining company, and also a wooden dock. The dock was an invaluable aid in landing, and the iron pier afterward served an equally useful purpose in landing the artillery and stores.

Three small steamers were ordered to prepare for towing boats. Each had two tow-lines, one on each side, long enough for a dozen or more boats, and the latter were drawn both from the transports and from seven of the largest vessels in the fleet. Also all the steam cutters and launches from the latter vessels were sent to assist. These arrangements were so well planned and carried out that 6,000 men and considerable necessary stores were landed the first day without accident, forming a scene that is described as most enlivening. The Spaniards did not oppose the landing seriously, and the only losses suffered on our side were 1 Cuban and 1 man, on the *Texas*, killed and 8 wounded. All of the American losses were caused by one shell fired

from the Socapa battery, on the west side of Santiago Bay, which was engaged by the *Texas*.

Our Cuban allies aided the operations materially. They had been supplied with arms and ammunition, and besides the demonstration at the west flank of our operations, they held the country on the east, between Santiago and Guantanamo. They numbered in all about 5,700 men. During the next two days the remainder of the force was landed, with artillery and a large quantity of ammunition and stores, but two men were crushed by boats and killed.

The steadiness and freedom from loss with which this disembarkation of an army proceeded should not blind us to the fact that it was a hazardous operation carried out upon a coast well guarded by fortifications and in the face of an enemy who has since shown himself to be possessed of fighting qualities of a very high order. In preparing to resist insurgent attacks the Spaniards have built innumerable blockhouses along the coast, and the presence of our fleet in this neighborhood for a month or more had led them to increase these means of defense by batteries and trenches. It was known that in this part of Cuba there were from 15,000 to 30,000 Spanish troops, besides the men of Admiral Cervera's

N E A

MAP SHOWING THE FIRST ADVANCE OF THE AMERICAN TROOPS ON SANTIAGO

squadron, and there was every reason to believe that our landing would be resisted hotly. Later we found that every road to Santiago had been intrenched, and it is probable that the Spaniards expected to oppose us at the seashore, but we exhibited a strength that it was hopeless to combat. The most powerful fleet the world has ever seen in fighting trim was gathered on the coast of Cuba and covered it for twenty miles with a steady fire which could have risen to destructive proportions at any point where it was needed.

Much confusion in the early accounts of the operations was caused by the fact that one name is often used on the Cuban coast for two distinct places, first for a town which may be from one to three miles inland, and, second, for a point on the coast where the landing-place for that town is established. Thus Demajayabo, the inland town, and Enseñada Demajayabo, the bay which forms the landing nearest to the town. Baiquiri, Juragua, and Aguadores all have the same double significance. Baiquiri is a village about one and a half miles from the landing-place of the same name and seventeen miles from Santiago. Back of it is a high plateau and beyond that a road which we expected to find practicable for artillery, but which proved to be in bad condition. Our troops moved up from the landing to Baiquiri village, and in fact to Demajayabo,

two miles northwest of that place, the day they landed, and some of them were able to sleep under roof the first night, as the enemy had evacuated these places too hastily to destroy them entirely. From Demajayabo the road runs through Altares, Juraguasito, and Sevilla to Santiago.

Besides the main landing at Baiquiri, two other landing-places on the coast between Santiago Bay and Baiquiri were occupied. These are Siboney, where the iron company's railroad reaches the sea, and Aguadores, within two or three miles of Morro Castle, where the railroad leaves the coast and turns in toward Santiago. Here it crosses a high iron trestle and bridge, which was blown up by the Spaniards and which is also covered by some of the best-manned batteries of the enemy. Under these conditions no serious attempt was made to follow up the line of the railroad.

The day after landing the troops moved forward from Demajayabo to Juragua, on the railroad, and a little beyond this place the Spaniards suddenly appeared in some force, but were driven back by our advance force of Americans and Cubans.

From Juragua the column advanced toward Sevilla, and a mile and a half east of this town, at La Guasima, our troops felt the first serious

THE THIRTEENTH INFANTRY ON THE MARCH, JULY 1.

resistance of the Spaniards and suffered their first loss. Our force, 924 strong, was commanded by Colonel Young and consisted of parts of the Twenty-third United States Infantry, First and Tenth United States Cavalry, and First Volunteer Cavalry, the latter being commonly known as "Roosevelt's Rough Riders." The latter formed the left of the line, the regulars being on the right. The attack was made by our men at daylight, and after an hour's sharp fighting the enemy gave way. In this action the troops were obliged to charge a superior and well-posted force supplied with two machine guns, supposed to have been obtained from Admiral Cervera's fleet. The strength of the Spaniards is not known accurately, but is thought to have been more than 1,500 men. Our loss, as given officially by General Wheeler, was 16 killed and 52 wounded. Forty-two of the casualties were in the Rough Riders and 26 in the regular cavalry. This engagement attracted great attention, being the first in which the army was engaged. It is known as the battle of Siboney, La Quasina (or La Guasima).

The plan of advance from the seacoast was to send forward Cubans as scouts, with small detachments of our own men in close touch with them, while the main body followed. The enemy fell back at all points until the right of our line was within about three miles of Santiago, and by the end of June the two armies had defined their positions. At Aguadores—not the landing-place, but the town, two and a half miles inland—was the right of the Spanish position, behind which, and two or three miles to the rear,

was Morro Castle and its strong outworks. North of this place they had intrenchments across the railroad, and from that point east and northward around the city, at a distance of three or four miles from it. Some of the principal points were well fortified. Our line was at first about five miles long, but it was lengthened continually to the right for the purpose of inclosing the city completely and cutting off all retreat. Of the 16,000 men in our army, probably three-fourths were on the battle line, which became very thin in places as the advance toward the north was made. The country around Santiago is very broken, offering decided advantages to a defender and preventing coöperative tactics on the part of our divisions. Each force went for the enemy in its front and could expect little help from its neighbors.

A week was consumed in these operations and in landing and sending forward the artillery. The engineers worked hard to transform the foot path to a wagon road, throw bridges over streams and ravines, and open roads through the jungle for the artillery. The ships of Admiral Sampson's fleet made repeated attempts to find and cut the telegraph cable, which was so sunk in the ocean ooze as to make the task very difficult. At length the French cable was picked up, telegraph and telephone lines run out to the front and connected with Playa del Este, a place east of Baiquiri, and with Guantanamo by the shore cable, until at length our front was in full telephonic connection with headquarters and these by direct cable with Washington. The engineers also cut the pipe line that conveyed water to

Santiago and turned it to the supply of our own men. This did not deprive the city absolutely of water, which would be impossible in this rainy season.

The disposition of our troops was as follows: The army of invasion comprised the Fifth Army Corps under Maj.-Gen. W. R. Shafter and was composed of two divisions of infantry, two brigades of cavalry, and two brigades of light and four batteries of heavy artillery. General Lawton commanded the Second Division, operating on the right, where the capture of El Caney was his principal task, and had the brigades of General Chaffee, the Seventh, Twelfth, and Seventeenth Infantry; General Ludlow, Eighth and Twenty-second Infantry and Second Massachusetts Volunteers; and Colonel Miles, First, Fourth, and Twenty-fifth Infantry. In the center General Kent commanded the First Division, consisting of General Hawkins' brigade, the Sixth and Sixteenth Infantry and Seventy-first New York Volunteers; Colonel Pearson's brigade, the Second, Tenth, and Twenty-first Infantry; and Colonel Wikoff's brigade, the Ninth, Thirteenth, and Twenty-fourth Infantry. General Wheeler's cavalry division contained two brigades, Colonel Sumner's, the Third, Sixth, and Ninth Cavalry, and Colonel Young's, the First and Tenth Cavalry and First Volunteer Cavalry. The cavalry operated at both the two principal points of attack, but fought dismounted,

no horses having been shipped. At the end of the first day's fighting General Kent was reinforced by General Bates with the Third and Twentieth Infantry, coming up from the coast. On the left General Duffield engaged Aguadores with the Thirty-third and part of the Thirty-fourth Michigan and a force of about 2,000 Cubans. Grimes' and Best's batteries of artillery were with the center and Capron's and Park-house's were with General Lawton on the right. General Shafter, Gen. Joseph Wheeler, our old antagonist in the Civil War, and General Young were all too ill to be in the field, though General Wheeler did go out in an ambulance. Headquarters were at Sevilla.

The declared purpose of General Shafter was to attack as soon as possible, for the risks of the Cuban climate to Northern men, exposed to a furious sun through the days and compelled to sleep through the chill nights with poor shelter, were at least as great as anything that could be expected from the Spanish fire. Experience has justified his conduct. At first the weather was very good, but rains began during the advance, and the men suffered discomforts that finally told on their health; but that was after the fight had been won. When they fought they were still fresh and vigorous.

The attack began on July 1 and involved the whole line, but the principal battle took place at the hill town of San Juan, opposite our center,

and at El Caney, a little place on the right of our line. El Caney was taken by General Lawton's men after a sharp contest and severe loss on both sides. Here as everywhere there were blockhouses and trenches to be carried in the face of a hot fire from Mauser rifles, and the rifles were well served. The jungle must disturb the aim seriously, for our men did not suffer severely while under its cover, but in crossing clearings the rapid fire of the repeating rifles told with deadly effect. The object of the attack on El Caney was to crush the Spanish lines at a point near the city and allow us to gain a high hill from which the place could be bombarded if necessary. In all of this we were entirely successful. The engagement began at 6:40 A.M., and by 4 o'clock the Spaniards were forced to abandon the place and retreat toward their lines nearer the city. The fight was opened by Capron's battery, at a range of 2,400 yards, and the troops engaged were Chaffee's brigade, the Sev-

The Spanish force is thought to have been 1,500 to 2,000 strong. It certainly fought our men for nine hours, but of course had the advantage of a fort and strong intrenchments.

BRIG.-GEN. LEONARD WOOD.

(Now military governor of Santiago.)

The operations of our center were calculated to cut the communications of Santiago with El Morro and permit our forces to advance to the bay, and the principal effort of General Linares, the Spanish commander in the field, seems to have been to defeat this movement. He had fortified San Juan strongly, throwing up on it intrenchments that in the hands of a more determined force would have been impregnable.

The battle at San Juan was opened by Grimes' battery, to which the enemy replied with shrapnel. The cavalry, dismounted, supported by Hawkins' brigade, advanced up the valley from the hill of El Pozo, forded several streams, where they lost heavily, and deployed at the foot of the series of hills known as San Juan under a sharp fire from all sides, which was exceedingly annoying because the enemy could not be discerned, owing to the long range and smokeless powder. They were under fire for two hours before the charge could be made and a position reached under the brow of the hill. It was not until nearly 4 o'clock that the neighboring hills were occupied by our troops and the final successful effort to crown the ridge could be made. The obstacles interposed by the Spaniards made these charges anything but the "rushes"

MAJ.-GEN. HENRY W. LAWTON.

enth, Twelfth, and Seventeenth Infantry, who moved on Caney from the east; Colonel Miles' brigade of the First, Fourth, and Twenty-fifth Infantry, operating from the south; while Ludlow's brigade, containing the Eighth and Twenty-second Infantry and Second Massachusetts, made a detour to attack from the southwest.

SPANISH EARTHWORKS AND BARBED-WIRE FENCE.

which war histories mention so often. They were slow and painful advances through difficult obstacles and a withering fire. The last "charge" lasted an hour, but at 4:45 the fire ceased, with San Juan in our possession.

The Spaniards made liberal use of barbed-wire fencing, which proved to be so effective as a stop to our advance that it is likely to take its place among approved defensive materials in future wars. It was used in two ways. Wires were stretched near the ground to trip up our men when on the run. Beyond them were fences in parallel lines, some being too high to be vaulted over. The wires were laid so close together that they had to be separated before an ordinary wire-cutter could be forced between them. These defenses were laid in cultivated valleys and other open spaces which lay under the fire of the intrenchments, and the tree-tops around the clearings were alive with the enemy. Every fence compelled a momentary halt on the part of our men, and during those moments they were exposed to a pitiless fire from all sides. It is not only the strength of the wire and the sharp barbs that make this material so effective for entanglements and obstacles, but the fact that it offers no impediment to the flight of bullets. Short as the halt may be, the assaulting party is fully exposed to a rain of shot from quick firing rifles at ranges that are known to the defenders.

The object of our attack was a blockhouse on

the top of the hill of San Juan, guarded by trenches and the defenses spoken of, a mile and a half long. Our troops advanced steadily against a hot fire maintained by the enemy, who used their rifles with accuracy, but did not cling to their works stubbornly when we reached them. San Juan was carried in the afternoon. The attack on Aguadores was also successful, though it was not intended to be more than a feint to draw off men who might otherwise have increased our difficulties at San Juan. By nightfall General Shafter was able to telegraph that he had carried all the outworks and was within three-quarters of a mile of the city.

Though the enemy's lines were broken in the principal places, they yielded no more than was forced from them, and the battle was resumed on the 2d. The last day saw our left flank resting on the bay and our lines drawn around the city within easy gun-fire. Fears were entertained that the enemy would evacuate the place, and the right flank was pushed around to the north and eventually to the northwest of the city.

These operations extended the lines so much that the need of more troops to hold them was felt immediately, and General Shafter telegraphed for reinforcements, which were hurried forward, 6,000 men reaching him within eight days after the battle. With these the lines were extended still further around the city, which was completely invested from Caimanes on the northwest

SANTIAGO DE CUBA

Courtesy of the Independent

POSITION OF OUR TROOPS AFTER THE BATTLE OF EL CANEY.

to the bay south of Santiago. Siege-guns were brought up and placed in position, reinforcements of field artillery arrived, intrenchments were thrown up, and every preparation made for a quick reduction of the place by bombardment.

On Sunday, July 3, Admiral Cervera tried to run past the American fleet, but lost all his vessels and was taken prisoner with 1,700 men. His vessels had taken an active part in the battles of the previous two days, shelling our positions with effect.

On July 3 also General Shafter demanded the surrender of Santiago on pain of bombardment. The demand was refused by Gen. José Toral, commanding in the city, and in the interests of humanity General Shafter informed him that the bombardment would be postponed from 10 o'clock on the morning of the 4th until noon of the 5th. Several thousand refugees left the city and came into our lines. Others were taken out by various foreign warships which entered the harbor for that purpose. At General Toral's request the cable operators were sent back to enable him to refer the demand for surrender to the authorities at Madrid.

General Toral offered to evacuate the city provided he were permitted to do so with men and arms. This was refused by General Shafter. These negotiations lasted until July 11, when a bombardment of the town was begun by the fleet at a range of four and a half miles, which lasted

two days. The city was not visible from the vessels, which had to stand off shore far enough to enable them to fire over a range of hills intervening. One shell struck a church used as a magazine, which blew up. Otherwise the operation is not thought to be very effective. The land batteries did not attempt serious bombardment, but shelled the trenches in front of the city. Deserters reported that there were about 12,000 Spanish troops in the city and that the food supply was scanty.

General Miles arrived on the first day of bombardment, having left Tampa on the 8th. Renewed demands for surrender were made, and after several days' negotiations General Shafter telegraphed on the 14th that General Toral would surrender not only Santiago, but "all of eastern Cuba from Acerraderos on the south to Sagua la Grande on the north, via Palma, with practically the Fourth Army Corps." This dispatch seems to have been premature, for the commissioners who met to draw up the stipulations could not agree, and it was not until the 16th that the following terms were reached: (1) Twenty thousand refugees to go back to Santiago; (2) an American infantry patrol on roads surrounding the city; (3) our hospital corps to give attention to sick and wounded Spanish soldiers; (4) all Spanish troops in the province of Santiago except the 10,000 at Holguin under command of

"Perfect order is being maintained by the municipal government. The distress is very great, but there is little sickness in town and scarcely any yellow fever.

"A small gunboat and about 200 seamen left by Cervera have surrendered to me. Obstructions are being removed from the mouth of the harbor.

"Upon coming into the city I discovered a perfect entanglement of defenses. Fighting as the Spaniards did the first day, it would have cost five thousand lives to have taken it.

"Battalions of Spanish troops have been depositing arms since daylight in the armory, over which I have a guard. General Toral formally surrendered the plaza and all stores at 9 A.M."

About 7,000 rifles, 600,000 cartridges, and many fine modern guns were given up.

This important victory, with its substantial fruits of conquest, was won by a loss of 1,593 men, killed, wounded, and missing. Lawton, who had the severe fighting around El Caney, lost 410 men. Kent lost 859 men in the still more severe assault on San Juan and the other conflicts of the center. The cavalry lost 285 men, many of whom fell at El Caney, and the feint at Aguadores cost 37 men. One man of the Signal Corps was killed and 1 wounded. Trying as it is to bear the casualties of the first fight, there can be no doubt that in a military sense our success was not dearly won. Combined with the loss of the Spanish fleet, it has led to an important capitulation that cannot fail to hasten the end of the war and allow us to remove our troops from an unhealthy climate. The loss of the Spaniards is not known, but is certain to be heavier than ours. The fact that their general commanding in the field was killed indicates the sharpness of the attack they had to meet.

Great interest in the work of our troops has been aroused by the fact that in our army there are regiments armed with the newest high-power, smokeless-powder rifles fighting side by side with others who fire the old Springfield rifle, shooting black powder. The results are said to be altogether in favor of the former. The Spaniards use smokeless powder only, but would have no advantage of our men were it not for the black-powder smoke from the volunteers that reveals the position of the troops. It is significant that General Kent, who lost 859 men, had three regiments of volunteers, while General Lawton, who lost 410 men, had only one. Of course the fighting did not present the same difficulty in both cases, but probably the folly of arming a part of the troops with the old Springfield is chargeable with much of our loss. It is reported

MAJ.-GEN. ADNA R. CHAFFER.

General Luque to come to the city to surrender ; (5) the guns and defenses of Santiago to be turned over to the Americans in good condition ; (6) the Americans to have full use of the Juragua Railroad ; (7) Spanish troops to surrender their arms ; (8) all Spaniards to be conveyed to Spain and to take portable church property ; (9) Spaniards to cooperate with Americans in destroying harbor mines.

This surrender covered the same territory that was described in the first dispatch, which General Toral surrendered as commander-in-chief of the Fourth Army Corps, to which the defense of all eastern Cuba was confided. It contains about 4,000 square miles, or one-tenth of the island of Cuba, and probably 20,000 to 25,000 Spanish troops. It gave us control of the eastern end of Cuba, the fine harbors of Santiago and Guantánamo, and one of the most healthful and, in peace, prosperous districts of Cuba.

On July 17 General Shafter sent the following dispatch announcing the formal surrender of Santiago. It is the first dispatch of the kind received at Washington from a foreign country in more than fifty years :

"I have the honor to announce that the American flag has been this instant, 12 noon, hoisted over the house of the civil government in the city of Santiago. An immense concourse of people was present, a squadron of cavalry and a regiment of infantry presenting arms and a band playing national airs. A light battery fired a salute of twenty-one guns.

that the regulars dread to see the volunteers near them, knowing that the smoke from the latter's guns will cost them both dear.

We lost in all 79 men missing, but some of these have come in since. Usually a large proportion of the casualties included in this term is due to men taken prisoner, but it is thought that we lost no men by capture in these battles. Missing men are probably the dead or wounded who fell in the jungle and were not found by their comrades, and the returns show that Kent, who had three regiments of volunteers, lost 69 men missing, while Lawton, who had only one volunteer regiment, lost only 1 man not accounted for. In the one case the men had been taught to look out for each other, and it is a point of honor, as well as of duty, with the trained soldier to bring off all the wounded. The volunteers will learn to do this in time, but they begin their army experience without this essential discipline. In the constant shifting of the line of battle on an active field every man must feel himself to be his brother's keeper. Otherwise he

may abandon to a death in the jungle some wounded comrade who with help could be brought to the rear and saved for another fight. Neither of these lessons from the field is derogatory to the volunteers, who are reported to have acted gallantly, but they show that nothing less than the best arms and the highest training will enable us to keep the losses of war down to the lowest point.

Thus closes the first campaign ever fought by the regular army of the United States. There appears to have been twenty-three regiments from the army and five from the volunteers engaged in this battle. Never before has the United States fought with an army principally composed of trained soldiers, and there can be no doubt that we owe our success to their discipline as much as to their valor. The volunteers are reported to have exhibited equal courage and surprising adaptability to the novel conditions of warfare. They fall short of the regulars only in those particulars that are not gained except by long-continued instruction.

CUBAN SCOUTS BRINGING IN A WOUNDED "ROUGH RIDER."

OUR EASTERN SQUADRON AND ITS COMMODORE.

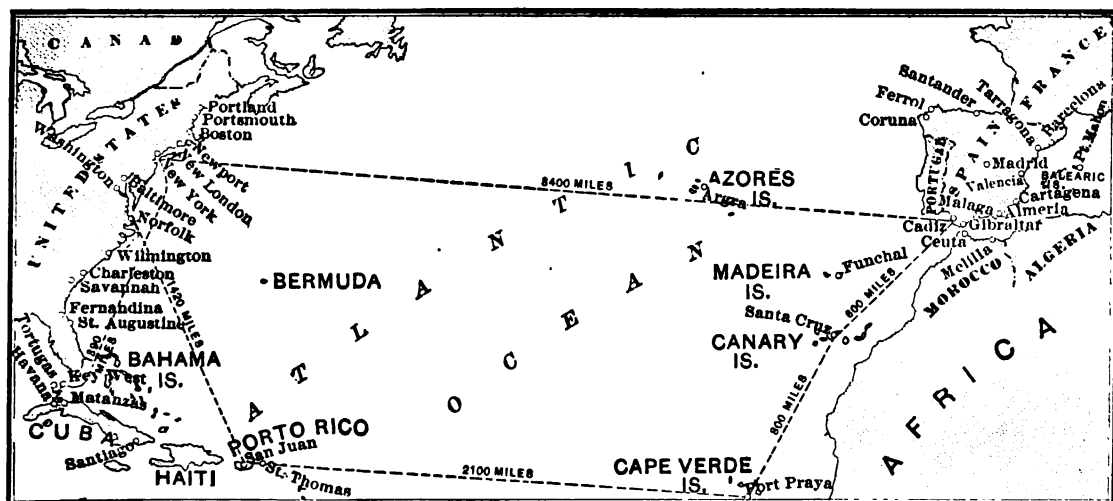
BY PARK BENJAMIN.

WITH the departure of Commodore Watson's squadron for the Spanish coast, the curtain will rise upon the last act of the great naval drama of the present war, if, indeed, it shall not prove that that act has already been played before Santiago. Shorn of her sea-power in the East, with the flower of her navy turned into blackened wrecks on the Cuban coast, Spain has now gathered her remaining warships about her own shores and awaits in her turn the attack which, at the beginning of the contest, she announced to the world she was about to make upon the cities of the American seaboard.

The squadron under Admiral Camara was dispatched to the eastward with much flamboyant secrecy. It appeared off this, that, and the other place all the way from Cartagena to the Levant, and finally arrived at the Suez Canal, to find its expected coal supply already purchased by the United States. For political purposes and to quiet the revolutionary mob the report had been permitted to leak out that it was bound for the Philippines; but there were sailors in Spain who remembered that to traverse the Arabian Sea and Indian Ocean in midsummer meant to encounter the monsoons and the typhoons at their period of greatest severity, and

they doubted that their ships, hampered for coal as they would be, would ever complete the voyage of 5,000 miles between Aden and Manila. The minister of marine was soon confronted with questions difficult to answer, and he took refuge in Spanish evasion. "The squadron will go where it ought to go," he said, and the loyal Madrid journals came to his aid. "Whether Camara's squadron goes to the Philippines or to Cuba," says one of them, calmly conceding the deception in the Manila report, "the hope of patriots will go with it, and likewise the desire to see avenged the cowardly performance of Dewey at Cavite."

The Spanish squadron continued on its voyage through the canal. The news of its progress was flashed to the United States. The answer was the announcement that a fleet of American warships would sail in pursuit and chase Camara, if need be, around the world. Meanwhile the machinery of the best of the Spanish vessels broke down during the transit through the canal; the boilers of the next best one showed ominous signs of weakness. Thus it was reported even in Spain. The outward journey ended abruptly, and then, like the King of France, who marched up the hill and down again, the third



MAP SHOWING PROBABLE OBJECTIVE POINTS OF THE EASTERN SQUADRON.

of the Spanish armadas turned around and went home, having paid something over \$100,000 for tolls on the canal and probably very much more for coal and attendant transports. It is now merged in the remains of the Spanish navy, and whether therefrom will come forth a "Camara's squadron," or a "Barrosa's squadron," or a squadron dignified by the name of any one of the twenty-seven Spanish admirals who unitedly pledged themselves a few months ago with great public solemnity to the undoing of the United States, we must patiently wait to see.

Meanwhile the preparations for the departure of the Eastern squadron to Spain have continued irrespective of the return of Camara. Before the victory at Santiago its mission was to run down and destroy a part of the Spanish navy; since that event its purpose is to annihilate what is left of it and to carry the contest from the coast of America to the coast of Spain. And so for the first time since the fleet of Decatur thundered before the port of Algiers, eighty-odd years ago, an American squadron is ordered to cross the Atlantic to make offensive war. Whether or not in the rapid changes of events the necessity which dispatches it shall disappear, or whether it carries destruction to the seacoast cities of Spain, the significance of its organization remains undiminished. It is the first formal announcement to the nations that the United States casts aside the indefensible policy of a "defensive navy" limited to the protection of her own shores, and that wherever in the world her cause is to be upheld, there she proposes to strike.

When this war broke out the Spanish fleet was fairly formidable. Although it had but one battleship of the first class, the *Pelayo*, the flagship of Camara's squadron, it had great strength in its armored cruisers. Of these there were eight: the *Emperador Carlos V.*, *Cardenal Cisneros*, *Cataluña*, *Princesa de Asturias*, *Almirante Oquendo*, *Vizcaya*, *Infanta Maria Teresa*, and *Cristobal Colon*. In this class of ships the United States navy is weak, having but two, the *New York* and the *Brooklyn*. There were also five protected cruisers, the *Alfonso XIII.*, *Lepanto*, *Marques de la Ensenada*, *Isla de Luzon*, and *Isla de Cuba*, and thirteen vessels of widely different sizes classified simply as cruisers. The rest of the navy was made up of small gunboats, torpedo-boats, and six so-called torpedo-boat destroyers, the *Furor*, *Terror*, *Audaz*, *Osado*, *Pluton*, and *Proserpina*, which were regarded as especially effective vessels of their class and as certain to work great havoc among our battleships. At the present time the *Pelayo* is in a state of impaired efficiency. Although her belt armor ranges in thickness from 17.7-inch to 11.8-inch

steel and her main armament includes two 12.5 and two 11 inch Hontoria guns in barbettes and nine 5.5-inch quick-fires, and her maximum speed under forced draught is 16.7 knots, still she is overmatched in point of armament and probably also in speed, at the present time, by either the *Oregon* or the *Massachusetts*.

Of the Spanish armored cruisers but four remain. Of these the *Emperador Carlos V.*—also of Camara's squadron—is the strongest and has a reported speed of 20 knots. The remaining three are not fully completed. If they can be utilized in time and if the *Carlos V.* can be repaired to the point of original efficiency, the quartette will be about as formidable as the ships which Schley destroyed.

Three protected cruisers, *Alfonso XIII.*, *Lepanto*, and *Marques de la Ensenada*, are still afloat. They are all of small tonnage—about 1,100—and lightly armored. The unprotected cruisers are hardly worth taking into account; seven of them are left, and these the worst of the lot. Any of them, probably any two of them, would be easy prey for such auxiliary ships as the *Yankee*. Of the much-vaunted torpedo destroyers, the *Audaz*, *Osado*, and *Proserpina* survive; but the ease with which their mates were destroyed, especially the *Terror* by the *St. Paul*, has greatly reduced all estimates of their offensive capacity. In fact, so far as experience now shows there is no reason to assume that they are any more to be feared than ordinary gunboats. Still to be added are the old *Vitoria* and *Numancia*, iron-plated relics not long ago "reconstructed." The story of how this was done has been told. The "modern improvements" duly paid for appear to have gone, as the captain of one of Cervera's vessels said of his absent heavy guns, "into the pockets of the officials." They are rated as "battleships," but the *Vitoria* is in fact a "training ship" for sailors. The thickest part of the iron belt in each vessel does not exceed five inches, and would offer practically no resistance to the main-battery projectiles of any of our battleships or cruisers. Their heaviest guns are 6.3-inch quick-fires.

The list of auxiliary vessels is headed by the *Normannia* and *Columbia* of the Hamburg-American line—now the *Patriota* and the *Rapido*—which are fast, and includes several of the ships of the *Compañia Transatlantica* of Cadiz, which are slow, none of them having a speed of over 16 knots. They are armed with Hontoria rifles, half an inch larger in caliber than the guns carried by the *Yankee* and her mates. The *Patriota*, *Rapido*, and three of the *Compañia Transatlantica's* ships were attached to Camara's squadron.

The foregoing summary, although brief, is sufficient to show the weakness of the Spanish naval defense. One battleship in questionable condition; one armored cruiser possibly, though not certainly, ready for service, and three similar vessels still unfinished; three small protected cruisers, one of which is lurking somewhere about Cuba; seven unprotected ships, all little (several of them also in Cuban waters); three torpedo-boat destroyers, and perhaps half a dozen auxiliary vessels—this is the bulk and best of it. Small wonder that late reports from Spain are beginning to dwell rather fervidly upon the impregnability of Spanish fortifications, and to omit

the usual forecasts of the defeated *Oregon* or *Iowa* being towed into Cadiz.

The United States squadron which is now preparing to attack the Spanish ports, and incidentally to remove the Spanish fleet, had not been definitely assigned on July 23. It probably will include two battleships, the *Oregon* and the *Massachusetts*, the *Newark*, the three auxiliary ships *Yankee*, *Dixie*, and *Yosemite*, a collier for each warship and an extra one, the supply ship *Glacier*, and possibly the commerce destroyers *Columbia* and *Minneapolis*, the battleships *Iowa*, *Texas*, and *Indiana*, and the armored cruiser *Brooklyn*, with Commodore Schley as a division commander. Even without the last-named vessels the others are amply strong to dispose of the Spanish navy. On the other hand, it is not to be overlooked that every one fights—and perhaps shoots too—better on his own hearth than anywhere else, and that contingency as well as the need of withstanding the fire of fortifications which are now being strengthened with feverish activity must be provided for, while if we also propose to destroy Spanish commerce, especially in the Mediterranean, there will be plenty of work for the *Columbia* and *Minneapolis* to do, even if they are not necessary for the overhauling of the fleet *Patriota* and *Rapido*.

The American squadron, until it establishes a base on the other side of the Atlantic, must of course rely upon its own resources for coal and provisions. The warships will therefore be supplied to their full capacity, and when their munitions are exhausted they will draw upon the colliers and storeships, which will return individually to the United States as fast as emptied in order to be refilled. The securing of the base is therefore of importance and may be the first work accomplished.

It is commonly supposed that the Canary Islands will be the selected point; but there are strong considerations against this, chief of which is their distance (about 1,000 miles) from the Spanish coast and scene of active operations. Port Mahon, on the Island of Minorca, offers far greater advantages. The harbor is one which has been the principal rendezvous for our fleet in the Mediterranean for many years, and its value as a supply station is thoroughly established. It is reached through a very narrow strait and offers almost perfect protection to ships anchored therein. It lies about eight hours distant from the great commercial ports of Barcelona and Valencia, and hence as a base for commerce-destroying is admirably situated. It is a point which it would be in every way to our interest to retain permanently. This cannot be said of the Canaries, which would be of little

Courtesy of the New York Tribune.

COMMANDER W. W. BROWNSON.
(Commanding the cruiser *Yankee*.)

use to us, except in a trade with Great Britain, to which country they would be of material value. Still another possible base which may be suggested is the Spanish town of Melilla, on the Morocco coast, just east of Cape Tres Forcas. This is built on a peninsula, has a good harbor, and is dominated by Fort Rosario on the heights inland, which not long since fell into the hands of the Moors. There has constantly been trouble between the natives and the Spaniards holding the Morocco coast towns, and it is believed that the former would have no hesitation in joining in any attack. That Spain has some apprehension of this is shown by the diplomatic pressure now being brought to bear upon the Sultan of Morocco to compel him not merely to declare, but to provide troops to enforce his neutrality. At all events, if a base on the Morocco coast is contemplated, Melilla is far weaker in power of resistance than the Spanish penal settlement at Ceuta and equally as good in point of proximity to Spain.

As for the selection of places to be shelled on the Spanish coast, there are many to choose from, and as the anxiety and indignation of the Spaniards increase fortifications are appearing in harbors hitherto unprotected, with the result of rendering towns liable to attack which under the

Photo by Prince.

CAPT. ROBLEY D. EVANS, OF THE "IOWA."

amenities of international law would ordinarily be held exempt. Most Spanish harbors are open and easily entered from the sea. Those most certain of bombardment are the great naval ports of Coruña and Cadiz, on the Atlantic side, and Cartagena, on the Mediterranean, at all of which there are arsenals, ship-yards, and fortifications. The first work to be done will be the destruction of the Spanish warships. Past experience has shown, however, that these vessels have an overpowering desire to get into a port behind the guns of a fortification and there stay indefinitely. It remains to be seen whether the bombardment of a seaboard town of Spain will bring the Spanish ships to its assistance. If so, that will be the simplest method of getting them "to the scratch," and then their destruction if unsupported by land batteries will be practically certain. The choice of the first place to be attacked will depend, therefore, upon the whereabouts of the Spanish fighting fleet, and will be made with due regard to the celerity with which they can cover the distance to enable them to join battle. If the fleet is at Cadiz we may hear from Watson at Coruña, or still nearer at Huelva or Tarifa. If it is at Cartagena, then Almeria, Malaga, Alicante, and Denia are near by, and the greater

Photo by Prince.

CAPT. F. J. HIGGINSON, OF THE "MASSACHUSETTS."

ports of Valencia and Barcelona may be subsequently menaced.

Possibly inasmuch as the *Patriota* and *Rapido* will be thrown out as scouts to give warning of Watson's approach, the first conflict may occur with these ships, or if, as is reported, the *Pelayo* has sailed for the Canaries, the initial action may be the much-wished-for battleship fight which will crucially test the capabilities of this newest type of modern man-of-war.

Spain has so many seaport towns that Watson will find one conveniently at hand at almost any desired part of the coast. And that she is recognizing the possibility of a descent anywhere is proved by the fortification of such ports as that of San Sebastian—the principal watering-place—the exclusion of vessels from all harbors after dark, the extinction of the coast lights, and the wholesale placing of mines and shore batteries.

Of course it is to be expected that the conduct of operations will be governed by the particular objects in view. We may and probably will take the Canaries and Balearics and hold them, and for that purpose only troops may be sent across the Atlantic. But we have no intention of embarking upon the conquest of Spain after her ships shall have been disposed of, and therefore our operations will be purely naval and directed to the interruption of commerce to such a degree that the pressure of foreign interests in behalf of peace may become too great for Madrid to resist. Spain has a large coasting trade which such a squadron as Watson's could very speedily ruin, while the blockade of such a port as Barcelona or Cadiz would soon touch the pocket nerves of all the European maritime nations. There is

Photo by Prince.

CAPT. JOHN W. PHILIP, OF THE "TEXAS."

also the possibility of collecting indemnities through the seizure of custom-houses.

But speculation in advance concerning a campaign so unprecedented in our naval annals is hardly profitable. Its success or failure will depend chiefly upon the commander of the Eastern squadron, and for that office Commodore John Crittenden Watson has been selected. No man in the navy has ever been intrusted with a more difficult and more delicate task; no one in it has ever been confronted with similar problems or ever been called upon to take action which will not only make precedents for all time, but which is fraught with the most important bearing upon the history of the country and the future peace of the world. And no man wearing the uniform of the United States is better suited to meet these great responsibilities than he whom his own sailors have affectionately called "Able Seaman Johnny."

When Jack gives his officers nicknames they are generally pretty well apt to be deserved, and when they are of an agreeable character (they are not invariably so) they are generally looked upon as one of the most genuine compliments that can be paid. Watson earned his title fairly,

Courtesy of Leslie's Weekly.

CAPTAIN CLARK, OF THE "OREGON," IN HIS CABIN.

because he is an able seaman literally, and that because to be so is his ideal. Next to his religious belief—and here he is ruggedly strong—is his conviction that the aim and object of everybody serving in Uncle Sam's navy should be to attain perfection as an "all-round sailor man." He appreciates specialists who devote their lives to gunnery, or armor plate, or compass corrections, but they are to him little more than stunted growths. They do not flourish to the full perfection which a man who knows all sides of a sailor warrior's business ought, in his opinion, to attain.

He does not preach. On the contrary, he thinks quick, deliberates while he is thinking, comes to a conclusion, and then acts; and when he has acted there is no doubt whatever that he knew exactly what he was about and has done it in the best possible way. That is what his comrades say of him. While he sees and thinks straight, reasons simply, and follows his best judgment, he may take unusual routes in achieving his purposes—probably will—but they end in accomplishment. People who have served under him as captain of the ship seem to have had many experiences in proof of this. But there is a better description yet possible of him, and that is in habits of thought, course of action,

opinions—everything, he is as near a *replica* of Admiral David G. Farragut as one person wholly unrelated can be of another.

How could it be otherwise than that a boy coming at the most impressionable period of his life under the influence of a man as strong, as individual, as dominant as Farragut was, revering his chief as a hero and being in turn loved by him with an affection rivaling that borne to his own son, should bear an indelible impress controlling his whole existence? This was the formative period of Watson's character. He entered the Naval Academy from Kentucky in 1856. In 1862 he held the rank of master—the present lieutenant, junior grade—on board the *Hartford*. He was then barely twenty years of age, and from that time until the war ended his place was directly beside the admiral. It was Watson at the forward rifle who first opened fire at Port Hudson; Watson who volunteered to capture the blockade-runner which ran ashore under the guns of Fort Morgan before the battle of Mobile. He had been ill, and Farragut, writing to his son, says: "Watson is well again. I would not advise him to go home for the world; it would break his heart."

The cutting-out expedition succeeded, but Farragut writes: "It was an anxious night for me, for I am almost as fond of Watson as yourself."

When the time came to search for the torpedoes in Mobile Bay it was Watson who went by night in an open boat and located them. And during the great fight Watson, then flag-lieutenant, stood beside the admiral, and when he stepped into the mizzen rigging the better to see over the smoke, Watson himself says: "I secured him with a rope's end, having first remonstrated with him and begged him not to stand in so exposed a place, as he was only a few feet from and above the deck of the ram (the *Tennessee*), which scraped her whole length along that side of the *Hartford*."

It was Watson who was sent to Fort Morgan with the summons to surrender, and it was Watson of whom in his dispatch reporting the great victory Farragut said: "During the action he was on the poop attending to the signals, and performed his duties, as might be expected, thoroughly. He is a scion worthy of the noble stock he sprang from, and I commend him to your attention."

After the war he was again the flag-lieutenant in Farragut's cruise in the Mediterranean, and his all but filial relations to the admiral were maintained until broken by death. Then he rose to command rank and saw service in China, in the Pacific, and in Europe, and in time made

about the whole round of the varied duties in many climes which fill up the career of every naval officer, always creditably, until the present war found him presiding over that safe refuge for the old sailor who has become worn out in his country's service, the Naval Asylum at Philadelphia. But he was far from being a stranded hulk himself, and no better proof of this is possible than the energy with which he has handled the Cuban blockading squadron since assuming the command.

In person Watson is of medium height, slim, wiry, and nervous, although in this last respect his appearance belies him, for his tendency is toward deliberate coolness. He has a stern sense of military duty, and in his ship or squadron discipline is sure to be maintained with even-handed justice. He is strongly religious, and when captain of the *San Francisco* officiated regularly as his own chaplain, conducting the services and even singing the hymns himself when his congregation, whose church experiences had been hardly as extensive as his own, had forgotten the words—if they ever knew them. But Jacky always stands by the skipper, and we may be perfectly sure that when that officer saw fit to sing Jacky would come in with the chorus in thundering volume, regardless of either tune or words, but under the profound conviction that it was his duty to "see the old man through" on this as on every other occasion.

And yet "Able Seaman Johnny" has a fund of humor of his own, which once in a while takes practical form and leads him to wink at little lapses, especially when he makes them himself. It is said (I dare not give the authority, but he outranks the commodore considerably) that when Watson's ship once essayed to go into the Black Sea it was found that she could not pass Constantinople, because under existing treaties she mounted too many guns. A one-gun vessel, however, could go through. Thereupon the captain calmly informed the Turks that his was a one-gun vessel; and sure enough on inspection only one grim muzzle protruded from

her side. He neglected to mention several other grim muzzles which he had dismounted and struck down into the hold, where they lay concealed among the beef and pork barrels and where the Turks never dreamed of looking for them.

Now in his later years—for he is well along in the fifties—there is much about the commodore

ADMIRAL CAMARA.

which recalls the great admiral, despite the obvious differences in physique and natural temperament. There is the same gentle speech and quiet disposition; the same tendency to believe in Jack—to prefer the sailor to the engineer; the same quickness of decision and stern determination in carrying it into effect.

It may be that the opportunity to rival the deeds of his famous exemplar may never come to him, but if it does come we may well believe that he will act as if Farragut were again beside him—as Farragut himself would have acted. He will make the words of the Spanish minister come true, but with a significance which the man who uttered them little meant. He will see to it that "the Spanish squadron will go where it ought to go," but he will determine its destination.



THE PRESENT PROBLEMS AND POLITICS OF FRANCE.

BY BARON PIERRE DE COUBERTIN.

ACCORDING to the present republican constitution, general elections in France take place every few years for the nomination by universal suffrage of the Chamber of Deputies, while the Senators are elected for six years, a partial election for half of the Senate taking place every three years. A special law provided, however, that the Chamber of 1893 would live a little longer than usual, the reason for this exception being that the month of May was thought a better time for the French to fulfill their electoral duty than the month of September, as has been the case hitherto. Instead of being dismissed last autumn after having covered their four years' work, the Deputies were allowed an extra period of seven months and took their departure from the *Palais Bourbon* at Easter.

I.—THE CONDITION OF PARTIES.

NO CHANGE.

None of the existing parties has gained or lost much. "No change" can be said to sum up the general character of these elections. The fact that Jules Guesde and Jaurès, who were considered the heads of the socialists, or among the royalists the Duke de La Rochefoucauld-Doudeauville, who had represented the Department of Sarthe for more than twenty-five years, were not reelected this time does not mean in any way that the socialists will be less strong or the royalists much weaker than was the case before. Royalist weakness proceeds chiefly from the fact that the vast majority of Frenchmen have lost their faith in the usefulness of hereditary government and are even strongly opposed to it, while socialist strength lies in the obstinate belief of many that there is no serious reason why the socialist theories could not be brought into practice, and that even if the *régime* did not work well, it would not be much worse, from the standpoint of social justice, than the present state of things. It is hard to say what could bring back the French to the superstition of heredity, while it seems quite certain that those who believe in socialism cannot be led to realize its inconveniences or impossibilities unless they have experienced them at their own expense. This makes it sufficiently clear why a royalist electoral tide is no less possible than a socialist reflux. The interest of the last

HENRI BRISSON.

(The new Prime Minister of France.)

elections was therefore concentrated on the two great parties that can claim power, the republicans and the radicals, on their leaders and the movements of their troops.

MÉLINE STILL POWERFUL.

Jules Méline (Jules, by the way, seems to have, as a Christian name, something to do with moderate republicanism, since we note that the present republic has been ruled successively by Jules Favre, Jules Simon, Jules Grévy, Jules Ferry, and Jules Méline, not to speak of less illustrious Jules like Develle, who was for a time minister of foreign affairs) Jules Méline, then, has become the recognized head of the republican party, not only because of his having broken the record of ministerial life and having become the champion prime minister (the Méline cabinet was formed in April, 1896), but also because his programme was by degrees taken up by a large number of republicans, among whom it is fair to count some ex-radicals as well as ex-royalists. Méline's career has been an honest and industrious one. For twenty-seven years he devoted himself to agricultural problems, displaying much earnestness

in his desire to solve them, but at the same time showing some narrowness of mind. Protection was, in fact, his unique platform, and he never seemed to realize its provisional character as a remedy and how much routine habits already prevalent among French peasants would be enforced by it. He succeeded in getting up a protectionist majority made of various political elements such as was certain to push him into the premiership if only his political programme could be made of inoffensive and colorless elements suitable to the variety of opinion of his supporters.

RADICALS AND SOCIALISTS.

About eight months after Félix Faure's election as president of the republic a radical cabinet was formed and remained in power for six months. Although some of the men who composed this cabinet were very clever and well-intentioned men—such as Cavaignac, son of General Cavaignac of 1848, Berthelot, the famous scientist, Lockroy, who knows much about naval matters, etc.—it became soon obvious that the radicals would pave the way for the socialists. Indeed, they start from the same depot by the same train, but they pretend not to go so far; they mean to stop somewhere before they reach the terminus point and think it will be easy to get down. The question is whether the socialist train will stop at all. Many think not, and that any restraint put on the right that a man has to grow rich, if he can, must lead progressively to the suppression of such a right, while it is impossible for the state to protect the workmen unless they come under its direct control. The radicals fail to see that. They are theorists, and as such unable to admit that theories are often opposed by facts. The spirit of Jacobinism lies in them; they inherited the absurd Jacobin worship of logical and arbitrary argument. All the Jacobins were not cruel; some were honest and merciful, but their devotedness to abstract principles would bring them to crime. It has been said of an ex-leader of French radicalism that he was a "sugared Robespierre." The word would prove true for many of his colleagues. It may be said also that the socialists have not lost one single occasion to show what they felt toward the radicals and how they looked upon them as the vanguard of their party. A great many Frenchmen who, feeling inclined to theories, would have willingly supported the radicals, were thus made cautious, and took away their votes from the radical candidates for fear that socialism would benefit by it. The ambiguity of the situation was underlined in the recent electoral tournament by the attitude and speeches of the two radical leaders, the one, Léon Bour-

JULES MÉLINE.

geois, declaring on every occasion against socialism, and the other, René Goblet, expressing his warm sympathies for the socialists and supporting many of their wishes. Of the two, the former was elected and the latter defeated.

MÉLINE'S PROGRAMME.

This made way for Méline's programme. It was of a negative character and appealed to the old conservative habits of the French people. Why should we move all the time? Uninterrupted progress is by no means desirable; it leads to uncertainty and inconsistency. France needs rest after having gone through so many political and social experiences since the beginning of the century, and what suits her better is *statu quo*. She has nothing to gain and much to lose by undertaking another series of reforms. Frenchmen ought to give the present state of things time to settle down before they try new improvements. Besides, it is far from certain that they are in the way of improvements at all. Therefore the *statu quo* is the wisest of plans. These are the arguments on which rested Méline's popularity. If presented in that awkward and abrupt way they would no doubt have acted less powerfully, but they were made to creep into one's mind, and as they favor the sense of idleness with which Europeans are known to treat public affairs, their success is great. The Old World's tendency to let *res publica* take care of itself must be largely enforced by the feeling that to leave things as they are is the duty of the moment—

SENATOR WALDECK-ROUSSEAU

President of the Grand Cercle Republican.

duty easy enough to fulfill. Moderate republicans consider willingly that their own and the nation's interests are but one, and that it is of national importance, therefore, that they should retain the government in their hands. Reactionaries feel that before moving backward there must be a stop in the moving forward. As to members of the Church, a considerable number of whom have taken part in the elections as candidates or as patrons while adopting Leo XIII.'s views on the necessity of a republican form of government in modern France, they remain reactionaries at heart. The Méline majority presented thus a character of incongruity due to the fact that among those who composed it not two would agree on what ought to be done, and all agreed that it was safer not to do anything. It is strange enough that the new radical cabinet will not be able to remain in power unless it makes Méline's programme its own.

INFLUENCES FROM OUTSIDE.

The existence of the Franco-Russian alliance has something to do with that kind of torpor of public mind. I have pointed out already in this magazine what were the changes that the conclusion of an alliance between the French republic and an autocratic European power was likely to introduce in the government of France. I am sorry to say that what I foresaw proved only too true. Either must everything that passes between Paris and St. Petersburg be brought before the Russian people or be concealed from the

French Parliament. The Russians cannot be asked to call on the French press to know the sayings or doings of their own government, as Russia is as far as ever from a constitutional form of monarchy, and the French republic is expected to go more than half way to meet her. I believe that the experience of free countries has proved that the discussion of public affairs cannot be limited to certain subjects, and that unless the foreign policy is debated as freely as the home problems, the people cease to take interest in the government. Besides, the moderate republicans and the reactionaries have cunningly enough spread the rumor that Russia was determined not to go any further than she had gone by entering into an alliance with a republic, and that the very existence of the alliance would be endangered by any movement toward advanced republicanism. It may be that the Czar and his counselors prefer Mélinism to any other system, and above all wish to see their dearest friend Hanotaux remain in power; but those who witnessed Nicolas' attitude during his visit to Paris did not fail to remark his attentions to Léon Bourgeois and the radical leaders and the visits he paid to the presidents of the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies (the latter was a radical), while he was not expected, according to the protocol, to do anything of the kind. The uncertainty of the so-called European "equilibrium" is used also as an electoral argument by the reactionaries, who, while opposing the present state of things to their majestic conceit of monarchical France, insist upon the necessity of keeping at least a moderate republic, since there is no immediate possibility of a better form of government.

NEW FEATURES OF POLITICAL LIFE.

A republican club was started in Paris this year. No serious attempt had yet been made in that direction, but the idea has been in the air for some time, and a few years ago two or three well-known members of the French Parliament crossed the channel in order to study the working of the London political clubs. Their visit, however, was not followed by any practical attempt to found a club. Club life in Paris is so very different from what it is in Anglo-Saxon countries that it seems doubtful whether such a plan might be successfully carried out. One very simple fact is enough to illustrate the difference. Before having the slightest idea as to where the club would be located, to what sum the annual subscription would amount, and on what lines the affair would be conducted, the founders had made up their minds who would be the president and who the vice-presidents. This was the im-

portant problem. Find the officers first and start a club under them afterward. The president of the *Grand Cercle Republicain* happens to be a man of high value, Senator Waldeck-Rousseau, a friend of Gambetta, who very nearly secured a sufficient number of votes in 1893 to become president of the republic. But what will he be able to do, except deliver first-rate speeches, if the members of the club are present only when some big banquet is announced? Frenchmen do not care for their club as a rule; they are not willing to spend either time or money for it. It is therefore most improbable that clubs of the kind of the *Grand Cercle Republicain* will ever succeed in France. It may be said, apropos of French clubs, that in Paris, of all the social clubs the *Union Artistique*, nicknamed the *Épatant*, is the only one that succeeds. It has a well-attended fencing section and holds instrumental concerts and exhibitions of pictures. All the others are frequented only by a minority of unoccupied young bachelors or drawn-out old men who don't care the least about politics.

WHY MÉLINE RESIGNED AND WHY BRISSON ACCEPTED.

If things are such and if morally Méline is there still, what can be the reason of the very extraordinary change we have witnessed quite recently when Henri Brisson, ex-President of the Chamber of Deputies, was called upon by the president of the republic to form another cabinet? The fact is that Méline was anxious to resign, since the elections had not given him so strong a majority as he had hoped to get. He seems to have been much excited by his two years' term and was longing for rest. At the same time he thought his influence could only gain from an interregnum of some months. For none expect the Brisson cabinet to live much longer. Hanotaux felt the

same. But what seemed more astonishing at first than Méline's resignation was the president's appeal to a radical who had been a few days before defeated as President of the Chamber of Deputies by a young moderate, Paul Deschanel. Some are inclined to believe that by acting as he did Félix Faure cared for his own reelection, Brisson having been his rival for the presidency of the republic in 1898 and intending to run the chance again in 1902. But it is quite easy to attribute nobler and purer motives to this presidential initiative. Many Frenchmen—and Félix Faure always was one of them—think that the French republic will be safe when a tradition will be established as to two regular and well-organized parties succeeding one another into power. The moderate leader having resigned, it was one of

the radical leaders who was to be called upon to form the cabinet.

There being no real prospect of securing a radical majority in the new house, another question is puzzling. Why did Brisson accept the premiership under such unfavorable circumstances? He is a wise, unselfish, and cool-headed man, and surely did not accept for the sake of his own ambition. Brisson acted undoubtedly with the hope that although circumstances were not favorable, there might remain one chance for him of succeeding in the long run—that is, of awaking the country from its dangerous torpor and its dangerous fear of political and social re-

M. DELCASSÉ,
Minister of Foreign Affairs.

forms. It is indeed very doubtful whether Brisson will succeed, and to begin with, he and his colleagues had to give up the chief points of the radical programme, such as the income tax, the disestablishment of the churches, etc., and to be contented with changing a few prefects and administrative officers known for the exaggeration of their conservatism.

II.—FOREIGN POLICY.

THE RUSSIAN SISTER.

Russia has not only reacted upon our political parties and modified our methods of government; she has forced us into a foreign system that is not likely to suit us. In France the many still rejoice in the alliance, but the few regret that its

possible for us to give way to our sympathies for Greece. In the Asiatic war France was directly interested in the weakening of the Celestial Empire. Yet Russia having decided against Japan, we followed her. There does not seem to be anything clear or firm at present in the minds of the Emperor and his ministers, and we feel the re-bounds of such a state of things. In one way only we have benefited by the alliance. Our industries find in Russia and Siberia openings and markets of very great importance. The improving of lands, the felling of woods, the extraction of oils and minerals, the starting of manufactures of various kinds are more or less in the hands of a few Frenchmen who find there employment under very profitable conditions.

GERMANY VERSUS ENGLAND.

There are many reasons for believing that in the Anglo-German duel Russia will have some day to say her word, and there are as many reasons to suppose that the Czar will finally sympathize with Germany rather than with England. German ambitions toward the creation of a navy and the starting of crown colonies do not interfere in any way with Russia's plans, while on the contrary nothing can prevent Russia and England from meeting on more or less unfriendly terms in Asia. This is a geographical necessity. Historical ties may get loose, but seldom will geography's laws be denied in such matters. If such be the case, the Franco-Russian alliance will number many opponents in France: first, those who, although peaceful, do not care to see France dragged by Russia into an alliance with Germany; the others who desire France to be at peace with England in order that the two neighbors might settle in a friendly way the innumerable contests that arise daily between them all over the world. Such contests are almost unavoidable, since—in Europe as well as in their colonies—the French and the British come into continual contact. But they are of very small importance as long as the two peoples care to be friends; they would, if the reverse was true, give way to an insufferable and, alas! irremediable state of things. It is a curious fact to state that the Paris and London press gives the impression of very bitter rancor as prevailing in both countries with regard to one another, when nothing of the kind exists in reality. The French delight in making fun of the English, and *vice versa*, but at the bottom one notes a very serious feeling of respect and sympathy. Indeed, the number of books written by Frenchmen to praise England increases every year, and they meet usually with great success. It is certainly safe to say that if one result of the Franco-Russian

GENERAL BILLOT.

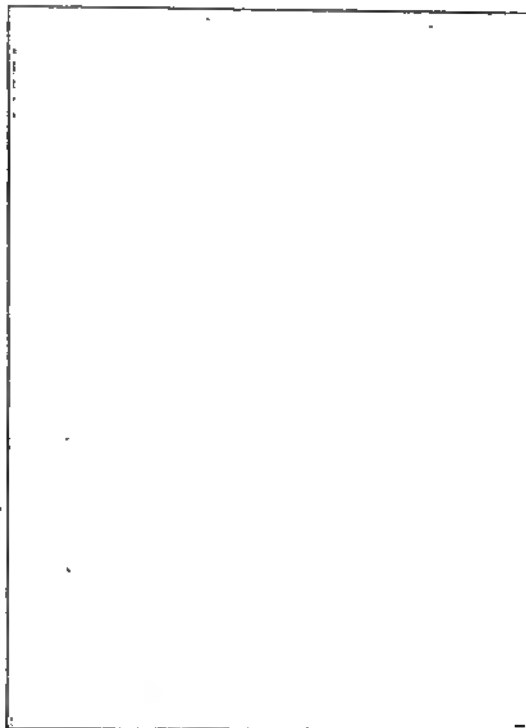
effects have been more *active* than was expected. Although outside of France and in America chiefly it is admitted that France was pushed into the arms of Russia by the *revanche* idea, the reverse is true. The French were in favor of the alliance because they thought it would add to their security by making less possible than before a war with Germany. None among us wishes to see war break out. We all know that war, even ended by victory, would be the ruin of the country, the more so as we are engaged in large and expensive industrial works in connection with the coming exposition. Alexander III. was known to be thoroughly attached to the cause of peace, and we took it for granted, with some thoughtlessness, that his ideas were the ideas of everybody in Russia. It is not certain, however, that Nicolas will remain peaceful during a reign that may be long and full of unforeseen events. In the Franco-Russian balance the peace scale is not the Russian one. There are more chances that Russia will lead us to war than that we shall bring her to it. To begin with, we had, twice already, to keep by her when our interests were decidedly on the other side, once when Greece fought Turkey and once when Japan and China quarreled. M. Hanotaux's eloquence or Mr. Delcassé's ability cannot change facts, and everybody knows that we should have lost all our Mediterranean influence by the first of these unfortunate events had not Russia, after allowing, strangely enough, the Greeks to be thrashed, gone back to her traditional Philhellenism; it became thus

alliance proved to be the breaking up of Anglo-French peace, the government would not be allowed to follow its ally.

THE COLONIES.

A new governor-general has been sent to Algiers to replace M. Cambon, who became the French ambassador in Washington. M. Lépine is a clever and well-intentioned man, but can cleverness and good-will undo what sixty years of combined military and civil despotisms have done there? Most of the present Algerian problems seem insoluble except at a very distant date. Drumont's election as member of Parliament for Algiers is not likely to soothe the anti-Jewish agitation, which has lately gone beyond any limits. The Jews are certainly responsible for the hatred which they have drawn upon themselves by their exactions in Algeria. They have, nevertheless, a right to claim protection against the mob, and the government is bound to protect them. It made it easy for Drumont to get the opposition's support for his election. Tunis, so near Algeria, is so different and its present prosperity is so great that one realizes in passing from one into the other how much a colony depends on its organization and on the proceedings of the mother country.

Prince Henri of Orleans has gone back to Abyssinia, where he is said to have been asked by the Emperor Menelik as a lieutenant-governor for the border states of the empire. Count Léontieff is with him, giving the affair a kind of Franco-Russian tint. It seems doubtful whether the success can be as great commercially as it is politically; for Menelik is at present no less courted by the whole of Europe than was old Li Hung Chang two years ago, and everybody desires his favor. In Madagascar General Gallieni is doing good work; order and serenity are nearly restored, but the colonial work has not yet begun seriously. Tonquin improves slowly. A team of explorers sent out by the Lyons Chamber of Commerce went further inland than had been reached before and founded several factories. Public opinion becomes gradually more and more interested in the colonies and the outside world; yet this interest is of a rather platonic—or to use a better word, of a somewhat scientific—character. We do not care to know more about Madagascar than about the Transvaal, and we consider Tonquin or New Caledonia as if they were the land of Francis Joseph and had been recently visited by Nansen. We are not yet familiar with the idea of a Greater France. Efforts are being made by several—and above all by Gabriel Bonvalot, the famous globe-trotter who went from Paris to Tonquin through



M. PAUL DESCHANEL,

President of the Chamber of Deputies.

Central Asia—to make this beautiful empire of ours, its forty millions of inhabitants and its enormous wealth, a prospect point in the life of young Frenchmen. But nothing of the kind can succeed unless a preliminary reform has been introduced in our methods of education, giving our boys that pluck and energy that will make them feel the narrowness of life at home and long for something wider and more manly.

III.—A MORAL CRISIS.

THE DREYFUS AFFAIR.

France has experienced this winter another of those moral crises that have periodically disturbed her for twenty years, and that can be compared in some ways to the financial and industrial troubles of the American republic, not only because of their reappearance at regular intervals, but on account of the way they happen. Although the crisis is usually anticipated, nobody can tell why it should burst out, and there is not the slightest affinity between its cause and its effects. For instance, one fails to see why agitation should spread all over the country either because bribery has touched the Parliament or because a doubt arises about a man being un-

justly condemned. No such thing ought to happen. Both cases should be taken up and discussed by public opinion freely and quietly. If a panic sets up, it sets up without any reason. Of the Dreyfus affair itself little can be said. No proof whatever has been supplied that the

MUD AND CLOUDS.

"*Pêcheurs en eau trouble*" is a French expression that I will not attempt to translate otherwise than by saying that those whom we call thus love mud and clouds and hate to see everything clean and bright. They are usually men who have constantly gone the wrong way through life and never proved able to succeed in anything. They have become imbittered against society, are envious, complicated, and pessimistic. Such men are to be found in every country, but they are more numerous and more dangerous in France than anywhere else, on account of our system of centralized administration and of the quantity of office-seekers that such a system entertains. For one who gets employment from the government how many are left aside? Thus is formed the army of unemployed. They are led to hope that some day a revolution of one kind or another might come and make room for them, and each time they see the beginning of a disturbance somewhere they work their best to increase it and make it the worst possible. When Marshal de MacMahon sent away his ministers and made an appeal to the country, later on when Prince Bismarck was on the point of going to war once again, then when it was discovered that President Grévy's son-in-law used his influence to sell decorations of the Legion of Honor, when our troops were defeated at Lang-Son in Tonquin, when Boulanger's popularity began to spread all over France, when the Panama scandals were revealed, and finally when the Dreyfus-Zola agitation began, the mud-and-clouds men set to work and poured out heaps of false news, of alarming information, of dreadful stories. Daily papers that don't sell and have more creditors than subscribers gathered eagerly that mass of contemptible and mischief-making literature and retailed it in three editions a day until public opinion, recovering as from an attack of epilepsy, realized how ridiculous it was to believe such nonsense and scream like a little baby frightened by the bogie-man.

INTERNATIONAL MISUNDERSTANDINGS.

Usually—and this time even more than usual—what comes out of all this is a misunderstanding of some kind. It is sad to note how men remain ignorant of what is going on in other countries than their own, of feelings, if not of facts. One race fails utterly to understand another, and there does not seem to be any progress toward a better state of things. Let us, however, not be discouraged; intellectual internationalism is a necessity, and we must get to it. As regards France, the Dreyfus-Zola crisis will surely not help toward it, for there remains a bitter feeling against foreigners, and certainly

M. LÉON BOURGEOIS,

Minister of Education and Public Worship.

man was innocent. But it was established by the strongest evidence that there was no ground whatever for Zola's charges against the officers of the court-martial. To suspect their sincerity was as absurd as it would be to-day to suspect Zola's sincerity. Zola is the most self-conceited of writers and has already, under various circumstances, shown signs of a lack of common sense; but he is, at the same time, an enthusiast and an obstinate. He felt sure he was accomplishing a great act of justice, and it may be that he feels so yet. He failed utterly, however, to convince even a minority of the French people, and his followers were but a handful of second-rate men. Anyhow, the Dreyfus case may be considered as unsettled, not on account of any great probability of Dreyfus being innocent, but simply because the trial was conducted somewhat irregularly. Such are the Dreyfus affair and the Zola affair proper. But there did not end the trouble; otherwise things would have taken another turn. We had to deal then with the "*pecheurs en eau trouble*."

Frenchmen are justified in resenting very deeply the injurious treatment they have received from the outside press. I am enough of a friend to the Anglo-Saxons, and above all to the Americans, to state frankly my opinion on this point. Public opinion in England and in America went crazy about this affair, and if France needs an excuse for her own craziness on that circumstance, she can find it in the craziness of her neighbors. By the way, this contributed to cool the hitherto ever-growing good-will between France and the United States. Knowing what I have done to promote it, my American friends can realize how deeply it touches me. But we shall resume it before long, when peace is restored and Cuba is free. The sympathies that many Frenchmen entertain for Spain would be less strong if they knew what has been going on in Cuba since the rebellion began. It was a great mistake not to publish and send to all Europe the United States reports on Cuban atrocities. Not much is known of them on this side of the ocean, and what is known is considered groundless because no official reports have been published. But I believe that the so-called universal sentiment for Spain has been extremely exaggerated. A number of Frenchmen sympathize with the United States, and much indignation has been felt here at the telegrams sent from London to American papers about an agreement between France and Germany to divide Brazil, and other tales of the kind. Anyhow, if the American press had behaved more gently toward France during the Dreyfus-Zola crisis, their sympathies at present would still be greater.

EUROPEAN SWEETNESSES.

One word more about this crisis. In order to understand exactly what happened, the Americans must get accustomed to the idea that the great European powers, and chiefly Germany and Italy, have an extensive and carefully organized spy system. We send also a number of spies abroad, but don't care so much about it and spend less money for it than the Germans. Besides, the prejudice against spying is less strong in Germany than in France among well-educated men, and we find very few officers in

our army who are willing to do it. But in every case it remains unrecognized. Officially the German Government is not supposed to entertain spies, and does not admit that a question on such a subject can be asked of it. The importance of a spy system nowadays comes from the fact that the whole success of a war may depend on the mobilization of troops. Victory is for the government that gets ready first and is able to send first its troops to the frontier. A mobilization can be got through in three or four days. Hence the importance of knowing the plans and methods of the mobilization of one's opponent, and the absurdity of a process where the spy system is to be discussed being prosecuted publicly. No such thing would ever be thought of in Germany, and France would act childishly by doing otherwise. These are European sweetnesses!

IV.—PREPARING FOR THE WORLD'S FAIR.

THE CHAMPS ÉLYSÉES BUILDINGS.

The republic has organized three great international expositions: in 1878, 1889, and 1900. The buildings erected for each of these expositions are of two sorts. Some are provisional and intended to disappear when the fair is over; some are made to stay. In 1878 the Trocadero Palace remained. With its enormous rotunda, its towers and its colonnade, it can be seen from all Paris. It replaced a wide flight of steps with broad grass links on both sides that Napoleon III. had arranged there in order to disguise the bareness of the Trocadero Hill, which has become now one of the most beautiful parts of Paris. The 1889 exposition has left behind the celebrated Eiffel Tower and the *Galerie des Machines*, a huge iron construction of a rather ungraceful type. This time we shall keep two palace-like buildings that will occupy the site of the *Palais de l'Industrie* in the *Champs Élysées*, but will leave room between them for a large avenue lined with beautiful trees, through which the *Invalides* with the golden dome of Napoleon's monument will be seen. The avenue will lead to a bridge that will also remain and bear the name of Alexander III. of Russia. The Emperor Nicolas placed the corner-stone when in Paris last year. Al-

ALFRED RICARD,
Commissioner-General of the Exposition.

though such a bridge was needed as a means of connection between the *Champs Élysées* and the underground railroad station that is being built on the *Esplanade des Invalides*, it will greatly damage the beautiful prospect of this part of Paris. The river Seine is much too narrow to be crossed by so many bridges in so short a space.

UNDERGROUND OR ELEVATED ?

The construction of the Invalides railroad station is not the only improvement of that kind that the Parisians will welcome. The terminus depot of the Paris, Orleans, Bordeaux & Spain Railway will be shortly removed from where it stands to the center of Paris, and is to occupy the spot where are the ruins of the *Conseil d'État*, burned down by the commune in 1870. Then the long-spoken-of Metropolitan Railway will soon run its trains through our streets. Up to this day few cities, even in France, were less provided with means of transportation than was Paris. The tram-cars are slow, and as to the goods—stones, wood, iron, etc.—they have to be conveyed in heavy vehicles dragged by four or six horses from one end of the city to the other, making it dusty and noisy. The modes of conveyance and the supply of electricity are the two points on which the Paris municipality is to blame ; nowhere is electric light so costly. While the public buildings, the streets, and the walks are beautifully kept, the Parisian can complain of the way his house is lighted up and his time wasted. It took nearly ten years to decide whether the Metropolitan would be an underground railroad, as in London, or an elevated one, as in New York. The New York elevated is so much superior to any other type that it seems a pity we should not have decided for it. As it is, the Metropolitan will be underground except in the southern part of Paris, where it will cross the river on a viaduct.

IN THE EXPOSITION'S OFFICES.

The offices of the 1900 exposition are filled with as many *chefs* and *sous chefs de bureaux* and *employés* of all kinds as would be necessary to keep up the whole administrative machine of a state of ten millions of men. This is a not unusual defect of our French character. In 1889, however, such an inconvenience was avoided. Time was short. Three prominent men—MM. Alphonse, Georges Berger, and Grison—divided the work between them and hastened toward the end, each one doing his best in the line committed to his care. This time the centralization prejudice prevailed. The head of the organization is M. Alfred Picard, of the *École Polytechnique*, who has the exactness of mind and

rigidity of character of many among those who were students of this celebrated school. Under him are two directors, one of whom, M. Delaunay-Belleville, has been president of the Paris Chamber of Commerce. The principles of hierarchy are strictly observed, and everything goes before the eyes of the commissioner-general after having got through the file of his subordinates. All the governments the world over have declared officially their intention of coöperating with the commissioner-general, and many have already appointed representatives. In 1889, it will be remembered, no great power except the United States had accepted to take part officially in the arrangement for the exposition, the reason being that the exposition was held in connection with the celebration of the centennial anniversary of the French Revolution. It is a remarkable fact that the participation of foreign nations, although unofficial, was no less important, and nothing shows more plainly the insignificance and childishness of our hierarchical and formal European prejudices. The "official" commissioners of 1900 will do no better than the "unofficial" ones of 1889 ; only they will cost a good deal more and complicate the work.

"À DEMAIN LES AFFAIRES SÉRIEUSES."

It would be a great pity and an incalculable damage to France if the care of her coming world's fair was to interrupt her progress and keep her from giving the attention that is needed to the true problems of the day and following the necessary policy. "*À demain les affaires sérieuses*" is unfortunately a phrase that many Frenchmen are prompted to utter when the violins begin to play and the Venetian lanterns are lighted up. The time has come when a deliberate effort *must* be made in the way of decentralization, in order to revive provincial life and provincial institutions. Either will the old provinces be reestablished and France made a more or less federal country, or socialism will take possession of her and increase that dullness and languor which are characteristic of centralized nations. A firm and independent foreign policy is no less desirable. So long as the French republic will, according to the unfortunate and imprudent words pronounced by M. Hanotaux, "raise above all other cares the care of her alliances," her influence will be canceled and her prestige will be small. For all nations is true what George Washington wrote in his immortal Farewell Address, that "it is folly for one nation to look for disinterested favors from another," and that "it must pay with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character."

SPANISH TRAITS AND THE NEW WORLD.

BY SYLVESTER BAXTER.

THE exploitation of colonies by the home power in disregard to the welfare of the colonist was long the policy of all colonizing nations. Oppression of the colonies was a natural concomitant of the exploitation policy. Our own race, as represented by its ruling power, was by no means an exception. England learned the lesson that America taught her, and that teaching founded the British empire's present might. Other colonizing powers have heeded the example, and, modifying their policies accordingly, have profited more or less thereby.

America had a lesson for Spain as well, but that country never heeded the teaching, dear though its cost was. She has held obstinately to the same course, until now it is too late to save the last remnants of her once world-wide realm. But it may turn out that she has unbuilted wiser than she knew.

We of English speech have been so wont to dwell upon the shadows of Spanish history that we have blinded ourselves to the existence of light that is there. Spain wrought much evil in her new-world empire, but there was good wrought also. In North America, at least, what she did was better than what went before. Possibly the empire of the incas, had it been let alone, might have developed a high civilization along its own lines. But it is doubtful if the Aztec and cognate cultures north of the isthmus had within them the seeds of progress. In Mexico the Spanish aims were of good intent. The laws that Spain framed for her new-world subjects were beneficent; the home government was actuated by motives of a humane paternalism. The record of Spanish treatment of the Indians is one of brightness itself compared with that of the English and of the great republic's "century of dishonor."

But the canker of colonial exploitation was there from the first; its growth very largely frustrated the intentions of righteous aims, and, corrupting Spain at the core by the riches it yielded, it proved the main source of national decay. Its twin evil was the overbearing old-world spirit that has endured to be the bane of the last of Spain's colonial possessions. It is the spirit that ascribes inherent superiority to birth in the home land and looks on transoceanic nativity as a mark of essential degeneracy, meriting only contempt. It is the same spirit that was shown by the English toward their new-world kin down to

the end of the past century, but in New Spain it went further in its manifestation. Spaniards resident in Mexico were wont to despise their own children, even though of purest Castilian blood, when born on the new-world soil. "*Tu eres criolla*" (Thou art a creole), a father would say contemptuously to his son. And even the legal rights of the native born were below those of the immigrant; as instanced in the preferences given to the latter in the holding of office. One of the factors in goading the Cubans to revolt has been this same invariable preference to those of Spanish birth.

In greater or less degree the evils that marked the administration of Spain's colonial possessions were common to the colonial policies of all the European nations with holdings beyond the sea, down to the beginning of the nineteenth century; intensified here, diminished there, by this or that circumstance. The personal quantity has been a dominant factor in determining for good or ill the character of a colonial régime. New Spain has had good viceroys and bad viceroys, Cuba has had good captain-generals and bad captain-generals, and the colonies have prospered or have suffered correspondingly. Much, if not all, depended upon the spirit in which the laws enacted at home were administered abroad.

As to the brighter side of Spanish rule in the New World, it is safe to say that no contemporary imperial power can point to like achievements. It is true that Spain gorged herself upon the New World's wealth, but that wealth was superabounding, and New Spain also profited thereby to no small degree. No thoughtful visitor to Mexico, for instance, can fail to be impressed by the magnificent monuments of Spanish rule that are still in evidence throughout the land: institutions of learning and of the fine arts, hospitals and other noble charities, splendid public buildings, great benefactions by generous and public-spirited men—aqueducts, fountains, and monumental bridges.

There stands, on the other hand, the overtopping evil of greed—the greed of the crown, of the Church, of nobles, of officials, of the trading classes. This made Spain the first plutocratic power of modern times, counting these times from the great discoveries of new lands in the West. For poor Spain money has truly been the root of all evil. The dreams of avarice found

realization in the Indies. With thousands and thousands of Spaniards, from viceroys and captain-generals down to clerks and porters, the ruling ambition was to get quick wealth and return to Spain for its enjoyment. Impoverished noblemen crossed the seas and amassed new estates that far surpassed those they had squandered, and from the rough winners of new-world treasure the ranks of the Spanish aristocracy have been recruited from that day to this. Abundant examples in our own land bear witness that polish and elegance are speedy fruits of leisurely riches, and it is therefore not specially remarkable that the greater volume of Spain's "gentlest blood" flows from fountains first tapped by traders, delvers, and plunderers of the realm. In no land more than in Spain itself is it better appreciated by the really intelligent and cultivated classes—among whom democratic ideals are widely and sincerely held—that the main sources of aristocracies are sordid, ignoble, and infamous, and nowhere are the vices, the frivolities, and the low standards that prevail among bearers of titles more detested.

A prominent social element in Spanish life is supplied by the *indianos*—men who have accumulated fortunes in the Indies and returned to Spain for their enjoyment. In the very notable contemporary fiction of Spain the authors find delight in the types furnished by these *indianos*, who are commonly depicted with all the vulgarity, uncouthness, ignorance, vanity, and ostentatiousness possible to the newly rich. They are men who commonly have worked themselves up from the humblest ranks of trade, gaining no knowledge of the world beyond the narrow confines of their vocations. Men like these have been raised to ducal rank! The evolution of these *indianos*, in all its stages, may be observed in Havana and other Cuban cities, where they form a very large element in the population. From these Spanish residents are largely recruited the *voluntarios*, that sinister element in modern Cuban history; and to them and to the allied commercial elements at home, so powerful in Spanish politics, is very largely to be ascribed the stubborn persistence of Spain in resisting, to her own destruction, all concessions that might have averted conflict.

It is ominous of the power of money in this wealth-fertile age that with all the liberalizing tendencies of the nineteenth century, the Spanish rule in Cuba has steadily increased in autocratic harshness since 1825. In that year, by royal decree, the office of captain-general was invested with despotic powers, and these have since remained an attribute of the place. This measure was soon after followed by the establishment of the practice of filling the offices of the colonial

administration with Spanish politicians, whose corruption and abuses became unbearable. When, in 1836, the Spanish Liberals obtained a constitutional government at Madrid absolutism was continued in Cuba, and the next year the island was even deprived of parliamentary representation. Tacon had been made captain-general, and he exercised his dictatorial authority with extreme severity. The renewed constitution of Spain had been proclaimed at Santiago de Cuba by his subordinate, General Lorenzo, but Tacon reversed the act and sent Lorenzo in disgrace back to Spain, whence he had been commissioned a few months before by the Liberal ministry. That ministry, instead of rebuking Tacon for his insubordination, confirmed the punishment that was practically a defiance for themselves, discrediting, as it did, their own position.

Even the proclamation of the Spanish republic brought no amelioration to Cuba, and the home government continued the autocratic rule in the island. When under the restored monarchy Campos brought about peace by the promise of autonomy and other reforms demanded, the home government violated his pledges. The only benefit that Cuba gained from the ten years' struggle was that by the Moret law the abolition of slavery was hastened; gradual emancipation having been decreed in 1870, ten years later, in partial fulfillment of the promises made by Campos, the process was so accelerated that the institution entirely disappeared from the island in 1887.

It must not be forgotten that our own country is not without responsibility for the long-continued subjection of Cuba to Spain. The Panama congress of American republics, proposed by the South American states and held in 1826, was projected on the basis of the Monroe doctrine. But the slave States of our Union saw in this congress a danger to their cherished institution. Every Spanish-American republic had abolished slavery on achieving independence, and it was feared that the influence of this congress would lead to like results in Cuba. Therefore when President John Quincy Adams nominated commissioners to represent the United States at this congress, it was made evident in the Senate that between Cuban independence with abolition and Cuban subjection to Spain with slavery our slave States would prefer the latter. The confirmation of the commissioners by the Senate was therefore conditioned upon a close limitation of their functions. In consequence the participation of the United States in the congress was of such a nature as to make its influence powerless. But for the attitude of our country on that occasion it is probable that Spain would speedily have been driven from Cuba. A proposed invasion of

Cuba by Mexican and Colombian forces under Bolivar was abandoned, and it became understood that Spain's possession of Cuba and Porto Rico was thenceforward not to be disputed.

The sufferings of Cuba thereupon became acute. In this country sympathy therewith was affected by the long and bitter agitation over the domestic slave question. Movements for the acquisition of the island in the interest of slavery were started on the annexation of Texas, during the war with Mexico, and on the termination of that war. President Polk's proposition to buy Cuba was antagonized by the anti-slavery sentiment of the North. Even a mild liberalizing tendency on the part of the Spanish Government was sufficient to excite Southern wrath. In 1854 Captain-General Pezuela decreed measures for the emancipation of slaves advanced in years. So sensitive was the South that the act was regarded as a menace to slavery in this country, and the ensuing agitation brought about various complications that came near producing war between the United States and Spain.

A trinity of evils—negro slavery, commercial selfishness, and official corruption—have been the root of Cuba's woe. Slavery intensified the motives for Spanish oppression. Externally it caused this country, first, to exert its influence in behalf of Spanish tenure, and then to antagonize that tenure only for the sake of maintaining and perpetuating the iniquity. In the great insurrection of 1868-78 it was the interest of Cuban slaveholders that prevented the concessions which at any time might have ended the struggle.

In the present contest the factor of negro slavery no longer appears. The two other evils now dominate. The part they play is an acute manifestation of two of the most vicious elements in the life of nations. Sordid commercialism, everywhere and always blind to all else than its own immediate gain and incapable of perceiving those things that constitute true commercial prosperity, had long been intent only on holding the trade of Cuba in Spanish hands. It is not necessary to trace the steps whereby this power makes itself felt in politics and in the activities of the government of Spain. Its ally is the horde of officials who for nearly a century have been free to prey on Cuba both in civil and military activities. Here blackest self-seeking has masqueraded as patriotism, draining Spain of her wealth and of her life-blood for its own emolument.

In view of the foregoing, it seems remarkable that Spanish mercantile character should hold the highest rank for integrity and for honorable dealing, while official life in Spain and her dependencies should be proverbially corrupt. Herein the case of China furnishes a notable parallel. How

comes it that, with the people inherently honest, the official life of a nation should be appallingly corrupt? Possibly the explanation may be that the true character of the people finds an expression in mercantile character, while the character of official life is a result of imposed control; a parasitic growth working downward and rankly flourishing where popular hands are powerless to restrain.

In Mexico to-day the activity of Spaniards so pervades the commercial and industrial life of the country that it is frequently characterized as "the second conquest." Spaniards have a remarkable aptitude for business affairs. They are singularly vigorous, energetic, and commercially enterprising. They carry on large financial and industrial undertakings very extensively. Certain important lines of business are practically monopolized by them; the greatest bank in Mexico is in their hands; all over the country they own and administer great agricultural estates, conduct large manufacturing enterprises, and in many parts they practically hold the purse-strings of the community. Much as the aggressive character of the *gachupines* (as the Spaniards have been called since the days of the Aztecs) has earned them the dislike of the less active and more gentle native population, their sterling honesty is held in such esteem that it is not uncommon to find them sought by Mexican business men or owners of great estates for responsible positions in the conduct of important enterprises.

This predominance has been achieved by Spaniards in the absence of all the conditions that have given them preference in the colonial possessions of their country; they have come to the front in spite of popular antagonism born of generations of dislike, and with no advantages beyond the very great one conferred by a community of language, together with the traits of natural capacity, mental keenness, and a "get-there" spirit born of intense vitality and robust physique.

The view that regards the Spanish as a decadent and degenerate people is a most mistaken one. Granting the severest things that can be said of the national organization of Spain and its dire results for a great part of the world, the national character is something quite different. The valiant spirit, heroic and self-sacrificing, that enabled Spain to turn Napoleon's path from the heights of victorious renown down toward the depths of defeat, is by no means dead. It has, indeed, followed evil guidance in support of false pride, in the vain endeavor to hold what by right had been forfeited. It has paid the cost with well-nigh half a million lives and with treasure that might have lifted the land out of its poverty.

The intellectual power of the nation that gave to the world Cervantes and the great dramatists still persists. In contemporary literature the masters of Spanish fiction stand the peers of their contemporaries in all other lands. They have made the beautiful Castilian tongue a plastic vehicle for modern thought, and in sagacity, humor, breadth of vision, sanity of temperament, and humane spirit they are rightful heirs to the mantle of Cervantes. With so large a proportion of their countrymen illiterate and penniless, their pens have had little of the sordid in their incentive, and their single-minded following of high ideals has not been less than that which inspired the writing of "Don Quixote."

The peasantry of Spain is marked by admirable traits. These poor and sturdy people are frugal, industrious, temperate, patient under heavy burdens, ground down by a crude and extortionate fiscal system, and doomed to grievous toil. Once let enlightenment and freedom come to them, and Spain will stand redeemed among nations.

As to the dark side of the Spanish—the cruelties, the oppression and persecution of subject peoples, the atrocities committed in the endeavors to maintain national sovereignty beyond the sea—these may be frankly conceded. But these things have been sufficiently dwelt upon by others. All warfare is an atrocity, a wholesale breaking of the divine command. No nation—even the most enlightened—is without black sin here.

The faults of a foreign people are too often the first things seen by them that go among them—and fault is all too apt to be but a name for something unfamiliar. But the message of modern enlightenment enjoins the peoples of the world to know each other. That is what human progress

means. Neither race prejudice nor antagonism of interest should blind us to the fact that the Spanish people have merits that, as with mankind perhaps everywhere, far outweigh their demerits. Faults of environment, of circumstance, are not inherent faults in nations any more than in persons.

Probably the greatest blessing that can befall Spain will be the loss of all her colonies. They have been the source of her troubles, the cause of her national decline. They have brought the curse of gold upon her. They have diverted the energies and the expenditures of her people from her own needs at home. Spain has magnificent internal resources as yet undeveloped. Let the energies of her people once be directed within, and they will understand what obstacles have blocked the way so long. Reforms will follow. Abuses will be swept away. Popular enlightenment will come. With the passing of Spain's colonial might will dawn the renaissance of Spain.

As to commercial prosperity, that should continue upon truer lines under the new conditions. Spanish commercial interests in Mexico are now on a healthier basis than they have been in Cuba for long years past, for in the daughter state they are not pampered by favoritism and privilege. Independent intercourse with the severed colonies will continue, and lines of trade will shape themselves naturally and legitimately. Ancient rancor will gradually disappear and Spanish commercial energy may be depended upon to secure room for its exercise. Spain, regenerate, will be the mother country for the nations of *ultramar* that speak her tongue, in the same regard that England is mother to lands in the seven seas, and will stand second only to England in the number of her children.



BRITISH GREETINGS AND TRIBUTES TO AMERICA.

LAST month we published a selection of greetings and tributes in verse addressed by American writers to Great Britain. It seems appropriate to reprint in this number a few characteristic poems giving expression to the fraternal regard of the English people for their American cousins.

The first place in such a collection belongs of right to Tennyson's "Hands All Round," published in 1852, when England was in sore need of friendly aid, and not included in any subsequent edition of Tennyson's poems down to the time of his death :

Gigantic daughter of the West,
We drink to thee across the flood.
We know thee most, we love thee best,
For art thou not of British blood?
Should war's mad blast again be blown,
Permit not thou the tyrant powers
To fight thy mother here alone,
But let thy broadsides roar with ours.
Hands all round!
God the tyrant's cause confound!
To our great kinsmen of the West, my friends,
And the great name of England round and round.

A conspicuous instance of British willingness to award generous recognition of what is worthy and true in American character was the publication of Tom Taylor's famous poem in the London *Punch*, immediately after the assassination of President Lincoln. To appreciate Taylor's verses one must remember that the poet had found in Lincoln the butt of his most telling witticisms. We reproduce the poem entire as it appeared in *Punch* :

You lay a wreath on murdered Lincoln's bier!
You, who with mocking pencil went to trace,
Broad for the self-complacent British sneer,
His length of shambling limb, his furrowed face,

His gaunt, gnarled hands, his unkempt bristling hair,
His garb uncouth, his bearing ill at ease,
His lack of all we prize as debonair,
Of power or will to shine, of art to please!

You, whose smart pen backed up the pencil's laugh,
Judging each step, as though the way were plain;
Reckless, so it could point its paragraph,
Of chief's perplexity, or people's pain!

Beside this corpse, that bears for winding-sheet
The Stars and Stripes he lived to rear anew,
Between the mourners at his head and feet—
Say, scurril-jester, is there room for you?

Yes, he had lived to shame me from my sneer—
To lame my pencil and confute my pen—
To make me own this hind of princes peer,
This rail-splitter a true-born king of men.

My shallow judgment I had learned to rue,
Noting how to occasion's height he rose;
How his quaint wit made home-truth seem more true.
How, iron-like, his temper grew by blows;

How humble, yet how hopeful he could be;
How in good fortune and in ill the same;
Nor bitter in success, nor boastful he,
Thirsty for gold, nor feverish for fame.

He went about his work—such work as few
Ever had laid on head, and heart, and hand—
As one who knows where there's a task to do;
Man's honest will must Heaven's good grace command,

Who trusts the strength will with the burden grow,
That God makes instruments to work his will,
If but that will we can arrive to know,
Nor tamper with the weights of good and ill.

So he went forth to battle, on the side
That he felt clear was Liberty's and Right's,
As in his pleasant boyhood he had plied
His warfare with rude nature's thwarting might;—

The uncleared forest, the unbroken soil,
The iron bark that turns the lumberer's axe,
The rapid, that o'erbears the boatman's toil,
The prairie, hiding the mazed wanderer's tracks,

The ambushed Indian and the prowling bear—
Such were the needs that helped his youth to train:
Rough culture—but such trees large fruit may bear,
If but their stocks be of right girth and grain.

So he grew up, a destined work to do,
And lived to do it: four long suffering years
Ill-fate, ill-feeling, ill-report, lived through,
And then he heard the hisses change to cheers,

The taunts to tribute, the abuse to praise,
And took both with the same unwavering mood;
Till, as he came on light, from darkling days,
And seemed to touch the goal from where he stood,

A felon hand, between the goal and him,
Reached from behind his back, a trigger prest—
And those perplexed and patient eyes were dim,
Those gaunt, long-laboring limbs were laid to rest!

The words of mercy were upon his lips,
Forgiveness in his heart and on his pen,
When this vile murderer brought swift eclipse
To thoughts of peace on earth, good-will to men.

The Old World and the New, from sea to sea,
Utter one voice of sympathy and shame!
Sore heart, so stopped when it at last beat high!
Sad life, cut short just as its triumph came.

We reprinted last month Mr. Thomas Bailey Aldrich's lines suggested by Mr. William Watson's sonnets on the Armenian situation in 1896. Following are the lines especially addressed to the United States by Mr. Watson apropos of the Venezuela argument:

O towering daughter, Titan of the West,
Behind a thousand leagues of foam secure;
Thou toward whom our inmost heart is pure
Of ill intent: although thou threatenest
With most unfilial hand thy mother's breast,
Not for one breathing-space may Earth endure
The thought of War's intolerable cure
For such vague pains as vex to-day thy rest!
But if thou hast more strength than thou canst spend
In tasks of Peace, and find'st her yoke too tame,
Help us to smite the cruel, to befriend
The succorless, and put the false to shame.
So shall the ages laud thee, and thy name
Be lovely among nations to the end.

The recent verses of the laureate, Mr. Alfred Austin, are familiar to most of our readers:

What is the voice I hear
On the wind of the Western Sea?
Sentinel, listen from out Cape Clear,
And say what the voice may be.

" 'Tis a proud, free people calling loud to a people proud and free.

" And it says to them, 'Kinsmen, hail!
We severed have been too long;
Now let us have done with a worn-out tale,
The tale of an ancient wrong,
And our friendship last long as love doth last, and be
stronger than death is strong.' "

Answer them, sons of the self-same race,
And blood of the self-same clan;
Let us speak with each other, face to face,
And answer as man to man,
And loyally love and trust each other as none but free men
can.

Now fling them out to the breeze,
Shamrock, thistle, and rose,
And the Star-Spangled Banner unfurl with these,
A message to friends and foes
Wherever the sails of peace are seen and wherever the
war wind blows.

A message to bond and thrall to wake,
For wherever we come, we twain,
The throne of the tyrant shall rock and quake
And his menace be void and vain,
For you are lords of a strong young land and we are lords
of the main.

Yes, this is the voice on the bluff March gale,
" We severed have been too long;
But now we have done with a worn-out tale,
The tale of an ancient wrong,
And our friendship last long as love doth last, and be
stronger than death is strong."

The following lines, headed "On the Eve," appeared in the London *Daily Chronicle* just before the declaration of our war with Spain:

America! dear brotherland!
While yet the shotguns are mute,
Accept a brotherly salute,
A hearty grip of England's hand.

To-morrow, when the sulphurous glow
Of war shall dim the stars above,
Be sure the star of England's love
Is over you, come weal, come woe.

Go forth in hope! go forth in might!
To all your nobler self be true,
That coming times may see in you
The vanguard of the hosts of light.

Though wrathful Justice load and train
Your guns, be every breach they make
A gateway pierced for Mercy's sake,
That Peace may enter in and reign.

Then, should the hosts of darkness band
Against you, lowering thunderously,
Flash the word "Brother!" o'er the sea,
And England at your side shall stand

Exulting! For though dark the night,
And sinister with scud and rack,
The hour that brings us back to back
But harbingers the larger light.

After the war began there appeared in the *Devizes (England) Advertiser* these lines, headed "The Strong and the Right:"

Sons of the self-same mothers,
Englishmen, cheer for your brothers.
Cheer for them, cheer for the Strong,
Cheer them on to the fight:
Cheer for the Strong and the Right,
Not for the Weak and the Wrong.
What reck we of the others?
They—the Strong—are our brothers,
Joined by the bond that joins
Seed of the self-same loins:
Speaking the self-same tongue:
Flesh of us, bone of our bone;
Hearts of oak as our own;
Puissant, exultingly young,
Oaks from the old oak sprung.
What reck we of the others,
Baleful sons of the night—
Night and the murk that smothers
Liberty, conscience, light,
Truth, and the future's hope?
Shame would it be to be dumb.
Europe is chained by her kings:
Freedom may bleed—she is numb.
Ah, but the Eagle has wings
Fearless and far in their flight!
Soon in the hour of our need
Word may be answered with deed.
Hark to the roar of the gun!
Herald of storm that is near.
Heed we in time as we hear!
France with her million swords
Moves with the Muscovite hordes.
Now is the time to unite
Brother with brother as one.
Cheer for the Strong and the Right!

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH.

WHAT SHOULD BE DONE WITH THE PHILIPPINES?

MR. JOHN FOREMAN, an Englishman who for some years lived in the Philippines, and whose writings for the last two or three years have been the chief source of popular information on the subject, contributes to the *Contemporary Review* for July an article in which he discourses upon the future of the islands. He is hopeful, although under no delusion as to the possibility of governing the Philippine Islands on the principles of the Declaration of Independence. He says that the insurrection which broke out in August, 1896, was in no sense republican in its nature. It had as its object the removal of certain specific, well-defined grievances. He says:

"The movement had for its objects (1) the expulsion of the monastic orders; (2) the abolition of the governor-general's arbitrary power to banish without accusation, trial, or sentence; (3) restoration to the natives of the lands held by the religious orders; (4) a limitation of the arbitrary powers of the civil guard; (5) no arrest without judge's warrant; (6) abolition of the fifteen days per annum compulsory labor."

AGUINALDO AND HIS REPUBLIC.

Aguinaldo, the leader of the revolt, is a smart, intelligent man of about thirty years of age. He is a landed proprietor who has served as petty governor of his native town in Cavite. By the arrangement between him and Admiral Dewey, Mr. Foreman says:

"It is provisionally agreed that Aguinaldo shall set up a local republic. General Aguinaldo's plan is to establish at Manila a congress to which deputies from all the principal islands will be invited. I do not hesitate to prophesy that unless under European or American control, the scheme will end in complete failure. At first, no doubt, the islanders will welcome and cooperate in any arrangement which will rid them of monastic oppression. The Philippine Islands, however, would not remain one year peaceful under an independent native government. It is an utter impossibility. There is such racial antipathy that the Visayas would not, in this generation, submit to what they would always consider a Tagalog republic, and the Tagalogs, having procured the overthrow of the Spaniards, would naturally resent a preponderance of Visaya influence. Families there are very closely united, but as a people they have

little idea of union. Who would be the electors? The masses are decidedly too ignorant to be capable of voting intelligently. The votes would be entirely controlled by cliques of land-owners.

"If the native republic did succeed, it would not be strong enough to protect itself against foreign aggression. The islands are a splendid group, well worth picking a quarrel and spending a few millions sterling to annex them. I entertain the firm conviction that an unprotected united republic would last only until the novelty of the situation had worn off. Then, I think, every principal island would, in turn, declare its independence. Finally, there would be complete chaos, and before that took root America or some European nation would probably have interfered; therefore it is better to start with protection. I cannot doubt that General Aguinaldo is quite alive to these facts; nevertheless I admire his astuteness in entering on any plan which, by hook or by crook, will expel the friars. If the republic failed, at least monastic power would never return.

WANTED—A PROTECTORATE.

"A protectorate under a strong nation is just as necessary to insure good administration in the islands as to protect them against foreign attack. Either Great Britain or America would be equally welcome to the islanders if they had not the vanity to think they could govern themselves. Unless America decided to start on a brand-new policy, it would hardly suit her, I conjecture, to accept the mission of a protectorate so distant from her chief interests. England, having ample resources so near at hand, would probably find it a less irksome task. For the reasons given above the control would have to be a very direct one. I would go so far as to suggest that the government should be styled 'The Philippine Protectorate.' There might be a Chamber of Deputies, with a native president. The protector and his six advisers should be American or English. The functions of ministers should be vested in the advisers, and those of president (of a republic) in the protector. In any case, the finances could not be confided to a native. The inducement to finance himself would be too great. All races should be represented in the Chamber."

Should this proposal be carried out, Mr. Foreman thinks the future of the Philippines will astonish the world. He says:

"The islands are extremely fertile and will produce almost anything to be found in the tropics. I estimate that barely one-fourth of the tillable land is now under cultivation. There is at present only one railroad, of one hundred and twenty miles. A number of lines would have to be constructed in Luzon, Panay, Negros, Cebú, and Mindanao Islands. Companies would probably take up the contracts on ninety years' working concession and ninety-nine years' lease of acreage in lieu of guaranteed interest. The lands would become immensely valuable to the railroad companies and an enormous source of taxable wealth to the protectorate. Road-making should be taken up on treasury account and bridge construction on contract, to be paid for by toll concessions. The port of Iloilo should be improved, the custom-houses abolished, and about ten more free ports opened to the world. Under the protectorate undoubtedly capital would flow into the Philippines."

THE PEOPLE OF HAWAII.

THE inspector-general of Hawaiian schools, Mr. Henry S. Townsend, contributes to the July *Forum* an interesting study of social conditions in his adopted land. The article takes on a new importance from the recent action of Congress in annexing these islands to the United States. Mr. Townsend disclaims any intention of furnishing arguments for or against annexation, declaring that his sole purpose is to present the truth.

In Mr. Townsend's opinion the aboriginal Hawaiian race has been "persistently misrepresented and misunderstood." The original Hawaiians were not cannibals, though they were degraded. Mr. Townsend admits, of course, that contact with Europeans and Americans resulted in moral degradation to both races, since the natives were passive and easily influenced; but when the New England missionaries came they found the remnant of the population susceptible to good influences also, and the whole people was converted to Christianity. Within ten years after the landing of the first missionaries the native language had been reduced to written form, and a large proportion of the people was able to read and write, and these natives were the grandparents of the present generation of Hawaiians, many of whom now read and write the English language in addition to their own, English being now the language of all the schools.

Mr. Townsend's testimony regarding educational results in Hawaii is significant:

"When first I came among the Hawaiian

people I was surprised to find the school children able to put to shame, with their knowledge of Garfield, Grant, Lincoln, Washington, Gladstone, Beaconsfield, Bismarck, 'Unser Fritz,' Nelson, and Napoleon, the American school children with whom I had come in contact. Although the Hawaiian press has deteriorated somewhat since that time, Hawaiian newspapers still give a greater amount of news from foreign lands than would be appreciated by the readers of American country newspapers. Our statistics of literacy are liable to give a false impression, since they include all persons over six years of age. But it is as rare an occurrence to find an illiterate adult Hawaiian in Hawaii as it is to find an illiterate adult American in the most favored State in the Union; and such has been the case for a generation. Yet these are the people who must bear the brunt of the malice or ignorance of cartoonists and writers, who think it funny to caricature them as ridiculous savages."

Having had ample opportunity to weigh the comparative merits and defects of the American and Hawaiian educational standards, Mr. Townsend affirms as his deliberate judgment that "our educational system is somewhat more comprehensive, the annual term is somewhat longer, the attendance at school is somewhat better, and the ability to read and write is somewhat more general among our native-born population than is the case in the average agricultural community in America. And the contributions of our people to the scientific and polite literature of the day are more liberal than those of the average of similarly circumstanced American communities."

THE PORTUGUESE ELEMENT.

Mr. Townsend devotes considerable attention to those elements in the present Hawaiian population that are usually regarded as especially undesirable, if not positively dangerous. He explains that the rapid industrial development of the country under the stimulus of the reciprocity treaty with the United States created a demand for plantation laborers which the native population was unable to supply. The government took the matter in hand and decided to encourage and assist the immigration of Portuguese from the Azores and other islands. In the course of a few years 11,000 of these people were assisted into the country.

As to the general character of this immigration Mr. Townsend says:

"As plantation laborers they were entirely satisfactory. They were industrious, thrifty, and law-abiding. Naturally they have now almost ceased to do the work of plantation laborers.

They are teamsters, mechanics, overseers of labor, merchants, and landed proprietors. As teamsters and overseers they are still found in considerable numbers on the plantations. They have teams of their own in many cases, do teaming for hire, and take contracts for public and other works. As carpenters and blacksmiths they ply their trade in the usual manner of agricultural communities; and their stonecutters' skill has done much to popularize and develop the trade in the beautiful building stone now used in Honolulu's finest buildings. As merchants they do not often carry on large business enterprises, and they seldom have business in the bankruptcy courts. A few of them own stock ranches of considerable size, but the majority of the landowners take to the 'little farm well tilled.' They are famous as fruit-growers and noted for their skill in making small pieces of land produce large returns. Nearly all the original labor contracts expired ten years ago, and few laborers are now working under new contracts. They are perfectly free to go to whatever land seems to them best. Many have gone to California and many others have returned to Portugal. The total immigration of Portuguese up to the present time has been 11,760. The census of 1896 showed the number of Portuguese in the islands to be 15,191."

From Mr. Townsend's account it would appear that the Portuguese in Hawaii cause far less trouble there than do the lower classes of Italians, Poles, and Bohemians employed as miners in some of our States.

CHINESE AND JAPANESE.

Mr. Townsend admits that some of the objections urged against the Chinese population have validity, but he believes that as a rule the Chinese of Hawaii are superior to those of California, while economic conditions are essentially similar.

The Japanese in Hawaii, Mr. Townsend frankly admits, are objectionable:

"The objection to them, however, is not that they are Japanese, but that so large a percentage of them is of the lower classes. They are not good representatives of the intelligence and the culture of the Empire of the Rising Sun. Have not similar complaints against the immigrants coming into the United States from Europe resounded for the past twenty years? And are not such complaints well founded? The Japanese are reasonably industrious and well disposed. As a class they are law-abiding, though individuals of this nationality commit a fair percentage of our crimes. Yet the officers of the law have never encountered any serious resistance to

their authority at the hands of the Japanese. Sudden outbursts of temper have caused a number of them to commit the most serious crimes during the past year. These crimes have been directed against their own countrymen, and in most instances have been attributable to the disparity of the sexes, there being four times as many men as women. In all such cases the law takes its even course, being scarcely resisted by the criminal himself and never meeting with any organized resistance on the part of the Japanese. There is no *mafia* among them.

"But wherein is the occasion for so much anxiety on the part of Americans concerning our Japanese people? It seems to be assumed on the part of some that in the event of annexation our Japanese will all flock to California. Why, then, are they not doing so now? And why have they not been doing so for the past ten years? Large numbers of them have been perfectly free to do so, so far as the laws of the two countries are concerned. In the event of annexation they will not be freer to go. Yet they have not gone in any great numbers. The fact is that they have the intelligence to appreciate a good thing while they have it. And it is safe to say that in case of annexation they will not all lose their heads, though the example may be set them by those who claim to be their betters."

THE REAL RULERS OF THE ISLANDS.

The Americans, British, Germans, and Norwegians who constitute the remainder of the population number only about 7,000 men, women, and children, of whom 2,200 are of island birth. These people control the destinies of Hawaii. As to the civilization of the people Mr. Townsend says:

"As a whole, our people are law-abiding. This is not saying that our laws are not broken. Of course they are broken; and they will continue to be broken so long as we continue to need laws. But all elements of our population acquiesce in the even administration of justice by our regularly constituted courts of law and equity. Lynchings are defended by the inhabitants of certain regions in the United States on the ground of their necessity. Of this I have nothing to say. I am not a judge of the necessities of the different localities in America, but I can say that we have no need to resort to such undesirable expedients in the name of justice. Men sleep in safety of property and person in houses unlocked, and women travel unattended and without fear in every district of the islands. Perhaps these also are points of difference.

"We have socialists and reformers who find fault with our industrial and social organization.

They point out the fact that we have trusts and syndicates that are able practically to traffic in the rights and interests of their fellow-men. Yet this will hardly be claimed as a point of difference. The same is doubly true of America. But we have neither almshouses nor mendicants, and there is nothing in our population to correspond with the tramp or the 'beat.' Here seems to be a genuine difference."

ANGLO-SAXON FEDERATION.

IN the *Arena* for August Mr. B. O. Flower sums up the arguments in favor of Anglo-American union as follows:

"1. The union of the English-speaking world in one mighty phalanx, to secure the realization of the aims of liberal and progressive governments to further the best interests of civilization, to oppose by influence and education the reactionary currents of despotism, and to foster free thought, free speech, and enlarged suffrage.

"2. With such a union, England and the United States would be so nearly invincible that there would be little danger of war, while the Anglo-Saxon would have a voice in the political and commercial affairs of that larger life which affects civilization, second to that of no continental power. Such a union would be able to secure for civilization, progress, and humanity the authority which the English-speaking races should exert, but can only exercise in the event of such a union as is proposed.

"3. Coaling stations all over the world would by special agreement undoubtedly be open to the ships of England and the United States. This would be a great saving in expense and an immense factor of vantage in time of war.

"4. With such cordial relations existing, the people of the United States, Canada, Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, and India would touch hands in one mighty federation of brotherhood, whose bonds of friendship would grow as time elapsed, and in every English-speaking port our people would be at home and among friends.

"5. Nothing else could so foster commerce. With such a union and such amicable relations existing, our commerce would move forward with giant strides. Between England and the United States there would doubtless be rivalry in this domain of activity, but it would be a friendly rivalry, and one that would soon cause the Anglo-Saxon peoples to enjoy the lion's share of the world's commerce, as Spain and Portugal enjoyed it in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

"To recapitulate, these things may be put down as results which would be achieved by

such a union: The supremacy of the Anglo-Saxon world; the spread of constitutional government, based on an ever-broadening suffrage; the checking of the threatening aggressions of absolutism; the fostering of free speech and free thought through the world; the union of people so formidable as to make war almost impossible; the commercial supremacy of the Anglo-Saxon world; the placing of the United States second to no commercial power; and, lastly, the securing of an ally which would prevent any continental power from meddling with American affairs."

Meaning of Mr. Chamberlain's Speech.

Mr. Chamberlain's declaration in favor of an Anglo-American alliance is the text of an interesting article by "Diplomaticus" in the *Fortnightly* for July, entitled "Is There an Anglo-American Understanding?" "Diplomaticus," who is well known as one of the closest editorial students of imperial politics, argues tentatively in favor of the hypothesis that an understanding has actually been concluded between the cabinets of London and Washington. He says:

"Mr. Chamberlain's speech is, to my mind, an official intimation that the ideal of Anglo-Saxon unity is passing from dreamland to the sphere of practical politics."

ENGLAND'S CHANGE OF FRONT.

"Diplomaticus" then sets forth the reasons why he thinks that there was something behind Mr. Chamberlain's speech more than mere sentiment. First of all he lays stress upon the fact that American sentiment has hitherto regarded England not as a natural ally, but rather as a natural enemy. This speech has also followed upon a complete reversal of the traditional policy of England in relation to Cuba. In 1852 Great Britain and France proposed to the United States a tripartite treaty by which they bound themselves severally and collectively to renounce forever all intention to take possession of Cuba. When President Fillmore rejected this and suggested that Cuba was no concern of England and France, Lord John Russell wrote a dispatch in which he declared that her majesty's government repudiated any claim on the part of the United States that Great Britain and France had no interest in the maintenance of the *status quo* in Cuba. In 1875 the United States herself recognized European rights in the question, and appealed for the support of the powers before deciding upon intervention. All the powers were hostile, and the intervention was abandoned. Yet to-day Great Britain alone has abandoned the old policy, and has supported the right of the United States to intervene alone in Cuba

without reference to Europe. "Diplomaticus" says:

"The truth is that the service rendered the United States by our undisguised sympathy is out of all proportion to any visible compensations. Without it the war would probably not have taken place, and America would have had to bear the Cuban nuisance for yet another generation."

WHAT IS ENGLAND GETTING?

He thinks it therefore improbable that such a right-about face could have taken place without a *quid pro quo*. What is that *quid pro quo*?

"A political understanding with the United States must take the same course as similar arrangements between other nations. However much it may be strengthened afterward by an awakened sense of racial affinity and of common political ideals, its basis must be a community of material interests, and those interests must be ascertained and agreed upon in the usual way. I come back to the question, Is there such an understanding?"

The understanding which he thinks must exist can only have reference to the policy of the open door in China. He says:

"Understanding of which I have argued the probable existence is based on the recognition of the identity of the interests of England and America in the markets of the far East, and the further recognition that this identity of interests deprives us of our chief excuse for fettering the liberty of American action in Cuba? The two questions are really one, for the importance of Cuba in our eyes is very largely that it is a possible blockhouse of great strategical value on the interoceanic highway, which will one day deepen the community of Anglo-American interests in the open door of the far East. That it should be in the possession or under the tutelage of a power bound to us by every tie which makes for enduring political union, is almost as much an advantage as the contrary is a disadvantage.

"Of course all this may be the merest day-dreaming. The responsibility, however, is not mine; it is Mr. Chamberlain's. For what are the alternatives? There are three:

"1. If the cabinet has not abandoned the principle of isolation in its foreign policy, Mr. Chamberlain ought, on his own showing, to have ceased to hold his portfolio.

"2. If it has abandoned that principle, but has not yet concluded an understanding with a foreign power, Mr. Chamberlain has, by his Birmingham speech, placed it in a position in which it will be difficult for it to conduct the negotiations on equal terms.

"3. If our new ally is not the United States,

we have made concessions to that power which ought not to have been made without solid compensations, and there is no evidence of such compensations having been obtained by us."

"BLOOD IS THICKER THAN WATER."

THIS famous expression of an American naval commander seems likely to become the watchword of the agitation in England for closer relations with the United States. The story of the origin of this historic phrase has been often told. In the London *Spectator* of June 25 last the facts are related by a correspondent using the signature "R." His account is all the more interesting because it gives the English version of the incident. It was on the Peiho River, in China, in the summer of 1859. The treaty of Tient-sin between England and China had been concluded, and had to be formally ratified at Peking, June 26. Admiral Hope, with a British squadron, was unable to reach the mouth of the Peiho River until June 19. But next day, when he attempted to proceed up the river to Peking, he found that the Chinese had blocked its mouth by three barriers and had rebuilt the forts which had been destroyed the year before. Orders were given to him by the British minister, Mr. Bruce, with whom the French minister was acting, to remove the obstacles and to proceed to Peking as rapidly as possible. Admiral Hope had under his command only eleven small gunboats, mounting thirty guns between them. On the morning of the 25th the little squadron began the accomplishment of its task. The first barrier was successfully removed without firing a shot, but when the boats reached the second barrier, which lay midway between the guns of the forts on either side of the river, the Chinese opened fire with forty heavy pieces of artillery upon the two leading British vessels.

AMERICAN AID TO BRITISH SAILORS.

"At this instant the admiral made the signal, 'Support me by engaging the enemy more closely,' and this signal he kept flying the whole day. Never was a British admiral in greater need of support, and never was his appeal more nobly responded to. It seemed to be the object of the Chinese to annihilate the flagship, and so well trained were their guns on the space between the first and second barriers that within twenty minutes of opening fire the *Plover* and *Opossum* had so many killed and wounded that their batteries were completely silenced. It was at this critical period of the fight that the Americans rendered such assistance to the sorely tried British. Captain Tattnell, commodore of the American squad-

ron in the China seas, had been watching the treacherous attack on the British squadron from the *Tbey-Wan*, a small steamer of very light draught. The commodore, who was a great character in his way, at last, seeing the desperate condition of the British admiral, could stand it no longer. Observing that 'blood was thicker than water, and he was damned if he was going to see white men butchered before his eyes,' he ordered his barge and announced his intention of paying an 'official visit' to the British admiral. The commodore rowed through a storm of shot and shell, one round shot going through the American ensign in the stern of the boat, cutting it to ribbons, and was wildly cheered by our people as he passed through the fleet. Just as he reached the flagship his barge was again struck and sank alongside. The Americans, however, managed to scramble on board, only to find Admiral Hope, desperately wounded, seated in an arm-chair on deck, still directing the fight.

HOW THE AMERICAN CAPTAIN SAVED THE DAY.

"Tattnall, after exchanging a few words with Hope, sent his boat's crew forward to man the big eight-inch gun there, the whole crew of which had been either killed or disabled. His men responded with alacrity, and for the next hour and a half this gun was worked entirely by American seamen until relieved by a fresh crew from another gunboat. Borrowing a boat from the *Plover*, Tattnall then returned to the *Tbey-Wan*, and knowing that the British reserves, who had been placed in sailing junks at the beginning of the action, were sorely needed, and that without a steamer there was no means of getting them to the front, took them in tow himself, and started boldly up the river with 600 fresh British seamen behind him. Nor was this the last occasion on which Tattnall rendered us assistance on this disastrous day. After the landing party had been driven back and had retreated to their boats, they found that many of the boats had been destroyed by the enemy and that there were not enough to take off all the seamen. Realizing this, Tattnall got his light-draught *Tbey-Wan* close into the shore, and in this way took the fugitives aboard, thus saving many a life that would otherwise have been sacrificed. In this unfortunate affair we lost 434 killed and wounded out of a total of 1,100 engaged, and out of our eleven gunboats six were either sunk by the enemy's fire or had to be abandoned in a sinking condition. It was not till the following year that Sir Hope Grant, with 10,000 British and 7,000 French troops, was able to avenge our defeat by destroying the forts and occupying the imperial city of Peking itself."

INTERNATIONAL PIRACY IN TIME OF WAR.

IN the *North American Review* for July Mr. W. L. Penfield directs attention to the anomaly in the present state of international law as regards the inviolability of private property in war. He shows that while in war on land booty has become unlawful and the rights of private property are generally respected, in war on the high seas booty is still a lawful object and private property of the enemy's subjects is liable to capture and confiscation.

PRIVATE PROPERTY SHOULD BE FREE.

"The Declaration of Paris abolished one form of piracy by privateering; it abolished another of its forms by protecting all goods, whether enemy or neutral (except contraband of war), from capture on the high seas under the neutral flag. But one necessary step remains to be taken—in the adoption of the principle of the inviolability on the high seas of all private property, except contraband of war, whether found in neutral or enemy bottoms. Its adoption has found an obstacle in the frequent association of two phrases—'free ships, free goods' and 'enemy ships, enemy goods.' The one has been treated as the corollary of the other; and although the latter has so far given way that neutral goods in enemy ships are free, it remains as an imaginary maxim to sanction the spoliation of private enemy property. The association of the phrases has done mischief enough. They should give way to the broader maxim that on the high seas all private property, excepting contraband of war, is free. The persistent conjoined use of the phrases is a curious illustration of the pernicious effects of legal maxims after they have become wholly or partially obsolete under changed conditions. But they have a certain charm. They are alliterative; they are epigrammatic; they stick in the memory. But there is no legal or logical relation between them. The first phrase is a maxim which consecrates a principle. The second is not a maxim because it violates an immutable principle—'Thou shalt not steal,' from friend or enemy—a rule without exception. It is the law of peace; it is the law of war on land, with no exceptions other than those of necessity. And the capture of enemy private property in time of war on the high seas has never been attempted to be justified on the ground that it is larceny or piracy—the true nature of the act—but on the ground of the supposed necessities of warfare of maritime powers, especially of Great Britain, as being its chief effective means of warfare. And the regular men-of-war, as well as the volunteer navy, may exercise the right of capture of enemy

private merchandise and ships, whether contraband of war or not. In maritime warfare this gives advantage to those nations who maintain powerful navies, which grow apace with the expansion and for the protection of their growing commerce."

ATTITUDE OF THE UNITED STATES.

There is a growing tendency, however, to limit all warfare, on sea and land, to its true objective—the persons of the armed combatants and contraband of war. Mr. Penfield shows that the attitude of this Government down to the outbreak of the present war has been consistent in its advocacy of the exemption of private property, except contraband of war, from capture:

"It adopted the principle in the treaty of 1785, negotiated by Franklin, with Frederick the Great. In 1823 it proposed its adoption by the governments of England, France, and Russia. In 1856 it refused to accede to the Declaration of Paris in favor of the abolition of privateering unless the principle was adopted, which failed owing to the opposition of Great Britain. In 1861 Mr. Seward favored its acceptance, and in 1870 Mr. Fish expressed to the Prussian Government the hope that 'the Government of the United States may soon be gratified by seeing it universally recognized, as another restraining and harmonizing influence imposed by modern civilization upon the art of war.' In 1871 it was adopted in our treaty with Italy, stipulating that in case of war between them 'the private property of their respective citizens and subjects, with the exception of contraband of war, shall be exempt from capture or seizure, on the high seas or elsewhere, by the armed vessels or by the military forces of either party,' except in the attempt to enter a blockaded port.

"The attitude of this Government in this respect is fixed; and whatever might be said for or against the adoption of the principle in the present war with Spain, and as to whether Spain would have probably granted or refused reciprocal treatment, in view of the reservation made by it in regard to privateering (in its acceptance of the principles of the Declaration of Paris), all the arguments which led to the early and consistent advocacy of the principle by this Government still obtain."

Mr. Penfield maintains that if the United States seems to be standing by the rule of spoliation in the present war, it is not because the Government has changed its principles or reversed its policy, "but rather from the belief that under all the circumstances, and in view of the gingerly attitude of Spain in regard to privateering, reciprocal treatment would not have been accorded."

MEXICO AND THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR.

A WRITER signing himself Laniger D. Kocen contributes to the *Westminster Review* for July a paper on "Mexico and the Hispano-American Conflict," in which he seeks to account for Mexico's apparent lack of sympathy with the United States in the struggle on Cuba's behalf.

This writer finds the root of anti-American feeling among the Mexicans in a sense of injury dating back half a century to the time of American conquest and acquisition of Mexican territory. But there are other causes of antagonism between the two peoples:

"The American character is entirely antagonistic—not intentionally, but naturally—to any assimilation of race or acquisition of sympathetic relations in a foreign land."

While admitting that there is no open expression of dislike nor any animosity displayed in their mutual dealings, this writer insists that the feeling against American men of business resident in Mexico is pronounced and persistent, and that the Mexicans regard themselves as a more cultured people than the Americans.

SPANISH INFLUENCE IN MEXICO.

"The Spanish element is remarkably strong, and Spaniards are, of course, far more numerous than Americans; in fact, some of the principal lines of business throughout the republic are entirely in their hands. The great body of retail shopkeepers, such as the grocers, pawnbrokers, and drapers, are invariably Spaniards. As a class they cannot claim very much superiority over the Americans as regards refinement. They probably represent the lower or lower middle class of their native land, and are certainly not conspicuous for their manners or education. They are, however, a hard-working and useful class, and by the acquisition of wealth and assimilation with the Mexicans are constantly improving and adding to the number of worthy citizens of the country.

"There is, of course, another and far superior class of Spaniard in Mexico, which, although very limited in number, is more representative of Spain.

"The best element of the country is the upper and middle class of Mexicans. The descendants of the Spanish, they have become tempered and improved by their environment, and while retaining the good qualities thereof, appear to have lost in great part those traits of pride and cruelty so characteristic of the progenitors of their race, and to have acquired a love of progress not to be found in Spain. The attachment to the mother country is nevertheless a remarkably strong feature in their moral composition. They point with

pride to their Spanish ancestry, and naturally uphold the traditions of the Latin race.

"The lower element, however, has but little love for the Spanish, who to them are represented by the grasping shopkeepers and their assistants.

"Taken as a whole, the Mexican character is liberal and progressive, and the stranger who takes upon himself to criticise should not point too strongly to the faults in her society, but should rather endeavor to indicate the material and recent improvements therein, and to dwell upon her bright future rather than upon her past.

"Such, then, are the conditions and sentiments prevailing in Mexico, and which influence the sympathies of her people with regard to the unfortunate conflict between Spain and the United States. The ties and traditions of race are seen to be stronger than the abstract love of liberty and equality. Not only in Mexico does this appear to be the case, but, with small exception, the same feeling obtains in the whole of the vast continent to the south.

ATTITUDE OF OTHER LATIN-AMERICAN REPUBLICS.

"Not a voice among the many governments of limitless Latin-America was raised against the oppression of Spain in Cuba. No moral encouragement or support appears to have been given by that numerous and egotistical family who, having cast off one by one their own yoke, and by their own act showing the unrighteousness of the parent rule, nevertheless have stood aloof and watched the cruel castigations of decades fall upon their less fortunate sister of the Antilles, until, neglected by those of her own race whose duty it was to protect her, circumstance has allied her with the Anglo-Saxon, whose action they unite in condemning and whose disinterestedness and humane motives they pretend to deny.

"It would be, of course, as unreasonable to suggest that Mexico should have plunged herself, alone and unaided, into war, simply in freedom's cause, on behalf of the Cubans against Spain, as to suppose that she should now, in the interests of the latter, make common cause therewith against the United States.

"She has served a long and bitter apprenticeship to war and bloodshed, and is now enjoying peace and a stable government, with its accompanying effects of prosperity and progress. Charity in her case certainly begins at home, and it would be impossible to advocate that Mexico should now sustain any other position than that of neutrality. But a coalition of Latin-American republics on behalf of the Cubans at an earlier stage of the present conditions would have been far more in the natural order of things. Now,

however, it is evident that their sympathy is generally with the cause of Spain."

In America's ultimatum to Spain the Latin-American countries pretend to see undue aggressiveness and hunger for territory. With this view the writer does not sympathize. He says in conclusion :

"There can be but one true answer to a question of right and wrong and to unprejudiced reason—whatever may have been the brutalities of language and ignorance of diplomatic usage committed by the representatives of the nation championing the cause of Cuba—the principles upon which their actions are founded are those of humanity and justice, and must go down to history as a factor in the advancement of civilization and in the interests of eternal truth."

THE GOVERNMENT OF "FREE CUBA."

IN the *Contemporary Review* for July Mr. G. C. Musgrave has an interesting article on the past, present, and future of Cuba. We quote from his account of the government established by the insurgents:

"The Cuban Government is established in Camaguey or Puerto Principe, one of the two great provinces that form eastern Cuba. Though professedly a civil authority, it is elected by the army, delegates being sent from each of the twenty-four commands in the island. These representatives elect by vote a president, vice-president, and executive officers for two years. The elections were held in October last, when the aged president, the Marquis of Santa Lucia, retired, and General Maso, also a septuagenarian, took his place. In the western provinces there is much *lex non scripta*, chiefly framed by the exigencies of the situation; but east of the trocha, where there has been no *reconcentraci6n*, except near the five large seaports, the printed laws of the Cuban republic are to be found in every house. The country here is free Cuba to all intents and purposes, and out of a population of two hundred and eighty-seven thousand persons, few indeed of the pacific 'citizens' have seen a Spanish uniform.

The members of the government are all white men of superior education, the majority having been educated in the United States and speaking English perfectly in consequence. It is absurd for Spain to urge her contention that the rebellion is supported mainly by negroes and half-castes. One-third of the population of Cuba is composed of blacks, half-castes, and Chinese, and the proportion of colored men with the insurgents is about the same. Since Maceo's death there is not a man of color holding an important

position in the Cuban army except General Rabi, the old Indian whose bravery in the field in both wars is unsurpassed. The Vice-President of Cuba, Dr. Capote, was one of Havana's leading lawyers before the war. Dr. Giberga, another lawyer, is brother to the autonomist deputy of that name. Colonel Stirling, secretary of the treasury, is a Cuban of Scotch descent, and graduated at the New York Military Academy. General Lacret, who takes command of the Cuban contingent preparing to assist in the invasion, was educated in Paris. Dr. Silva is a graduate of Philadelphia College, and Judge Fredey, chief of the judiciary, was judge of the *audiencia*, or supreme court, in Havana before the war. I could go on with a long list of leaders who have held excellent positions, but have relinquished all for Cuba *libre*, endured steadfastly the three years of hardship and refused to surrender.

"Until I met the insurgents I shared the popular fallacy that desperadoes and adventurers were making the revolution; but, whatever may have been the character of some of the earlier insurgents, for two years the struggle has been universal—Cuban versus Spaniard—and even those colonials whom business interests have kept outwardly loyal to Spain are secretly favoring the revolution and subscribing money to the cause. In the districts of free Cuba every "citizen" works for the general good, and a system that would obviously fail under ordinary conditions is a great success when prompted by the effusive patriotism existing among the Cubans. All live without rent or direct taxation, but all below the age of forty must work for the republic, some as soldiers, but the majority on their farms to raise food for the army and for general consumption, or in the government factories which turn out arms, passable ammunition, boots, saddles, household utensils, and necessary articles of furniture."

NOT ANNEXATION, BUT INDEPENDENCE.

Mr. Musgrave speaks of the determined hostility of the insurgents to the proposition for annexation to the United States. He says:

"Annexation would hardly be consistent with the protestations of humanity only with which America answers those critics who charge her with land-grabbing, or with her disinterested attitude in the past, when she nobly tried to feed the *reconcentrados* without coming between Spain and the insurgents, and found it impossible to assist a tithe of the needy while the struggle continued. The Cubans in arms are also opposed to annexation, and, indeed, would bitterly fight against it. Independence under the immediate protection of the United States will assuredly be the wisest

policy, while the influx of British and American capital, the opening up of rich interior districts, and the removal of certain proscriptive tariffs, which the Cubans will insist upon, will speedily assure a return of prosperity to the Pearl of the Antilles when secure government is established.

"That the Cubans will form an ideal government I do not say; but that the island will be better governed than other Spanish-American republics is a foregone conclusion. The negro problem is not a difficult one. The proportion of the colored element is much less than in the Southern States, and the Cuban negroes for the most part are an ignorant, indolent, happy-go-lucky race, not eleven years freed from slavery and still greatly influenced by their former owners. The white Cuban of the small farming class is entirely uneducated, but hospitable, honest, and frugal. In the scattered districts of the interior education has been beyond his reach. But it is in the planter class, the once wealthy sugar and tobacco growers, that the hope of Cuba lies. Lacking educational facilities in the island for many years past, all who could afford it sent their children to the United States schools and colleges. Here they have drunk in Anglo-Saxon ideals, and though bred at home in luxury and indolence, the war has taught them lessons that will be invaluable in the future. The Cuban is no longer a Spaniard. Reared under entirely different conditions and its blood recruited by refugees from the French Revolution, by Americans, and by sons of Jamaican planters, chiefly of Scotch descent, who have settled and intermarried with the colonials, a new race has arisen, more refined and cultured, and perhaps more effeminate, than the swarthy bull-fighting sons of Spain, who swarm to Cuba for a season and retire to the peninsula after a few years' toil.

"These Cubans have directed this struggle either actively or by secret help from the outside. Those in the cities formed the autonomy government under General Blanco, not because it was the realization of their ideals, but to secure the gain of half measures in case of failure to accomplish more; and were it politic to do so I could give abundant proof of aid furnished to the revolution by prominent autonomists both before and since the decrees were instituted. I have mixed freely with the peaceful Cubans of all classes, and though many deplore the revolution and its effects, they are unanimously in favor of freedom from Spain's brutal yoke in any shape or form. Under the direction of the United States it will not be the insurgents who will govern the island, but representatives elected by the voice of the Cuban people, and there are men of intelligence in plenty to fill the posts."

THE SPANISH MAGAZINES ON THE WAR.

THE Spanish magazines contain several articles concerning the United States, some dealing with the disagreeable side of American life and institutions, others with its foreign policy and political ambitions. In these articles America is presented in the worst light, but, as a rule, the statements are supported by references and are couched in more temperate language than might have been expected.

Emilio Castelar's usual monthly political chronicle in *España Moderna* consists of a diary of the war, with comments on the events of each day.

In the two numbers of the *Revista Contemporanea* are two articles by Señor Puig y Valls concerning his experience (at the time of the World's Fair) of "Yankee politeness," and some attempts at "slumming" by ladies, old and young, and the ethics of the press in connection with the latter. The other contributions to this review concern the general foreign policy, past, present, and future, of the "United States of North America," as the writers are careful to call them. Capt. Arturo Llopis, of the Spanish navy, traces the policy of the United States with respect to Mexico in the past and Cuba in the past and present, quoting freely from authoritative sources. His conclusions coincide with those expressed by General Mansilla, of the Argentine Republic, in an interview which forms the subject of the remaining contribution on the crisis.

"AMERICA FOR ANGLO-SAXON AMERICANS."

The present attack on Spain, says the writer, is merely a move in a game which the Yankees have been playing for many years. In obtaining possession of Cuba, they are imitating the tactics of the British in seizing Egypt after the opening of the Suez Canal; when the Panama or Nicaragua Canal is finished—which will be sooner than most people think—the Yankees will be able, with Cuba in their possession, to dominate the traffic for their own benefit. The capture of this beautiful island is another step in the long-conceived plan of absorbing all Latin America, and at the same time the attack on Spain will give the Yankee Government the desired opportunity of winning public approval to its scheme for building a big navy. At first the United States will be friendly with Great Britain, but when the proposed powerful navy is ready it will be turned against Britain, who will have cause to regret her present action. The neutrality of Europe is a great mistake; it is Spain now, but it will be the turn of some other European country later on. The Yankees are greedy for conquest. As to the Latin republics of America, it

behooves them to be watchful; for the motto "America for the Americans" means America for the Anglo-Saxon Americans only!

Such is the view of the crisis as expressed in the current Spanish reviews.

THE CAPTURE OF HAVANA IN 1762.

IN the *Nineteenth Century* for July Lieutenant-Colonel Adye, chiefly from materials found in the life of Admiral Keppel, describes the adventures which befell the English expedition of a hundred and thirty-six years ago, and which showed the way in which the capital of Cuba might be captured by a combined attack from land and sea. The story is an interesting one, and one of the most interesting things is that the campaign which began on June 7 and ended on October 8 was waged in the midst of the rainy season, with the result that while the British force lost only 560 men from injuries inflicted in fight, 4,708 men died by sickness. It will be interesting to compare the comparative mortality from wounds and from disease when the American campaign is ended. War was declared on January 4, but it was not until March 5 that the expedition sailed from Portsmouth, and the attack upon Havana was not begun until June 6. The British fleet when it left Barbados consisted of 27 sail of the line, with 20 smaller ships, which convoyed a force of no less than 156 transports and storeships. They had 11,350 soldiers on board. Within twenty-four hours of the arrival at Havana arrangements were made for disembarking troops some miles to the eastward of Fort Morro, between the mouths of the rivers Bocca Nao and Coximar.

MORRO STORMED AND THE CITY BOMBARDED.

The Spanish fleet was bottled up in Havana harbor by the action of the Spaniards themselves, who sank three of their best ships within a boom at the mouth of the outer entrance in order to prevent the entry of the British fleet. Fort Morro became the object of the British attack. It was boldly defended by the Spaniards and doggedly besieged by the British, who had at one time no fewer than 4,000 soldiers and 3,000 sailors prostrate with sickness. It was not until July 30, after reinforcements had arrived from Jamaica and America, that Fort Morro was stormed. Even then the Spaniards refused to surrender Havana, the bombardment of which was begun on August 10. In four days the city was surrendered. The spoils of war consisted of nine Spanish men-of-war in the harbor, which, together with those sunk at its mouth, constituted one-fifth of the naval power of Spain, and no less a sum than \$15,000,000 in the Cuban treasury.

WANTED: A "GENERAL STAFF" AT WASHINGTON.

THE August *Cosmopolitan* prints a forcible criticism by its editor of our national organization for military preparation. Without enumerating the faults which Mr. Walker discerned in a stay in Washington at the outbreak of the war, we give his conclusion that "the breaking out of the war should have been the signal for calling together men who had demonstrated their powers in the way of clear thinking and in the mastery of organization. This fact, so well understood in business, should be recognized in the conduct of armies. When war comes we should have men who have studied organization, who can think clearly and act with decision. To put authority into the hands of a man who is only a popular fellow and well liked is to invite confusion and defeat." This has been accomplished by the Germans by organizing what is called the general staff, and Mr. Walker has procured from Maj. George M. Wheeler, of the corps of engineers of the United States army, an article on the "Necessity for a General Staff" in this country. Major Wheeler tells us that this organization in Germany had its beginning in the intelligence branch instituted by Frederick the Great, which elected its most capable officers to act in the field as the eyes and ears of the army and enjoined on them specific duties during the Seven Years' War. In 1821 this general staff was given an independent position directly under the commander-in-chief and head of the state, and it has grown greatly since in importance. This organization is described by Major Wheeler as follows:

"The main principles of the German general staff are (1) its independent position; (2) it forms a *corps d'élite* made up of officers, at once scientific and thoroughly practical, enjoying the respect and confidence of the troops, owing their distinction not to the advantages of birth, wealth, or influence, but solely to their own merit and efforts; (3) absolute freedom of its military scientific training; and (4) compulsory return of its officers from time to time to regimental duty, they thus being an unadulterated product of the Prussian army, of which they possess all the excellent qualities. Schellendorf claims that if the Prussian general staff had not enjoyed the advantage of being directly under the commander-in-chief (the head of the state) for more than seventy-five years, other causes, arising partly from progressive changes in the form of government and partly from modern military organization, as well as from innovations in military matters generally, would certainly have secured for it the position it now holds. The general

staff of the Prussian army as at present constituted consists of the '*Haupt-Etat*,' with a total of 146 officers, and the '*Neben-Etat*' (scientific branch) have 58 officers, together with 14 field officers as commissioners of lines of railroad, 6 as railroad commissioners, and 74 lieutenants attached."

The functions of this organization are vast in detail. The result of its workings is that the Germans can at present mobilize an army of 500,000 trained soldiers at any point of its frontier crossed by a railroad within seventy-two hours after the effective orders are given in Berlin. Major Wheeler says it is safe to say that thus far the world has never seen so large and well-trained an army ready for almost instantaneous mobilization within the confines of a single country. And this is accomplished with a total annual outlay of \$127,000,000 for the whole German war establishment—less than the pension roll for 1896 of our late Civil War, which was over \$140,000,000.

GENERAL MILES ON THE GERMAN ARMY.

IN the August *McClure's* General Miles, in the course of his series of articles on "Military Europe," gives his impressions of the German army from his inspection of the maneuvers at Homburg.

"The maneuvers began on September 6 and ended on the 10th. They were the most extensive ever held in Germany in time of peace. There were 117,000 men in all engaged. This force was about four times as great as that at Kresnoe-Selo and about 50,000 larger than that at the French maneuvers which in part I witnessed later. The labor of organizing, equipping, transporting, and supplying such an army must have been immense. All of this had been worked out by the general staff of Germany, and maps had been provided, which were models in themselves, by which, from day to day, the movements of the troops could be seen and followed with great ease.

"The great problem in the German maneuvers was to bring a great army into the field and operate against an invading army which had crossed the Rhine from the west. For the purpose the forces were divided into two armies. The western or invading army was represented by a portion of the troops under Gen. Count Von Haesler; while the eastern or army of defense was commanded by Prince Leopold of Bavaria, the two being nearly equal in strength. The western army was composed of Prussians, while Prince Leopold's army was composed of Bavarians. We were provided with horses and orderlies, and

proceeded each day by train near to the field of action, where, following the Emperor, we witnessed the maneuvers. Many miles were covered by the troops, and it was necessary to ride long distances to see the action. The use of troops of all the branches was exemplified. The various modes of attack and defense in modern warfare were shown. Long and weary marches were made by the troops in accomplishing all of this. Much of the time it rained, and it was far from easy service. In fact, except for the danger of war, perhaps the troops suffered as much hardship as they would in actual campaign, and yet they seemed well supplied and there were few accidents. There were some losses; several men were drowned in crossing streams, in which the use of the pontoon bridge was shown. Some were taken sick, but comparatively few died, probably sixty in all, out of this immense army, which indeed was a remarkably small percentage under any circumstances.

"In watching the combats in the German maneuvers I was much interested in the effect of the smokeless powder. One heard the sound of the cannon and the rattle of musketry, but saw nothing until the troops advanced or retreated across the country within his line of vision. A valuable means of judging of the whereabouts of an enemy and of the progress of a battle is taken from a commanding officer by the use of smokeless powder.

"Extensive use was made of military balloons in the German maneuvers for observation purposes, and the opposing armies were provided each with one or more, constantly in use. The familiar pear-shaped balloon was used, and, in addition, the 'dragon' balloon. This is very different in form, and is constructed to avoid the constant whirling and spinning motion which is had with the ordinary shape. It is stated that there is considerable steadiness in the new form, and consequently it is naturally better suited for observation. Telephone lines connect these balloons with operators below, thus enabling the observers to communicate rapidly. The Russians also used the balloon in their maneuvers, and one of the features of their review in honor of President Faure was the launching of a balloon bearing in mammoth letters the words 'La France.' The familiar spherical balloon was used by them.

"I was very much impressed at the maneuvers with the excellent training of the German soldiers. Young men in Germany are compelled to enlist at twenty and serve two years in the active army, and then serve a portion of the following five years in the reserve. After one generation, the whole male population of Germany becomes a great military force. The severe

drill and discipline enforced in the German army makes thorough soldiers of the young men, and in some respects is a good school of practice, either for war or peace. It compels respect to superiors. It enforces regular habits, cleanliness, sobriety, and simplicity and regularity in daily labor and habits of life. It lifts up the awkward, listless, and careless boy to the position of manhood in the promotion of physical strength. Yet the rigid discipline appears to some extent distasteful, and I noticed very few veterans among the soldiers."

ARMY AND NAVY AID.

IN the *Charities Review* for July Mr. Richard Hayter makes some important suggestions to those who are interesting themselves in relief work for the soldiers and sailors at the front. He describes the various agencies through which such aid may be extended. His paper is also valuable for the cautions it contains against unnecessary and wasteful forms of assistance. On the subject of food for the soldiers he says:

"That a very considerable amount of indiscriminate and somewhat reckless expenditure of money has been made in sending delicacies and special food to the soldiers in camp is undoubtedly true. The necessity for it is not at all apparent. A rather unhealthy sentimental emotion has been brought about by sensational articles in the daily papers. There is, however, a genuine and real desire on the part of the people at home to do something tangible for the men at the front. This desire to do something and to be of some use, if directed in the right channels, can be of great importance to the well being of the soldier, but if misdirected may do considerable harm.

"Brigadier-General Charles P. Eagan, Commissary-General of Subsistence U. S. A., asserted emphatically in a recent interview that the well soldier needs absolutely nothing more than he gets in his regular ration; that this ration is the result of long years' experience, based on careful observation; and that the food is of the best quality and in every way carefully selected.

"Already the commanding officers of regiments have been obliged to destroy food sent to their men, on the ground that food outside of the regular rations would be detrimental and injurious. As a matter of fact, a proportion of the special food articles sent is unfit for use by the time it reaches the camps."

NO BANDAGES DESIRED.

Surgeon-General Sternberg has issued a circular stating definitely what articles are needed by his branch of the service. Commenting on this circular Mr. Hayter says:

"An item to be particularly emphasized is the statement that bandages, lint, and other surgical dressings are not desired. The reason is that the department obtains such articles from manufacturers, sterilized for use and otherwise exactly adapted for its purposes. The surgeon-general will be glad to forward wherever needed the articles named in the above circular. Special food, such as eggs, milk, chicken, fresh vegetables, etc., are always purchased for the sick when obtainable from a special hospital fund. Medicine, miscellaneous articles, special bedding, etc., are provided in the regular field-supply chest.

"In addition to this chest each private of the hospital corps carries a pouch supplied with emergency material, and the medical officers' orderly carries a larger pouch ready at all times. The surgeons in charge of hospitals can obtain any of the many articles named in the field-supply table by simple requisition on the surgeon-general's department. Under no circumstances is it necessary that private initiative should supply a hospital tent, as has been done recently, or any other part of the field equipment."

SUBMARINE MINES IN MODERN WARFARE.

THERE is in the August *National Magazine* an article explaining the machinery and use of "Submarine Mines in Modern Warfare." In the Civil War the Confederate engineers confined themselves to defending their forts mainly with the simplest kinds of contact mines, since there was very little insulated wire south of Mason and Dixon's line that could be used for the other class, the judgment or observation mines. The typical Confederate mine was simply a cylindrical case loaded with fifty to a hundred pounds of powder and fired by a gun-lock extended into a contact rod rising toward the surface. Further than the general classification of these weapons of destruction into judgment and contact mines, the contact mines themselves may be divided into the mechanical and electrical species. The Confederate mines belonged entirely to the former, and many that the Spanish are now using on the south coast of Cuba, too, are these balloon-shaped affairs, with a number of trigger-arms projecting from the top. Such an engine will blow up a friend with the same facility that it destroys a foe whenever it is in working order and is touched, and the writer of this article thinks that the presence of these in Santiago harbor persuaded Cervera to use the broad daylight in his fatal sally. The most useful and elaborate species of contact mines are those fired by a current sent to them from shore over an insulated cable, the explosion being determined by the shock or a

moving ship, when it closes the electrical circuit automatically. Unless the battery on shore is connected with the cable, the mine is practically harmless, even when charged with dynamite.

Most of the mines in Boston and New York harbors are of this character, and had they been of the mechanical order the casualties would have been many indeed, as it has been quite a common occurrence for irreverent tugs and coasting vessels to bump up against the arrangements of the United States corps of engineers every once in a while. The observation mine is nearly similar to this last class of contact mines, except that there is a total absence of any contact-making device working automatically. The largest size is about four feet long over all, cylindrical in shape, and made of sheet iron three-sixteenths of an inch thick. There is a hand-hole at each end for stowing the charge, which consists of five hundred pounds of guncotton, usually kept wet. At the lower end of the mine, in the center of this great mass of explosive, is the fuse-can, filled with dry guncotton, in which are bedded several heavy detonators. The electric wire from the shore passes through a water-tight seal in the bottom of the mine-case and thence to the detonators. The top and bottom of the case are fitted with heavy eye-bolts, for lowering and moving the mine, and the bottom ones for the tethering it to the thousand-pound mushroom-shaped anchor that keeps it in position. The manner of managing the explosions is described by this writer as follows:

"The individual mines are planted from eighty to one hundred and twenty feet apart—near enough to leave no dead space between them through which a ship could pass in safety, and yet far enough apart not to be injured by the shock of a neighbor's explosion. For the same reason mines are often grouped *en echelon*, so that the individuals may be further apart without uncovering too much space across the channel.

"Both observation and contact mines are fired by closely similar apparatus, the essential difference being that in the latter the firing circuit cannot be closed unless the mine is tilted or heavily struck. To explode guncotton or dynamite, the favorite materials for charging mines, requires most violent ignition. Either substance will merely burn with a bright flame when lighted by a match, but when fired by the explosion of a charge of fulminate of mercury, the substance used in percussion caps, they detonate—that is, burst instantly and violently into gas without burning in the ordinary sense at all. A pound of dynamite would probably take half a minute to burn up, while it would detonate in considerably less than the ten-thousandth part of a second.

"To fire a mine, then, a couple of powerful electric detonators are bedded in a mass of loose dry guncotton or dynamite and sealed tightly in a can that will keep tight even if the mine-case proper should leak."

A cross-section of one of these detonators consists of two parts, a thin copper tube, perhaps an inch or a little more in length and as big around as a large lead-pencil, and an insulating plug, which stops the open end of the tube and through which pass the connecting wires. These wires project, it seems, only a quarter of an inch or so through the plug and are there connected by a bridge of very fine platinum wire.

"The tube is filled with fulminate of mercury in which this bridge is bedded, and a small current will bring the bridge to a white heat and fire the fulminate—not far from thirty grains of it in ordinary service detonators. This instantly detonates the dry explosive in the fuse-can and the rest follows."

As to the military effectiveness of submarine mines, Professor Bell, the author of this article, considers that when properly supported by gunfire they are practically impregnable, and calls to mind the recent very well-defined hesitation of Rear Admiral Sampson to enter the harbor of Santiago, although it was more than suspected that the mines, torpedoes, and guns that defended it were not of the first class. "The actual effect," he says, "of the submarine mine is simply appalling. When a heavy charge is fired under water, the first sign of the terrible detonation is a shiver of the solid earth if the mine is near by, and then a little spurt of white water just over the charge. This swells into a massive cone, and that in turn into a tremendous column, rising up and still up, seeming to pause sometimes as the first jet loses its momentum, and then rising again as other portions of the seething mass tower upward. Then falling, it dissolves into foam and spray as it settles back into a huge upswelling of muddy water torn up from the bottom."

Of the destruction of the *Maine*, Professor Bell says there is no doubt but that the agency was a submarine mine.

"No drifting mine, no infernal machine that a few conspirators could have placed alongside under cover of darkness could have worked such complete destruction—it was no small torpedo placed close against her keel. If our present knowledge of explosives teaches us anything it tells us in unmistakable terms that the *Maine* was destroyed by the heaviest sort of a service mine, a mine so large that it could not have been planted as an after thought."

THE "REGULARS" IN THE CIVIL WAR.

THE magnificent work of the detachments from our regular army before Santiago has again drawn public attention to the recorded achievements of America's trained soldiery.

The histories of our Civil War are full of the exploits of the volunteers and have little to say of the regular troops. Perhaps it was this fact that caused Mr. Rufus F. Zogbaum to prepare the admirable sketch of "The Regulars in the Civil War" that appears in the *North American Review* for July.

In 1861 our little army had experience and training, at least, and it was soon to show that in courage and devotion to duty no body of troops in the world could surpass it.

"Less than 14,000 strong, then, as now, inadequate in point of numbers for the duties imposed upon it, the outbreak of hostilities between the States found the regular army scattered in small detachments over a vast territory, the cavalry and infantry almost constantly in conflict with the savage foe of advancing civilization, the artillery covering with a thin and broken line the long extent of seacoast on two oceans. Imbued with an *esprit de corps* born of the wars of three-fourths of a century, bound together by common share in the dangers and vicissitudes of the life they led, the soldiers of the 'old army' formed a distinct class by themselves, representing, in its composition, traditions and history, the incarnation of the spirit of respect for law and order that forms the foundation of the republic. Proud and self-reliant, they knew no other life but that which duty called on them to live, and to them the flag they bore was the emblem of the honor of the country, the army, and the regiment."

"SYKES' REGULARS."

The second division of the Fifth Corps, commanded by Brig.-Gen. George Sykes, became known as "Sykes' Regulars" because it included the Second, Third, Fourth, Sixth, and Tenth regiments and one battalion each of the Eleventh, Twelfth, Fourteenth, and Seventeenth regiments of United States infantry, together with batteries of the First and Fifth artillery.

In the fight at Gaines' Mill, Sykes' division, consisting of nine regiments (finally increased to eleven, three battalions, and two batteries), withstood twenty-six regiments, four battalions, and three batteries of Confederates under Jackson, Longstreet, D. H. and A. P. Hill, and Ewell, and it was Jackson who reported that "the well-disciplined Federals continued in retreat to fight with stubborn resistance."

"Proudly defiant, slowly contesting the field of battle foot by foot, more dangerous in defeat than in the full tide of success, and never for a moment losing their cohesion or yielding to coward panic, Sykes' sturdy infantry hung like bulldogs on the flanks of their batteries, and aided in the repulse of repeated and desperate attacks upon them of a brave enemy, flushed with triumph and eager to bear away the guns as trophies of their victory. The famous Second, retiring, as ordered, in line of battle, colors flying, halted and turned on the enemy, driving him back and saving a disabled battery. The loss of this regiment was 148 out of an effective force of 446! As night fell the ceaseless roll of musketry over on Sykes' right told how the Fourth Infantry was covering the retirement of Weed with his guns. The Confederates poured out from the woods on all sides, but the disciplined regulars, seizing and valiantly holding every point of vantage, facing by wings at right angles to their line, and by sheer pluck and endurance hurling back the pursuers on their flanks, kept the hostile battalions at bay until their comrades were well on the way to safety, then slowly fell back in the approaching gloom of night to the banks of the Chickahominy. Like watch-dogs, all night they lay between their comrades and the foe, until at daylight they sullenly and reluctantly crossed the river, destroying the bridge on their way, the last of the Federal forces to pass over the Chickahominy."

The losses sustained by the Twelfth and Fourteenth Infantry in this engagement were even greater. The fighting qualities of the regulars were also shown on the battlefields of Malvern Hill, Manassas, Sharpsburg, Antietam, Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, and Gettysburg.

AT GETTYSBURG.

The command of the regular division at Gettysburg fell to Gen. R. B. Ayres. Mr. Zogbaum, in the following paragraph, tells the story of the heroic conduct of the remnant of the "old army" on that bloody field:

"Held in reserve with the rest of the Fifth Corps, the two small brigades of now only fifty-seven companies, amounting in the aggregate to less than 2,000 men, did not go into action until the disaster to the Third Corps, when their thinned and depleted ranks flung themselves desperately upon the triumphant Confederates, once again interposing themselves between their retreating comrades of the volunteers and the pursuing enemy. Striking the Confederates in flank, Ayres rolled them back upon themselves and drove them in confusion from his front. But

his enemies were too strong for him; outflanking him and gathering in his rear, they poured volley after volley into his battalions, mowing the men down like blades of grass before the scythe. And now occurred an exhibition of indomitable pluck and determined and sagacious courage such as only highly trained and disciplined troops could show. Facing about, the little division forced its way slowly back again. The roar of musketry was so incessant that the words of command could scarcely be heard. Men were falling by hundreds, but the veteran lines steadily filled the gaps, answering blow with blow as they pressed on firmly, enveloped in a perfect hell of fire and death. The color staff of the Second is shot in two, the flag falling into the hands of the bearer. In the Seventh every second man is killed or wounded. The Tenth suffers a loss of 60 per cent. of its officers and over 54 per cent. of the enlisted men in a few moments. But there was no panic, no confusion, 'not a single man left the ranks, and they allowed themselves to be more than decimated without flinching,' until the hill was reached again, and they reformed their shattered lines in their old position, leaving behind them, in a long and ghastly trail of dead and wounded, 829 of the 1,980 that had so gallantly advanced to the attack only a short time before. Was there ever a more heroic military sacrifice?"

A PLEA FOR THE REAL ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

IN the August *Atlantic Monthly* is printed an essay written by Sidney Lanier about 1880, making a powerful and logical plea for the great Anglo-Saxon epics as the basis of English culture, as against imported literature, not excluding it nor neglecting it, but preceding it. "We do not bring with us," wrote Lanier, "out of our childhood the fiber of idiomatic English which our fathers bequeathed to us. The boy's English is diluted before it has become strong enough for him to make up his mind clearly as to the true taste of it. Our literature needs Anglo-Saxon iron; there is no ruddiness in its cheeks and everywhere a clear lack of the red corpuscles. Current English prose, on both sides of the water, reveals an ideal of prose-writing most like the leaden sky of a November day, that overspreads the earth with dreariness—no rift in its tissue nor fleck in its tint. Upon any soul with the least feeling for color the model 'editorial' of the day leaves a profound dejection. The sentences are all of a height, like regulars on parade, and the words are immaculately prim, snug, and clean-shaven. Out of all this regularity comes a kind of prudery in our literature."

"One will go into few moderately appointed houses in this country without finding a Homer in some form or other; but it is probably far within the truth to say that there are not fifty copies of Beowulf in the United States. Or, again, every boy, though far less learned than that erudite young person of Macaulay's, can give some account of the death of Hector; but how many boys—or, not to mince matters, how many men—in America could do more than stare if asked to relate the death of Byrhtnoth? Yet Byrhtnoth was a hero of our own England in the tenth century, whose manful fall is recorded in English words that ring on the soul like arrows on armor. Why do we not draw in this poem—and its like—with our mother's milk? Why have we no nursery songs of Beowulf and the Grendel? Why does not the serious education of every English-speaking boy commence, as a matter of course, with the Anglo-Saxon grammar? These are more serious questions than any one will be prepared to believe who has not followed them out to their logical results."

The essay goes on to prove by comparison the degenerate quality of our language, and how it weakened from the fifteenth century on, and translates some of the most robust passages from "The Death of Byrhtnoth," an Anglo-Saxon poem dating from about A.D. 993, which, Lanier said, "in the judgment of my ear sets the grace of loyalty and the grimness of battle to noble music. I think no man could hear this poem read aloud without feeling his heart beat faster and his blood stir."

IS THERE A FRENCH SPIRIT IN LITERATURE?

A SPECIAL feature of the *Revue des Revues* for July is a symposium, "*Enquête sur l'Esprit Français*." The editor, M. Finot, in March last raised the question by issuing a letter to the leading literary men, editors, and scholars of France, asking them the following questions: Can the French pretend to have a distinctive spirit in their literature—in other words, a French spirit as distinct from the literary spirit of other peoples? His second question was: If so, What are the appreciable features of this spirit? And his third: Can a stranger assimilate the peculiarities of the French spirit in such a degree as to become a writer purely French? In the July number some sixty pages are devoted to the answers received from some of the most eminent of French writers. A list of these writers will best give an idea of the various nature of the answers which were elicited. They are: Henry Béranger, Alfred Binet, Henri de Bornier, Paul Bourget, Michael Bréal, Jules

Claretie, François Coppée, Arthur Desjardins, George Fonsegrive, Anatole France, Urbain Gohier, Remy de Gourmont, Léon Hennique, Alexandre Hepp, Gustave Larroumet, Camille Maclair, Eugène Müntz, Raymond Poincaré, Marcel Prévost, Edouard Rod, Georges Rodenbach, Francisque Sarcey, Paul Stapfer, Sully-Prudhomme, E. M. de Vogüé, René Worms, and last, but by no means least, Émile Zola.

We cannot afford the space to give even a brief *résumé* of the opinions of these writers. It remains only to quote from the most interesting answers of those best known to our readers. The general trend of the letters is only vaguely affirmative; and although M. Finot concludes by an ingenious attempt to combine in a harmonious system the various elements which have gone to the making of the French language and literature, it cannot be said that he has succeeded in forming conclusions generally acceptable. An ethnical philosophy of literature in the true sense of the term is probably beyond the power of man to produce. A great critic may apprehend instinctively the literary genius of a race, but to demand a formula to express it is to demand a definition of the indefinable. Most of M. Finot's correspondents seem to have appreciated this, for most evade the categorical reply to his questions and answer him in generalities more or less obscure.

M. Zola, whose reply is one of the shortest and, by reputation, perhaps the weightiest, begins by quoting the words of Taine, that the nature of the French spirit is "*d'aimer les belles batailles et les beaux discours: en somme, guerrier et rhéteur*." But M. Zola cannot see how the truly national writers, the Rabelais, the Montaignes, the Molières, the La Fontaines, and the Voltaires, are *guerriers et rhéteurs*. The virtue of these great writers, says M. Zola, lies in their reason, clarity, healthiness, and wisdom, and in the ardent cult of truth and justice which they teach. We are Latins, he continues, and the Gallic blood has given us no more than a better balance and a more healthy vigor.

M. Marcel Prévost follows more closely the letter of his editor. To the first question he replies affirmatively. Every individual race, and therefore France, has its distinctive literary spirit. In France this spirit is primarily *clair, synthétique, amoureux et respectueux des règles*. Read a treatise on geometry in French and English, says M. Prévost, and you will find the differences between the conceptions of clarity among different races. The French reader will find the English demonstration insufficient. The English student will regard the French demonstration as superfluous. This impassioned love

of "geometrical clarity" is to be found everywhere in French literature; it manifests itself in psychological explanations, in rigorous logic, and in limpidity of expression. This with love of ideas and method is the classical spirit—the spirit of French literature. Thus M. Prévost justifies M. Zola's postulate that the French are first of all a Latin race. To the third question he also replies affirmatively, favorable conditions being given, and quotes the cases of Rousseau, Dumas *filis*, and, in later times, José Maria de Heredia and Cherbuliez to affirm his view.

M. Poincaré also thinks that the French spirit may be acquired by aliens, but he maintains that, without doubt, the spirit of a nation changes with time and obeys the laws of its historical evolution. The French democracy does not think and speak as it thought and spoke in the days of aristocratic domination. M. Poincaré sees in the efforts of foreigners to ridicule and depreciate the French spirit the best evidence of its substantial existence.

M. François Coppée is as brief as M. Zola. He refuses to discuss the question at length, but declares that the spirit of literary France is manifested in "its luminous genius, its crystal language, its generous and brave character, and its quick and clear intelligence." *Hélas*, laments M. Coppée, *nous nous germanisons beaucoup depuis pas mal d'années*

M. Sarcey also sees in clarity the first characteristic of his country's literature. The works of Darwin and Lombroso could never have been French. With such materials a French writer would have written a work luminous and well ordered. Mr. Sarcey laughs at the prediction that French literature is losing its primordial qualities. The tendencies which change the character of national literature are temporary and must pass away. He likens them to the ravages of the phylloxera, which threatens to destroy everything, but where the soil and vines are good all at last must return to its original health.

M. Anatole France is brief and categorical. To the first question he answers yes—the French can pretend to a distinctive literary spirit. To the second he replies that this is the spirit of order, proportion, and clarity. In reply to the third he admits that a stranger may acquire the French spirit. But he can never hope to become *purement Français*. French literature, he says, owes much to the assimilation of external influences; and he proceeds to classify his most illustrious compatriots in ethnical order. Ronsard, Rabelais, Racine, and André Chénier take much from classical sources; Montesquieu and Voltaire from England; Madame de Staël and the roman-

ticists from Germany; Corneille, Victor Hugo, and Mérimée from Spain.

At the conclusion of the symposium M. Finot proceeds to tabulate the elements which have gone to the making of French literature. Absence of race—for the French race is an abstraction—and assimilation from outside are two of the greatest, and both together create a special mission for France and the French spirit. A composite language is a third element. "The French spirit," says M. Finot, "conforms to the philosophy of its history; and it is synonymous with comprehension and generosity, and it is in this we are to seek the source of its greatness and the reason for the love and admiration which it inspires among the best critics of the foreign world."

OUR INADEQUATE CONSULAR SERVICE.

SENATOR STEPHEN M. WHITE, of California, renews discussion of the more obvious defects in the United States consular service in the *Forum* for July.

Senator White bases his demand for reform on the recent marked development of foreign intercourse accompanying the increase of American commerce abroad.

"It is unnecessary to dwell upon the enormous expansion of the commerce of the United States. The statistics of recent years especially are plain and convincing. Our steel manufacturers not long ago demanded high protective tariffs to save them from English and continental invasion and to enable them to hold the home market. Now a member of Parliament asks to be informed why it is that the British Government has purchased steel rails for an East India railroad from a Baltimore concern, and is told that the American article is cheaper and as good. So it is in many other lines. It is not only probable, but certain, that our trade will continue to prosper, and that our surplus will meet the shrewd and wide-awake foreigner in the remorseless struggle of untrammelled competition. While, therefore, the consul of fifty, or even twenty-five, years ago, owing to the absence of trying demands upon him, might have spent his term without exciting criticism, his attitude now is entirely different. His obligations have not only increased, but have become much more complicated.

DEMANDS ON THE SERVICE.

"Whatever may be the effect of recent international entanglements—whether or not we shall proceed, as some ambitious and, I beg to submit, over-zealous folks desire us to do, to raise the Stars and Stripes in distant climes and over alien

and non-assimilative races—it is clear that in any event we shall have more interest in foreign disputes than ever before. Our navy must be increased. Our position as a sea power is destined to favorable change. With our cruisers and battleships moving in stirring scenes and our manufacturers, merchants, traders, and tourists soliciting assistance, a new state of things is presented. Consular officers, summoned to advise and act in the face of such issues, ought to be familiar with international affairs and with the rules of conduct governing civilized nations. An officer controlling such a situation should be a man of uncommon intelligence, with little about him indicating the novice. He should be able to shield the American citizen, whether traveling for pleasure or pausing for business, from undue interference. To him his countrymen must appeal for information and counsel. Is it, therefore, unreasonable to demand that one chosen for such employment should be conversant with the important subjects to which I have just adverted, and should be so trained as to meet the delicate possibilities of this avocation?"

Senator White shows the practical disadvantage of employing untrained men for short terms in a service which should command specially qualified men for the best years of their lives. He says :

EVILS OF THE SPOILS SYSTEM.

"We sometimes hear it said that a newly appointed consul is bright and can qualify himself. But how costly may be the errors incident to such qualification. How dearly may we pay for an education which should have preceded incumbency. I do not, however, deem the time spent in obtaining the requisite information as constituting the most serious cause for reflection. The removal from office of a good consul who has become an expert in his business and who is useful to his country is always unfortunate and sometimes disastrous. The naming of men unfamiliar with the language of the locality in which they are to act is inexcusable. Great Britain—always quick to discover fields for the opening of lucrative trade—not only insists upon ample general education and legal attainments, including international law, but requires a knowledge of French and, in many instances, other languages. France, too, is most insistent in this regard, subjecting the candidate to a strict examination and keeping in view his adaptability to the place to which he seeks to be assigned. Many of our consuls in Mexico and Central and South America cannot speak Spanish; and where this is the case their efforts are seriously hampered. Such a man finds his English, German, and French

rivals fully equipped and daily outstripping him in the advancement of home interests. An interpreter may be used, but this method of communication is at best unsatisfactory. A consul thus embarrassed not only encounters obstacles of a social character, but is annoyed on all sides. He feels out of place. The losses which we annually sustain on this account cannot be readily measured, but must be very large."

"MANILA HEMP."

IN the *National Geographic Magazine* for June Mr. F. F. Hilder has an encyclopedic article on the Philippines. The section devoted to agriculture contains the following description of the famous "Manila hemp:"

"There is a great similarity between the agricultural products of Cuba and the Philippines—in both sugar and tobacco are the great staples—but the latter islands possess an unique product which hitherto it has not been found possible to raise successfully elsewhere, although attempts have been made to introduce it in Borneo, Cochin-China, the Andaman Islands, and other places. It is known commercially as Manila hemp, but this is a misnomer, as it has no relation to the hemp plant. Its native name is *abacd*, and it is the product of a species of plantain or banana, *Musa textilis*, which differs very slightly in appearance from the edible variety, *Musa paradisiaca*. Its fruit, however, is small, disagreeable to the taste, and not edible. It grows to the height of twelve to fifteen feet. There is evidently some peculiarity of soil or climate, or of both, which enables these islands to retain a monopoly of this fiber which has become of such immense commercial value. It grows best in hilly or mountainous districts, and particularly in the volcanic regions in the eastern parts of the islands. It is hardy and suffers little from any enemy except drought. It has the advantage of being a perennial crop, like its fruit-bearing relative, month after month young shoots springing up from the original root.

RUDE METHODS OF PRODUCTION.

"In starting a plantation the timber and undergrowth are cut down and allowed to lie until dried by the sun, when they are burned and the young sprouts or suckers are planted. Nothing more is ever done in the way of cultivation except to cut down weeds and extraneous growths to allow access to the plants and to replace those that may die from accident or old age. They reach maturity in about three years, and should then be cut, as at that age they yield the best fiber. If they are cut earlier the fiber is short and lacking in strength, and if allowed

to grow too old before cutting it becomes harsh, woody, and brittle. A large quantity of land is required to form a successful plantation, as the plants occupy considerable room, and it requires the product of five or six acres to produce a ton of fiber at each cutting.

"The method of decortication is as rude as the agricultural process. It is true that many machines constructed on scientific principles have been experimented with, but none so far has proved satisfactory, and the crude native implement is still the only one in use; it consists of a rough wooden bench with a long knife-blade hinged to it at one end and connected at the other to a treadle. Strips of the plant are drawn several times between this blade and the bench, which removes the pulp and outer skin, leaving the fiber, which is then cleansed by washing, dried in the sun, and packed for shipment.

"It is one of the most useful fibers known to commerce. Besides its value for making rope and cordage, it is extensively used in the United States for binding twine for harvesting machines. Nearly one million bales are exported annually, of which 40 per cent. comes to the United States."

ARE OUR WOODEN SUBURBS DANGEROUS?

MR. R. CLIPSTON STURGIS, writing in the August *New England Magazine*, calls attention to the comparative flimsiness of the buildings that are being erected so rapidly on the outskirts of our great cities, and boldly gives it as his opinion that these buildings, with their similarly flimsy wooden surroundings, are not only dangerous for their inhabitants, "but a horrible menace to the adjacent city." Mr. Sturgis' criticisms apply more urgently to Boston than to New York, but not more so than to Chicago, Cincinnati, and many other cities of importance. He complains especially that the old wooden houses of the outlying districts, which were sometimes very simple and very charming, were pulled down and replaced, not by brick or stone, as one might expect, but by cheap, mean, and sordid wood, and there are few people with any power of discernment who have not lamented with him this capability of the fresh new suburbanite to produce a horrible anticlimax architecturally. There spring up first little detached villas, then double houses, then tenements, then whole rows of wooden buildings, including stores and offices. The city has now reached out to the village and the village has grown into the suburban town, almost like the city in density of population, having more people sleeping in it than the business portion of the town, and yet

with every inducement to fire, everything to feed it when started and to work destruction to the village and danger to its city neighbors.

This evident and important danger leads Mr. Sturgis into a comparison of the cost and usefulness of brick, stone, and wooden dwellings. One hundred superficial feet of twelve-inch brick wall is worth about thirty-five dollars; a hundred feet of stud outside wall is worth about fifteen dollars. There is a difference of twenty dollars, and one can easily calculate from that the average in cost of a wooden and a brick suburban house and see why it is that the flimsy ones go up. But there are some other factors to be considered in the matter, for when the brick house is built the owner has a substantial and permanent home, instead of a perishable one, one which constantly improves with age and needs but little labor, instead of one which must be constantly kept up with paint to make it look presentable and preserve it from decay. Then there is a saving in insurance, as all companies make a higher rate for the wooden structure than the brick. There is another point to be considered, too—that if people could be educated to the point of using brick material there would be so much more demand for a cheaper brick that the manufacturers would be enabled to increase their output and would be induced to accept a smaller margin of profit on larger sales or improve their method of production. This has been the case in Holland, where common brick, better than ours and larger, cost about five dollars a thousand, as against seven and nine dollars here.

SPORT'S PLACE IN THE NATION'S WELL-BEING.

IN *Outing* for July Mr. Price Collier estimates that the people of Great Britain have invested permanently more than \$233,000,000 in the promotion of various forms of out-of-door sports, while they annually spend nearly \$224,000,000 in these pursuits. The moral that Mr. Collier draws from these statistics is this:

"The nation which governs almost one-fourth of the earth's population, and upon the whole governs well, spends over \$200,000,000 annually upon sport and has invested in the same way an even greater sum. Perhaps there is no higher test of a man's all-round abilities than his power to govern wisely; at any rate, it is a truth to be borne in mind, in this connection, that the governing races to-day are races of sportsmen. The peoples who play games are inheriting the earth, perhaps because it makes them meek. As a matter of fact, we think it does just that, among other things. The French do not play games, and Mr. Benjamin Kidd has shown how the

population of France is steadily decreasing, the deaths having outnumbered the births there for several years past. The Spaniards do not play games, and travelers in and students of Spain and the Spanish agree that their two most salient characteristics are overweening personal pride and cruelty. The Chinese despise unnecessary physical exercise and can scarcely be driven to fight, even for their country, and their lack of decision and their pulpy condition of dependence are now all too manifest."

THE BANE OF PROFESSIONALISM.

Mr. Collier believes that the schooling of football, golf, and hunting offers the best preparatory tests of the virtues of patience, self-control, and courage, but he draws a sharp distinction between the game played for training or for diversion and the game played for a salary and as a business:

"That is no longer sport, but business, and there is nothing more degrading than to give all one's attention, and one's most serious attention, to the lighter side of life. Society is good, sport is good, novel-reading is good, as a diversion or as an avocation; but any one of them taken up as a business, as a vocation, as the sole aim in life, makes but a sad return to its devotee. Sport as a profession, we quite agree, breeds more bullies, more tricksters, more boasters, than anything else that we can name. Sport, too, even in the hands of amateur sportsmen, may produce these same vulgar qualities. As soon as any man forgets that sport has two excuses, and two only, for being—namely, training and diversion—and uses it to make money or to make a name, uses it for anything, in short, except to train his muscles, his temper, his sense of fair play, except to make him more generous to opponents or to divert his thoughts from weightier matters and engrossing cares, to make him more fit, in short, for more serious duties and higher tasks, then he becomes a professional; and just in so far as he becomes a professional he acquires the vices that almost invariably characterize the jockey and the prize-fighter."

WHAT TRUE SPORT DOES FOR A PEOPLE.

Considered merely as a diversion, Mr. Collier regards England's sport as cheap at the price she pays for it:

"Mr. Balfour's golf, Lord Salisbury's chemical laboratory, Lord Rosebery's racing-stable, Mr. Chamberlain's orchids, are diversions, pastimes, which have been worth a good many millions to Great Britain, while her cricket and polo-playing, her hunting and shooting men, have won territory

and governed it afterward for her, the value of which can hardly be computed in dollars and cents."

"The rules of amateur sport, written and understood, are really, though in different phraseology, the rules for the making of the highest type of manhood. Certainly it is not book-learning, ability to pass examinations, or any racial brilliancy of intellect which have made the British successful colonizers, while the French have failed signally. The ability to give and take, the personal independence of a man often obliged to take care of himself away from the artificial resources of civilization, a certain gentleness which belongs to the strong and confidence which grows rapidly with success—these qualities make the colonizer and the effective ruler, and these qualities are bred in great masses of men only by the drilling of the army, or the large boys' schools, or well-conducted sport. The Frenchman, the Italian, or even the Spaniard is a far quicker man mentally than the Englishman, but they are all far inferior to the American or the Englishman in the fundamental virtues that make a first-rate man. Steadiness, truthfulness, loyalty, resourcefulness, endurance, and gentleness—these win as over against any other qualities. And they win logically, because even weaker races see that such virtues are the more lasting. As a result, in India the natives will lend their hoarded wealth to their English rulers, while they hide it from their native rulers; and the Anglo-Saxon's word has come to be more valuable in the markets of the world than other men's bonds, and all because there is a man behind it."

THE NATIONAL ARBITRATION LAW.

IN the *International Journal of Ethics* Mr. F. J. Stimson reviews the provisions of the law recently enacted by Congress setting in operation a system of arbitration in disputes between railroad companies and their employees.

Mr. Stimson's criticism of this law, which he regards as perhaps the most important legislation on the labor question yet had in the United States, is chiefly concerned with the point that by its provisions the labor unions, though unincorporated, are recognized and intrusted with the control of the case in arbitration on the part of the laborers. This, in Mr. Stimson's opinion, puts great power in the hands of the unions and practically compels non-union employees, unless absolutely in a majority, to join the union. On this point Mr. Stimson says:

"There is a good deal in this objection. In fact, if the act itself were entitled 'a bill for the

encouragement of labor organizations and to force all railroad employees to become members thereof,' it would not be a misnomer. Moreover, these labor organizations are not necessarily chartered even by a State incorporation, still less by an incorporation under the United States trade-union statute. The law might perhaps have made it necessary, in order to take a hand in such an arbitration, for the labor organization to take out a charter under the Federal law; but it has not done so. The only protection the individual workman has under this bill is that if he is actually in the majority, he may take the arbitration out of the hands of the labor organization and conduct it directly by representatives of a majority of the employees; but we all know how difficult is individual action in such cases against any organization, however small and however unpopular.

SHOULD LABOR UNIONS BE "RECOGNIZED"?

"It has been a principal desire of students of the labor problem to get trades unions to organize themselves in a responsible way so that they may make abiding settlements of labor disputes; but, in this country at least, they have hitherto preferred the freedom from responsibility and liability for their own contracts that an unchartered organization gives them. Then, again, why should Congress recognize a body having no legal existence which has refused to come under its own laws? We cannot but think that the act is fairly open to criticism on this point. Certainly the effect of it would be to force all railroad men to come into a labor association, however unsatisfactory its methods and motives, and that without taking out a charter in the proper and legal way. Our laws have probably been unwise on the whole in recognizing by their machinery political parties, and the recognition of any body of persons styling themselves a labor organization may be attended with more unfair consequences still. Then, again, if this 'tribunal created independent of the consent and will of the parties' is really a court, individuals should have their rights in it; and if not a court, what is it and by what right does it issue substantially court process?"

In conclusion, Mr. Stimson shows that this

statute, like others of its kind, will require the active sympathy and agreement of both sides to accomplish its ends. "The very word 'arbitration' imports a mutual consent to the submission, and that consent should go not only to the initial submission to arbitration, but must accompany the proceeding through all its phases with willingness to give full testimony and information to the arbitrators in making the award, and with an honest and permanent intention to abide by the same when rendered. If taken in a litigant spirit, the whole matter becomes an ordinary legal controversy, and might well be conducted by an ordinary court, which method would indeed have removed many of the constitutional objections. The future of the law, therefore, depends entirely on the spirit in which it is taken. The previous statute, which this supersedes, the act of October 1, 1888, does not seem to have been a success in the working—at least we can find no evidence that such has been the case. It is true that this act merely provided for the filing of the award with the Commissioner of Labor, and made no effort to affect the powers of equity courts even indirectly, nor to control the action of the parties to the arbitration either pending the award or after it.

ARBITRATION MUST BE VOLUNTARY.

"The last word of the whole subject must be that arbitrations are in their nature voluntary, and derive their full powers from the consent of the parties submitting, and that the only constitutional machinery for enforcing a judgment or decree must still be that of a court, into which either or both parties may be dragged against their will. Whenever a trade dispute does not embody a legal injury, there is nothing cognizable by a court, and the only remedy must come from the reason of the parties themselves after a full discussion reënforced by the public sentiment which a public discussion necessarily creates. It is to the fairness of the parties to railroad disputes and the interest of the public in the fair treatment of a large class of its members that we must look for a successful operation of this law. The statute will succeed with its friends and fail among its enemies."



THE PERIODICALS REVIEWED.

THE CENTURY.

THE *Century* for August contains a timely discussion by Surgeon-General George M. Sternberg of "The Sanitary Regeneration of Havana." Surgeon-General Sternberg says that there is but little in the idea that the prevalence of yellow fever in Havana depends upon the foulness of the water of its land-locked harbor, and that a canal from the bottom of the *cul-de-sac* to the sea would remedy the evil. What the city really needs is a complete and satisfactory system of sewers, pavements for the unpaved streets, and reconstruction of the unsanitary dwellings, in accordance with modern sanitary regulations. General Sternberg calls to mind that less than a hundred years ago New York and Philadelphia suffered periodically from yellow-fever visitations, three thousand six hundred and forty people being destroyed in Philadelphia in 1798. He says that with modern sanitary conditions prevailing in its dwellings, sewers, and pavements, Havana would enjoy an immunity as great as Philadelphia and New York do now. Havana already has a better water-supply than Philadelphia, and its typhoid-fever rate is extremely low.

The *Century* has some stirring personal accounts of "The Battle of Manila Bay," being narratives of Col. George A. Loud, who witnessed the battle from the revenue cutter *McCulloch* and kept a diary in the midst of the battle, of Dr. P. Kindleberger, junior surgeon of the flagship *Olympia*, who witnessed the battle from the sick-bay in Admiral Dewey's vessel, and of Gunner J. C. Evans, of the *Boston*, who tells of the scenes below during the battle and the exploits of his crew in handing up shot and shell. There are no new points of importance brought out in these descriptions of the battle, but it gives a new thrill to hear the fight retold by men who took part in it.

Further chapters in the series on "Confederate Commerce Destroyers" contain "The Confederacy's Only Foreign War," by James Morris Morgan, formerly midshipman on the Confederate cruiser *Georgia*, and "The Last of the Confederate Cruisers," by John T. Mason, formerly midshipman of the *Shenandoah*. In "Cuba as Seen from the Inside," Osgood Welsh, an American sugar-grower, bears abundant testimony to the fertility of the island. With little more than an apology for cultivation, he says, the earth yields abundantly for the needs of man. Cattle and horses thrive, and it is a poor peasant indeed who has not one or more of the strong and easily kept ponies of the island.

Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Frank A. Vanderlip gives some "Facts About the Philippines," and Wallace Cumming writes on "Life in Manila," while Frederick A. Ober, late commissioner in Porto Rico of the Columbian Exposition, gives some interesting and timely information in his article on "The Island of Porto Rico." It is an excellent number of the *Century*.

HARPER'S MAGAZINE.

THE elaborately illustrated topical articles of the August *Harper's* are "The Convict System in Siberia," by Stephen Bonsal, and "If the Queen Had Abdicated," an unsigned article. The reasons given

by the anonymous author are interesting and somewhat unexpected to an American layman. For instance, this writer, who is evidently well informed, says that when the time comes for the Prince of Wales to succeed the Queen, the ministry in office at the time will be obliged to take up the question of lifting the burden of obligations met and discharged by the Prince of Wales "in the course of his difficult, prolonged, and patriotic services to his country. To raise this thorny Parliamentary question during the lifetime of the Queen is practically out of the question, and no cabinet would be likely to anticipate for itself the complex difficulties inseparable from a resettlement of the civil list and the question of crown lands." Another obstacle in the way of abdication is the fact that the Queen is Empress of India, reigning sovereign over more Moslems than the Grand Turk and of more Africans and Asiatics than any other civilized monarch. "Abdication would be misunderstood by most, misrepresented by some, and resented by all of them." This writer says that the Prince himself may be fairly described as possessing "a powerful intellect, developed by contact for a generation with the best authorities on all subjects, not only above the average of professional men, but even ludicrously above the standard of mental ability with which his royal highness is sometimes credited."

In this number George W. Smalley begins a series of articles on Mr. Gladstone, being, as he promises, composed of "reminiscences, anecdotes, and an estimate." One of the anecdotes which begins Mr. Smalley's matter is an opinion he heard Mr. Gladstone deliver of Renan. "His 'Vie de Jésus' is a dull book," said Mr. Gladstone. Mr. Smalley remarks that Mr. Gladstone, when he added that he could not read the book, was probably afraid to finish it, and says that the Grand Old Man added: "I don't mean to say that Renan is always dull or that he has not great merits. His works on the Semitic philology have a high value."

In Mr. Bonsal's account of "The Convict System or Siberia" he describes himself as having left his investigations with a strong, sanguine belief that there will be radical ameliorations of the terrible conditions under which the criminals are confined, and that every organ of high public opinion, every commercial body, and every official of rank in Russia is taking active part in bringing about such a change.

Mr. Stephen Crane, in fixing the scene of his story, "The Monster," in a little Western New York town, and the subject in a village tragedy, loses none of his originality and artistic truth. The story is a remarkable one and a most readable one. It seems to hint that the very turbulent entry of this young man into the ranks of famous fictionists will not be so short-lived after all.

SCRIBNER'S MAGAZINE.

THE August *Scribner's* offers to the enthusiasm for war news certain sketches by Richard Harding Davis of what that clever reporter calls "The Rocking-Chair Period of the War," and an excellently done article by John R. Spears on "The Chase of Cervera," which brings that dramatic incident, however, only to

the point where the *Merrimac* was sunk by Hobson. Mr. Spears says: "Hobson is a handsome, modest fellow, one whom his acquaintances were proud to know before his name was on the lips of the world." The hope of the nation lies in the fact that every class graduating at Annapolis has a plenty of Hobeons and Powells, who need only the chance that these men made and had to prove their worth.

The æsthetic feature of this number of *Scribner's* is Mr. E. S. Martin's poem, "The Sea Is His," which is illustrated with a half dozen full-page drawings reproduced by the lithographic process by Mr. Henry McCarter. Mr. Martin's poem has many lines so felicitous as to distinguish it easily from the conventional specimens of what is known as "magazine poetry," and a sturdiness which confirms the suspicion that this active magazinist is bound for more enduring work than the cleverly turned news notes and lightly philosophic essays with which his name has generally been associated.

The editor of the department called "The Field of Art" prints a most interesting letter from John La Farge, written in answer to the appeal of a member of a certain board of education in a Western State as to how the greatest pictures shall be known. Mr. La Farge patiently and wisely explains how impossible it is to make an empirical judgment in the specific questions his correspondent broaches as to the merits of twelve famous paintings, and goes on to an interesting series of comments on the task of learning to know great art. "Even the guide-book," he says, "remarks that the 'Last Supper' of Leonardo 'is never successfully copied;' notwithstanding that large portions of the surface are not his and that which is his is indistinct. It must be, then, that what we see in such a work is the ideal of the picture—that is, truly, something that we largely make ourselves and which this particular artist has the power to evoke. It is somewhat made up of what we know, perhaps, outside of the thing we are looking at, and is, to a great extent, increased or strengthened by belief—by the putting aside of the smaller critical faculties."

McCLURE'S MAGAZINE.

"**M**'CLURE'S MAGAZINE" for August begins with a story of boys by Rudyard Kipling—as full of delicious boy barbarity as any story that was ever written.

A poem by Mr. Gladstone, of ten stanzas, is printed, a hymn entitled "Holy Communion." The verses were never published before, with the exception of two stanzas that appeared in the London *Times*. Mr. Gladstone as a hymn-writer is interesting enough as a spectacle, and yet even through the reverence that we feel for the devotional inspiration of the great man, there is a consciousness that very much better hymns have been written.

Another boy story is from the pen of the "Boyville" novelist, William Allen White, and it is pleasant to compare Mr. Kipling and Mr. White in their attempts to portray boy nature. They are both good to read.

General Miles' series of articles on "Military Europe" is occupied this month with "Observations and Experiences at the Autumn Manœuvres in Russia, Germany, and France." General Miles, in describing the vast military resources of Russia—it is probable that Russia could in case of war mobilize with tolerable ease in the

first line of battle an army of at least 1,355,000, with a reserve of about 1,100,000—says that he considers the Russian army capable of greater endurance in the field than any other in Europe. "The infantry and artillery are composed of strong, hearty men, and the cavalry are unexcelled." He deems the Cossacks the best cavalry in the world, and thinks their horses are, too, the best horses in the world. Part of this state of affairs is due to the fact that the Russian people take better care of their horses than other nations. "They are strong, well fed, and full of spirit, and not mutilated in the cruel manner in which we find them in too many other countries of Europe and in our own country. In Russia it is considered bad form for a driver to carry a whip, and I never saw during my stay there a horse that appeared to be ill treated or ill fed."

The war contribution to the August *McClure's* is Lieutenant-Colonel Rowan's account of his ride across Cuba on his secret mission to the Cuban leaders. From the time that Lieutenant Rowan left Jamaica, on April 23, until he arrived in Key West, on May 11, he was exposed to all the dangers which a state of war brings to the dispatch-bearer who ventured into the enemy's territory. Sleeping on stone ballast in the bottom of an open boat, climbing on foot through thickets, riding fifty miles or more a day over abandoned roads or through unbroken forests, stopping only when preparation for continuing the trip required it, exposed to wind and sun and waves for two days in a boat so small that the occupants were forced to sit upright in it, forced on land and sea to keep continually on the alert for a watchful enemy—these are experiences which Lieutenant Rowan dismisses as mere incidents.

There is a further chapter of Charles A. Dana's "Reminiscences" and several readable stories. We have quoted in another department from parts of General Miles' article on "Military Europe."

THE COSMOPOLITAN.

THE *Cosmopolitan* for August contains articles by the editor, Mr. John Brisben Walker, and by Maj. George M. Wheeler, on the "Necessity for a General Staff" at Washington, and we have quoted from them in another department.

The magazine opens with an account by Secretary of the Treasury Lyman J. Gage, of "The United States Treasury Department," which is occupied in detailing the functions of that huge organization. Many of these functions are of a most unexpected character, for aside from the charge which the Department has of the finances of the nation, it has come to be a department of commerce as well. In this character it has charge of the merchant marine, and its revenue cutters examined last year more than 18,000 vessels. It rendered assistance to 82 in distress, with 623 persons on board, and is now engaged in a daring attempt to rescue the ice-bound whalers in the Arctic Ocean near Point Barrow. The Coast and Geodetic Survey is also under the Treasury Department, and attached to it is the office of standard weights and measures, which tests and standardizes the weights and measures now in daily use. Secretary Gage tells us of a great undertaking which the Coast and Geodetic Survey is finishing, after working since 1871. It is to determine the size and figure of the earth, and particularly of the North American continent and our own country. The light-house and life-saving services are also under Secretary Gage,

together with the hospitals and relief stations for the care of sick and disabled seamen from the merchant marine of the United States. In fact, over 50,000 seamen are now treated annually in these hospitals. An entirely different function is that exercised over the erection of public buildings. In the Treasury Department altogether there are some 25,000 employees, or an army equal to the regular army of the United States.

M. Katherine Locke has a readable travel sketch entitled "To the Summit of Mount Hood," with some first-class photographic views of scenes in the journey to the top of this mighty mountain.

Charles F. Dewey contributes a sketch of the Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria and Clarence Pullen "A Romance of the Klondike."

Mark Twain, too, appears in this number in a characteristic skit entitled "At the Appetite Cure." The irrepressible Mark describes in this his adventures at the Hochberghaus. "It is in Bohemia, a short day's journey from Vienna, and being in the Austrian empire is, of course, a health resort. The empire is made up of health resorts; it distributes health to the whole world. Its waters are medicinal. They are bottled and sent throughout the earth; the natives themselves drink beer." The theory of this institution, the Hochberghaus, was that all indigestion and all lack of appetite was due to too much eating, and by an insidious course of starvation it cures, according to Mr. Clemens, the most refractory cases on record. And he apparently agrees with the system of the proprietor, which is based on the idea that whoever you be you may cure yourself if you won't listen to the family and will simply starve for a greater or less length of time. "When you have any ordinary ailment, particularly of a feverish sort, eat nothing at all during twenty-four hours. That will cure it. It will cure the stubbornest cold in the head, too. No cold in the head can survive twenty-four hours' unmodified starvation."

The *Cosmopolitan* takes this very seriously, evidently, for it follows Mark Twain's sketch with a scientific analysis of the phenomenon of hunger, by V. J. Youmans, M.D.

The editor of the *Cosmopolitan* writes to give his grounds for believing that the "Autobiography of Napoleon Bonaparte" which is being printed in the magazine is authentic, and after summing up the evidence gives his own opinion most strongly in favor of authenticity.

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY.

THE August *Atlantic Monthly* contains an essay by Sidney Lanier, printed under the title "The Proper Basis of English Culture," which we have quoted from in another department.

Prof. Benjamin Ide Wheeler, writing under the title "The Old World and the New," comes naturally to the present situation of our United States and its "imperialistic" possibilities. "Many of us," he says, "deplore the Spanish war; many of us now look forward with anxious solicitude concerning the effect of victory on the victor; but still, as we survey the movements of human history in the large we cannot fail to see in all that is occurring the inevitable grist of the mills of the gods and the irrefragable judgments of the *Weltgericht*. Spain and the Middle Ages could not tarry in the West. We, on the other hand, could not shut ourselves within the walled gardens of our pleas-

ant domesticity and shun responsibilities that the commerce and intercourse of the larger world exact of those who stand for order and equal justice in the affairs of men."

President Seth Low, writing somewhat philosophically on "The Trend of the Century," sums up his essay as follows:

"The trend of the century has been to a great increase in knowledge, which has been found to be, as of old, the knowledge of good and evil; that this knowledge has become more and more the property of all men rather than of a few; that, as a result, the very increase of opportunity has led to the magnifying of the problems with which humanity is obliged to deal; and that we find ourselves, at the end of the century, face to face with problems of world-wide importance and utmost difficulty, and with no new means of coping with them other than the patient education of the masses of men."

President Charles Kendall Adams writes on "Some Neglected Aspects of the Revolutionary War," and Irving Babbitt attempts to do justice to the "Lights and Shades of Spanish Character."

Prof. Simon Newcomb contributes "Reminiscences of an Astronomer," and very interesting reminiscences they are, especially those which deal with the English astronomer, Professor Airy, the head of the Royal Observatory at Greenwich.

Mr. Miles was a felicitous selection on the part of the *Atlantic's* editor to write the sketch of Edward Bellamy, even though the novelist will seem to some readers to transgress in that lovable way of his with over-enthusiasm and an excess of charity. Mr. Howells says with his accustomed courage that Bellamy knew how to move the heart of the American nation more than any other American author who has lived.

"The theory of those who think differently is that he simply moved the popular fancy; and this may suffice to explain the state of some people, but it will not account for the love and the honor in which his name is passionately held by the vast average, east and west. His fame is safe with them, and his fate is an animating force concerning whose effect at this time or some other time it would not be wise to prophesy. Whether his ethics will keep his æsthetics in remembrance I do not know; but I am sure that one cannot acquaint one's self with his merely artistic work, and not be sensible that in Edward Bellamy we were rich in a romantic imagination surpassed only by that of Hawthorne."

THE CHAUTAUQUAN.

THE *Chautauquan* for August opens up with a description of "The Vitals of a Battleship," by a well-known Washington correspondent, Richard Lee Fearn. Mr. Fearn thinks that of the four battleships now in commission in the United States navy—five more are under construction and Congress has recently authorized three in addition—the *Iowa* is to be considered the finest vessel belonging to us, and not only that, but is unsurpassed by any of the fighting ships of the world. The so-called battleship consists essentially of two distinct vessels. One is heavily armored and is built within the other, which is unarmored. The armored portion is practically a complete double-turreted monitor, similar in size and power to the ships of the *Puritan* and *Monterey* type. The unarmored sections extend forward and aft for the purpose of supplying

additional seaworthiness, freeboard, and coal capacity, and include the superstructure, providing accommodations for the large crew and furnishing increased elevation and protection for the numerous rapid-fire rifles and the auxiliary and secondary batteries. The essential principle of the construction of the unarmored portion is that it shall be minutely sub-divided into watertight compartments, especially near and below the water-line. Between these compartments communication may be instantly cut off by water-tight doors, having the office of rendering each section of the ship independent of the others. Another device for minimizing the dangers of leakages in action is the result of American ingenuity, and is prepared of corn-pith product specially manufactured for the purpose, which, packed in cells, has the quality of immediately swelling upon contact with the water. Mr. Fearn tells us that this corn-pith armor has immediately closed up a hole made by an eight-inch projectile, so that not a drop of water penetrated the interior of the ship. In addition to these cell compartments, and within them, the whole vessel is a veritable labyrinth of larger apartments. The *Iowa*, for instance, is cut up into a hundred and forty different rooms, each of which can be instantaneously isolated from all the others and all of which are connected with powerful pumps, ever ready to neutralize the consequences of injury. The result of the vast elaboration of which these are suggestions, in the building of a modern battleship, is that the *Iowa*, for instance, cost over six millions of dollars, of which three millions was for her hull and machinery, one million for her armor, one million for guns, and a million more for equipment. Besides, she carries at least a million dollars' worth of ammunition and other stores, so that as she rides in the water the United States has concentrated in her at least seven millions of dollars, not counting the pensions it will have to pay if anything goes wrong with her sailors.

Dr. William Eliot Griffis, the well-known writer on Japanese subjects, discusses "The Spaniard in the Far East," and has nothing to say to relieve the guilt which all writers have portrayed in their accounts of Spanish colonization in the Philippines and Carolines. Dr. Griffis argues further than this local phenomenon, and states his belief that the Spanish idea of colonization as revealed in all of their efforts brings forth the Latin type of civilization in its extreme and most degenerate form and in the very opposite of the Germanic and Anglo-Saxon ideal. This historic truth is evident to the most casual visitor to Manila. The newcomer has his pockets searched and his trunk tumbled over for Mexican dollars of a certain date, and pamphlets criticising the priests are prohibited. Everything seems to be under the control of the clericals. The archbishop is practically the supreme ruler, for nothing is done without his consent. From him down through bishops, priests, monks, nuns, and native catechists runs a vast and intricate network stretching over humanity from the cradle to the grave and holding within it everything that belongs to the political, commercial, and social life of both native and foreigner. The political spoils system, too, is in league with the prevalent venal clericalism in the Philippines, and the consequence is that nowhere else on earth has its horrors and wickedness been so marked.

The Rev. Anna Howard Shaw tells about "Women in the Ministry," and has quite the courage of her con-

victions in arguing for the capabilities of her sex to serve as ministers of the Gospel. Perhaps the most significant thing in her sketch is the fact that she includes Emma Booth-Tucker, consul of the Salvation Army, among the notable personages in the feminine priesthood. Ten years ago it would have been strange indeed for a consul of the Salvation Army to be thus arrayed with the elect.

There are a half dozen more short articles on readable or useful subjects, many of them illustrated, in this number of the *Chautauquan*, which is an unusually good one: "Bird Songs of Early Summer," by F. S. Matthews; "Farm Life in Virginia," by David H. Wheeler; "The True Business Education," by Harvey L. Biddle; "Liquefied Air," by Prof. George F. Barker; "Overhead Tramways," by H. W. Lanier; and F. Leroy Armstrong's account of "The Daily Papers of Chicago."

NEW ENGLAND MAGAZINE.

IN the *New England Magazine* is an article by R. Clipston Sturgis on "The Evils of Our Wooden Suburbs," which we have quoted from in another department.

This August number of the magazine is chiefly occupied, after the opening paper on the American Association for the Advancement of Science, which has many illustrations, with pleasant travel sketches and stories. Mr. John Ritchie, Jr., gives this account of the American Association, telling the story of its inception in 1840, when a meeting of geologists was held in Philadelphia. Mr. Ritchie regards the work of the association as of the vastest importance, since though America was by no means without scientific men before it, yet they worked independently or in little groups clustered about the few centers of learning, and lost a great deal through the scattering of their elements of strength. For some twenty-five years from four hundred to a thousand scientists, the best that America has to send, have gathered at each meeting of the association.

Henry C. Shelley contributes a prettily illustrated description of "The Birthplace of Gray's Elegy," Stoke Poges Churchyard, near Windsor Castle, by William H. Stone, the pictures being made from photographs along the old roads and the line of abandoned farms. Still another travel sketch describes "The Middlesex Fells," and Isabel C. Barrows gives her experiences in "Summer Camping in the Woodland," and advocates strongly this form of holiday life for both boys and girls.

MUNSEY'S MAGAZINE.

THE August *Munsey's Magazine* begins with a great number of very handsome portraits of "The Leaders of the Army," rather the best and most cleanly printed collection we have seen.

John Alden Adams writes on "The Wealth of the Philippines," rehearsing what has been already said as to the desperate state of those islands under the clergy and tax-collector, and pointing out the very rich opportunities that will be offered to fortune-seekers when the great tropical island group shall be opened as a new field for American enterprise. Mr. Adams thinks there are possible fortunes in Manila tobacco, the excellence of which "has not hitherto been fully realized by the world at large." He says that the cheroot which we have associated with Manila is made from the cheaper

grades of the leaf and is manufactured chiefly for the sailors of foreign ships, and that the better qualities of the Philippine tobacco are exceedingly fine. The cigars and cigarettes are, too, phenomenally cheap, ordinary cigars costing from thirty cents to one dollar and thirty cents a hundred. He has other chapters on "possible fortunes" in coffee, rice, indigo, coconuts, lumber, and mining, but is rather vague in his directions as to how these fortunes are to be realized.

Richard H. Titherington contributes an illustrated article on "The Rise and Fall of Spain," a subject rather large for the compass of three or four thousand words, and there are some good pictures in the chapter entitled "War Time Snap Shots."

THE LADIES' HOME JOURNAL.

THE *Ladies' Home Journal* respects the sensations of the dog-days and omits any articles of serious import from its current number. There are pleasant stories by Julia Magruder, Abbe Carter Goodloe, John Kendrick Bangs, and others, and a charming tale, in verse, of the witchcraft days of Massachusetts, by Virginia Woodward Cloud, entitled "The Girl of Salem," cleverly illustrated by Alice Barber Stevens.

On the editorial page there is a discussion of the oft-mooted question, "Shall Our Girls Go to College?" and the editor gives his common-sense decision as follows:

"All things being equal, a college training is unquestionably a source of inestimable value to a girl as it is to a man, and she is the better equipped for her duties of wife and mother because of it. Knowledge is always valuable. Yet it does not by any means follow that a girl unable to go through college is at a disadvantage with her girl friend who did. Where it is feasible and possible it is an excellent part of a girl's equipment, and its advantages will come back to her a thousandfold in her future years. But in the majority of cases the college training is not feasible nor possible. It is a very grave question, indeed, whether our girls, taking them as a whole and in the vast majority, are ready as yet to go to college. If going to college simply means to a girl's mind the fun to be had, it is infinitely better that she should remain at home. Such a girl will gain nothing from a collegiate experience. If a girl is inclined to be selfish and hungers simply for a brilliant career, it is wisest that the softening influence of a home remain her portion. If she is physically not strong—and this is a point too often overlooked in sending girls to college—the watchful home care is a thousand times better for her than the best care she can procure at any school or college. If the making of desirable social acquaintances is a girl's one aim in going to college, it is better that she should remain at home. If, from the mother's standpoint, a college term simply means to her daughter a better knowledge of discipline and punctuality, then, too, it is a grave question whether the college is the right place. It is by no means creditable to American family life that in so many instances the college is used to impress the discipline which should be for the mother to teach. Our girls' colleges are not to be regarded as schools of behavior, and their principals justly resent this very general classification of them. The laws which regulate behavior belong to the home."

THE ARENA.

THE August number of the *Arena* opens with a paper by the editor, Dr. John Clark Ridpath, entitled "The United States and the Concert of Europe," which is quite at variance in some of its conclusions from Mr. Flower's article in the same magazine on the proposed Anglo-American alliance, from which we quote elsewhere. Dr. Ridpath vigorously opposes such an alliance because it would involve us in the "concert of Europe," so called, and because Great Britain is a gold-standard country and will insist that our debts to her citizens be paid in gold.

There are two elaborate legal discussions in this number—one by Dr. F. E. Daniel, on "The Criminal Responsibility of the Insane," the other by James W. Stillman, on "The Misuse of Injunctions."

One of the features of the August number is a symposium on "The Churches and Social Questions," in which the subject of "Manhood in the Pulpit" is treated by the Rev. G. W. Buckley, "The Religious Press and Social Reforms" by Robert E. Bisbee, and "The Church and the Masses" by T. S. Lonergan.

A Japanese student in this country, Chujiro Kochi, writes on Japanese home life as contrasted with American, claiming for the Japanese wife a superior devotion to her husband.

Dr. Lincoln Cothran advocates the establishment by the Government of a universal sanitarium for consumptives. For this purpose he recommends the purchase of a tract of land in southern California or Arizona, where the air is dry and the barometric pressure uniform. Out-of-door life should be encouraged.

"The American Girl: Her Faults and Her Virtues" is the subject of a paper by Mr. William Rhodes Campbell; Mr. B. O. Flower contributes an essay on Socrates; and Amelia C. Briggs relates "A Tramp's Experience." The editor discusses the question, "Is the Prophet Dead?"

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

IN another department we have quoted from Mr. Rufus F. Zogbaum's thrilling paper on "The Regulars in the Civil War," which appears in the July *North American*, and also from Mr. Penfield's article on "International Piracy" in the same number.

The opening article of the number is an account of "What Britain Has Done for Egypt," by Mr. Ralph Richardson. This writer makes the broad claim, which we presume will hardly be challenged, that England's administration in Egypt has been wise, honest, energetic, and popular with the natives themselves.

Mr. John W. Russell describes in detail the new federal constitution of Australia, known as the Commonwealth bill, the chief features of which were modeled after provisions in the Constitutions of the United States and the Dominion of Canada.

In concluding an article on "The Resources and Industries of Spain," Mr. Edward D. Jones aptly summarizes the present needs of the Spanish people in these words:

"Spain needs schools and progressive agricultural and commercial newspapers. She needs to look at home to the condition of her fields and roads and canals, rather than to waste herself in foreign dominion. She needs to learn that a new order of knighthood has arisen depending upon industry and honesty, and that

this has supplanted the stilted parade of ancient lineages and the touchy pomposity of petty office."

Writing on "Seward's Ideas of Territorial Expansion," Mr. Frederic Bancroft goes over some of the ground covered in the May number of this REVIEW by the article on "Two Great American Treaties." He says in conclusion:

"Of all the truly great and patriotic statesmen of our history, Seward is the last to be taken as an infallible guide. He had a great passion to be brilliant, original, and dashing; ordinary ideas had no charm for him. Some of his expressions in relation to expansion, if understood otherwise than as political philosophizing about a distant future, may be tinder in a time like the present. Other ideas of this are sober and may be very useful when we have to consider some new factors in the old question of national expansion."

The *North American* enjoys the unique distinction among American periodicals of publishing articles of Spanish origin during the present war. In the July number Emilio Castelar begins a study of Prince Bismarck, whom he chooses to regard first of all as a revolutionist.

The first of a series of papers on the United States Senate by ex-Senator Peffer appears in this number; there is also an article on the English prison system by Major Griffiths, and Mr. F. B. Thurber writes on the water-supply of Greater New York.

THE FORUM.

THE July *Forum* opens with an article on Gladstone by Justin McCarthy, who can do little more than reiterate what the English reviews have said in a hundred different ways in their June and July issues—that the Grand Old Man was the greatest Englishman of his time, if not of his century. Mr. McCarthy had already emphasized this truth in his books.

Mr. F. F. Hilder describes the Philippine Islands and their products. Mr. Hilder is very sanguine as to the "manifest destiny" of the islands:

"The world contains no fairer nor more fertile lands, no more promising field for commercial enterprise, and no people more worthy to be elevated to a higher place in the scale of nations and to be assisted by education and good government to obtain it. This is no imaginative statement, but the result of personal observation of the country and of intercourse with its people. If the Government of the United States accepts this mission and fulfills its obligations in accordance with the principles of liberty and the rights of man embodied in our Declaration of Independence, it will render good service both to humanity and progress as well as to our own citizens, who will reap a rich commercial harvest."

In discussing "The Ethics of Modern Warfare" the Hon. Samuel J. Barrows illustrates the opposing tendencies toward destructiveness and humanity in war by the story of the patent taken out by the Englishman, James Puckle, in 1718, on a gun with two different breech-plates, one for square bullets, to be used against the Turks, and the other for round bullets, to be used against Christians, on the principle that while round bullets were too good for a Turk, square ones were too bad for a Christian. Mr. Barrows contends, however, that the sphere of ethics has been greatly extended in the arts of war in modern times, and he proves this by citations from the recognized rules of war with refer-

ence to the means permitted and their relation to human life.

Mr. L. O. Howard, chief entomologist of the Department of Agriculture at Washington, writes on the part played by that troublesome insect, the San José scale, in the disturbance of relations between the United States and Germany. It seems that Germany had for years kept a scientific man of ability and standing attached to her Washington embassy for the sole purpose of studying everything bearing on American agriculture. This gentleman was as well posted in regard to the spread in this country of the San José scale as were our own officials. Through his efforts Germany was able to issue the decree against American fruits and plants at what seemed, from the German point of view, the proper moment.

The Hon. L. F. McKinney advocates as a remedy for the existing depression in our cotton industry the extension of the market for American goods, especially in the countries of South America, where little effort has been made by American manufacturers to cater to the demands of the trade.

Miss Adelaide R. Hasse directs attention to the shameless manner in which our Government has gone on from year to year neglecting the preservation of its national records and employing wasteful and chaotic methods of publication.

His excellency Albert von Schöffle, formerly Austrian minister of commerce, contributes the first of a series of articles on "Austria-Hungary Under the Reign of Francis Joseph;" Mr. C. Wood Davis combats Commissioner Wright's proposition that labor-saving machinery tends to "make labor;" Chief Pokagon, of the Pottawattamie Indians, writes on "Indian Superstitions and Legends;" and Dr. Ernst von Wildenbruch contributes a second paper on "The Evolution of the German Drama." We have quoted in another place from Senator White's article on the consular service and from Mr. Townsend's defense of the people of Hawaii.

THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW.

THE articles bearing on current topics are noticed elsewhere. This number of the *Contemporary* is well up to date.

FRANCE AS SHE IS AND WILL BE.

Madame Darmesteter reviews Mr. Bodley's book on France. As an observer of things as they are she thinks very highly of Mr. Bodley, but she has no great respect for his predictions as to the course things are likely to take. She says:

"If the course of history should falsify every one of Mr. Bodley's predictions (and this we are fairly sure will be the case), his book may still be read as a singularly accurate record of France as it strikes an intelligent contemporary in the tenth decade of the nineteenth century."

Mr. Bodley thinks that the centralized administration of France will inevitably before long get itself pitted with a military dictator. Madame Darmesteter, on the contrary, thinks it is much more likely that the administration will be decentralized. Her prophecy is that "France will again awake to a sense of political responsibility. The commune will become a school of energy, a center of civic education."

The most interesting passage in her review is that

in which she emphatically confirms Mr. Bodley's testimony as to the superiority of the average Frenchman, from the point of view of intelligence, over the men of other countries.

"I myself have often been struck with this as I discussed the question of Corea with a Parisian gasfitter, or planned out Cæsar's battles with a small farmer in Provence, or learned the little I know of volcanic geology from bloused peasants in Auvergne. In addition to this fund of information (which penetrates as deep, it may be, in Scotland), the national capacity for philosophical ideas—for *des idées générales*—makes the Frenchman of the lower class approach his social betters more nearly on the intellectual side than the inferior members of any other European nation can come into contact with their aristocracy. Nor is this wide diffusion of intelligence that which Mr. Bodley praises most in the people he so often criticises: 'In their private and domestic capacity there are no people in the world so devoted and considerate to one another. In the relations of the human race which concern the home and the family they set an example to us. Industry, thrift, family sentiment, artistic instinct, cultivation of the soil, cheerful performance of patriotic duty, and collaboration of woman in the plan of life'—in these Mr. Bodley finds the secret of the grace, the charm, the prosperity of France. He is right."

THE FIRST AND WORST OF ANARCHIST APOSTLES.

Vernon Lee, writing on "Gospels of Anarchy," incidentally refers to the writings of Max Stirner, whose real name was Caspar Schmidt, the earliest and least read of anarchist writers, who died in 1856. She thus describes his teaching:

"Max Stirner builds up his system—for his hatred of system is expressed in elaborately systematic form—upon the notion that the *Geist*, the intellect which forms conceptions, is a colossal cheat forever robbing the individual of its due and marring life by imaginary obstacles; a wicked sort of archimago, whose phantasmagoria, duty, ideal, vocation, aim, law, formula, can be described only by the untranslatable German word *Spuk*, a decidedly undignified haunting by bogies. Against this kingdom of delusion the human individual—*der Einzige*—has been, since the beginning of time, slowly and painfully fighting his way; never attaining to any kind of freedom, but merely exchanging one form of slavery for another, slavery to the religious delusion for slavery to the metaphysical delusion; slavery to divine right for slavery to civic liberty; slavery to dogma, commandment, heaven, and hell for slavery to sentiment, humanity, progress—all equally mere words, conceits, figments, by which the wretched individual has allowed himself to be coerced and martyred; the wretched individual alone who is a reality. This is the darkest, if not the deepest, pit of anarchical thought."

THE RELIGION OF MR. WATTS' PICTURES.

Mr. Wilfrid Richmond, writing on this subject, says: "Art, in so far as it is religious, shows us just how much of its religion the national consciousness has really made its own. Mr. Watts seems to have made it the purpose of his religious art to express the demand which the English mind makes of the Gospel which claims our allegiance and belief.

"Nothing is more impressive, more inspiring in Mr. Watts' pictures than his sense of the vastness of the

divine element in life, its penetrative presence, the mighty grip with which it holds the world."

Mr. Richmond briefly describes some notable characteristics of Mr. Watts' paintings, and declares that it is in the picture, "She Shall Be Called a Woman," we have the most conspicuous manifestation of the power of his mission:

"The story of sin, told with unfaltering truth in the pictures on either hand, is dominated by the presentment of the majestic power of the creative word of love, the power that cannot fail, the word that will not return unto him void, but will accomplish that which He wills and prosper in the thing whereto He sent it."

THE REPORT OF THE OPIUM COMMISSION.

The Rev. Arnold Foster makes the report of the British opium commission the object of a sweeping condemnation. He charges the commissioners with almost every fault that such a body could commit, and declares that "evidence favorable to the use of opium was the only evidence that the commissioners seriously considered." Mr. Foster challenges Sir Henry Fowler to declare that "in the whole course of his Parliamentary experience he has ever known a report presented to Parliament which was, in parts at least, so entirely in the teeth of the evidence which had been submitted to the commissioners."

After running over the heads of the indictment, Mr. Foster declares:

"I desire nothing more than that the whole China evidence, with the statements of the royal commissioners relating thereto, might be submitted to a commission of three of her majesty's judges, and that they might issue a report on the subject."

In his opinion the ruin of China, which in the last year or two has so startled the world, is due more than anything else to opium. The Chinese buy less from India, but they consume more:

"In the year 1879-80 the net opium revenue of India was £3,251,670. In the year 1895-96 it was £3,159,400. This shrinkage is mainly due to the fact that in recent years, as the demoralization of the Chinese nation through opium has proceeded, the practice of cultivating opium for themselves, on the part of the Chinese people, has enormously increased."

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

BESIDES the articles relating to subjects of contemporary political and social interest, which are noticed elsewhere, the *Nineteenth Century* for July has some interesting articles of a miscellaneous nature.

A SHORT WAY WITH HERETICS.

Canon Wood, writing on "The Just Punishment of Heretics," describes the views of Alfonso de Castro, the confessor and chaplain of Philip of Spain, who has erroneously been believed to have deprecated the burning of heretics. He published a treatise on "Heresies," from which Canon Wood makes some extracts:

"'Heretics' he says, 'ought to be put to death now. If this be bloody and extreme, I am content to be so counted with the Holy Ghost!' What wonder, then, that De Castro in his day should lay down as indubitable that heretics ought to be punished capitally 'by the sword of the executioner, or by fire, or in any other way'? 'The kind of death,' he says, 'does not

matter.' No particular manner of death [he tells us] is prescribed by the civil or imperial law. In Flanders and other parts of Lower Germany, when I was there ten years ago, I saw heretics put to death by beheading. In Gueldres, their feet and hands tied, they were thrown alive into a river. In the same way, as I heard from many eye-witnesses, a well-known Lutheran was punished by the order of Margaret, the Emperor's aunt. At Bruges, I was told by many who had witnessed it, it was the custom to plunge them alive into boiling oil. When I was there, however, they were only beheaded. In other parts of Christendom with which I am acquainted it is the established custom to burn them, as I have seen done in France, especially at Paris, and in Spain, and I think this has always been the custom in Italy."

MOHAMMEDAN INFLUENCE IN WESTERN AFRICA.

Canon Robinson, writing on "Civilization in the Western Soudan," gives an interesting account of the town of Kano, situated 700 miles from the Gold Coast and 1,600 from Khartoum. Kano is the capital of the Hausa race, with a larger population than that of any other African town but one. The average daily attendance in the Kano market-place is 30,000, and it has a distinct civilization and literature of its own. The Hausa are Mohammedans, but Canon Robinson, as the result of his examination of the facts, does not think that the influence of Islam has been one of the causes which have contributed to their civilization:

"So far as the existing evidence goes, it seems very doubtful indeed whether the Hausas owe anything at all to the influence of Mohammedanism for the striking degree of civilization which they have already attained. Nor is it at all likely that it will do in the future what it has failed to do in the past. The rôle of Mohammedanism in the Central Soudan is, indeed, played out."

THE COAL SUPPLY OF THE WORLD.

Mr. Benjamin Taylor, writing on this subject, ciphers up that the world yields every year 574,500,000 tons of coal, 217,000,000 of which represent the output of the British empire. Of that total England sells only 37,000,000 tons to the foreigner. The coal output of the United States in 1890 was 169,000,000 tons. The empire and the republic, therefore, between them represent 337,000,000 out of 574,000,000 tons, the whole output of the world. Germany is the third coal power, but her output is under 80,000,000 tons. No other power exceeds 40,000,000 tons.

OTHER ARTICLES.

Mr. Herbert Paul's "Art of Letter-Writing" takes Lord Byron's letters as the text for a discursive dissertation full of charming literary gossip on the art of letter-writing and personalities of letter-writers. Mr. Claude Phillips writes on the French Salons. Mr. Stanley Young writes on Cyrano de Bergerac, a writer who has also attracted attention in another magazine. Mr. Hadden writes on what he calls "The Wagner Mania."

THE FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW.

THE *Fortnightly Review* for July is a good number, quite up to its usual average. Besides the articles noticed elsewhere which bear upon the current questions of the day, there are many others of miscellaneous interest.

SOME NOTABLE FRENCH WOMEN.

Mlle. Yetta Blaze de Bury writes very pleasantly concerning "French Women in French Industry." She selects four who are types of the modern French women who are to the front in industry and commerce in France. The first place she naturally assigns to Madame Roucicaut, who was the virtual founder of the great wholesale house of Bon Marché. After the death of her husband she undertook the direction of the whole concern, and it was under her management that the annual business amounted to \$30,000,000 and the annual profit to \$160,000. The second is Caroline Reboux, known as the queen of the milliners, who employs 150 work-women. Every season each of her 16 apprentices and workers is given a week to invent a new bonnet. Madame Reboux has been appointed to represent Parisian commerce at the exposition of 1900. Her third example is Madame Bernet, who is supreme in the world of feathers, and her fourth Madame Dumas, who deals in wall-papers. It is notable that in all these cases these women have established the principle of a partnership of profits with their leading hands. Madame Reboux, for instance, divides one-half the total profits with the head cashier, the forewoman, the directress of the workroom, and the head manager. Mademoiselle De Bury lays stress on the fact that none of these women were driven to business by ambition, but by a desire to provide for their relatives, and she insists upon "the order, clearness, and precision with which each of the above-mentioned women can, at a moment's notice, find the wished-for model, lay her hand on the needed pattern. The second point which interests and edifies the visitor is the infinite tenderness which seems to emanate from the entire staff."

GIACOMO LEOPARDI.

Mr. W. Knox Johnson devotes twenty pages to an enthusiastic description of Leopardi, whom he describes as a great and weary soul with a Christian heart and a pagan head, who deserves to rank as one of the great intellects of our century. Mr. Johnson repudiates the idea that he should be classed with the Byrons, De Mussets, and other exponents of the sadness of the age. He represents not the sadness of satiety, but the sadness of thought. He is a master of language worthy to be named with Dante and Milton; and if we ask why it is that he is so little known, Mr. Johnson replies:

"The answer must be sought in the inadequacy of his ideas, as a whole, to the facts of life. The world of literature is a democracy, and to the majority the sad wisdom of Leopardi will remain foolishness: men go to him, and will go, for the beauty of his interpretation; few only will go to him to be calmed, or comforted, or sustained. He himself, with his entire freedom from illusions, knew that this was so. His irony has not been surpassed: it is cold, precise, terrible, and whatever it touches it scathes like fire."

THE DISSOLVING EMPIRE OF AUSTRIA.

Mr. Francis W. Hirst discusses the perilous state of the Austrian empire from the point of view of one who is German rather than Slav in sympathy. He insists strongly upon the need of a single language, and maintains that everything will go to pieces if the ambitions of the smaller nationalities are gratified. He says their grievances are real, but their expectations are greater than their capacity:

"They are strong enough to endanger the empire; not strong enough to protect themselves when they have shattered the present structure. Loyal supporters of the dynasty must look at the past with regret, at the present with dismay, and at the future with an apprehension bordering on despair. Nevertheless, there is still a possibility of better things if real parliamentary government can be substituted for the present sham constitutionalism, and if a reform of the franchise should awake in a dormant democracy something like the liberalism which saved England in the 30s and 40s. For the moment the outlook is gloomy in the extreme."

CAN ENGLAND HOLD HER OWN AT SEA?

The Hon. T. A. Brassey, in an article suggested by Mr. H. W. Wilson's paper on this subject, comes to the conclusion that Great Britain can, for the moment, fairly well hold her own against three powers, but in the future it is doubtful:

"Are the unaided resources of the United Kingdom sufficient to maintain a navy equal to a combination of those of the three greatest powers in the world? We can build against any two powers, but it is to be feared that we cannot continue to build for any length of time against three. In the future, when Canada, Australia, and South Africa are able to bear their fair share of imperial burdens, the resources of the British empire should be equal to the task. Meanwhile the advance of the United States as a naval power is an encouraging feature in the situation."

THE STATE AND THE THEATER.

Sir Henry Irving publishes a lecture, which he delivered at Cambridge on June 15, on the theater and its relations to the state. He deals very much in generalities, and the gist of what he says is summed up in the following paragraph:

"The state should exercise an influence, ranging between control and aid, on all matters which have an indirect, as well as those having a direct, bearing on its welfare and its progress; it should be even jealously mindful for the true good of those institutions which have power to touch the hearts of the people—to hold their sentiments, to awake and stimulate their imagination; and so to aid in turning lofty thoughts into acts of equal worth. In this category the theater is an item of vast potentialities—a natural evolution of the needs and thoughts and wishes of the people—an institution which has progressed for good unaided by the state, and which in future should distinctly be in some degree encouraged by the state or by municipalities. How exactly this is to be accomplished remains to be seen."

FREE TRADE AND CHEAP SUGAR.

Mr. Charles F. Parker pleads strongly in favor of Great Britain adopting the countervailing duty system as a method of beating down the bounties, which, if they were done away with, would increase the cost of sugar twenty-five shillings a ton. Mr. Parker says:

"This country has been invited to a conference of the continental powers at Brussels and has accepted. The course to be pursued by our representatives at the conference has yet to be decided, but there is only one that can have the desired effect, viz., that England should sign an agreement on the lines above mentioned, guaranteeing that if bounties are abolished she will prohibit or countervail the produce of any country infringe-

ing the agreement by granting bounties. Such action would at once effect the abolition of bounties, thereby securing free trade in our own markets."

THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW.

IN another place we have quoted at some length from the article on "Mexico and the Hispano-American Conflict," appearing in the *Westminster* for July.

ENGLAND'S DEPENDENCE ON RUSSIA AND THE UNITED STATES.

Major Deykin, in a paper on "The Critical Position of England," calls attention to the fact that Russia and the United States have only to make an alliance against Great Britain to have her at their mercy, and that without firing a shot.

"That we are the wealthiest and the strongest country at the present moment in the world, particularly at sea, no one will deny; but, with only three months' supply of food before us, and living, as it were, from hand to mouth, we should be in a state of starvation in three months if any untoward event were to happen to our fleet so as to prevent free importation of food into this country. In case of war this might even happen without a single engagement on the sea if Russia and the United States agreed to stop supplies and simply starve us into submission, as the Parisians were forced to surrender by the blockade of the German armies in 1870-71.

"In 1896 the United Kingdom imported 23,431,000 quarters of breadstuffs and produced only 4,825,000 quarters. Of these imports Russia and the United States produced about 19,160,000 quarters, leaving only 4,271,000 quarters of her imports free from the control of these two powers, who, as above stated, are not particularly friendly toward us."

A SINISTER SUGGESTION.

Mr. E. Pratt, in a paper on India and England, makes a suggestion as to a possible source of corruption in English public life, for which we trust there is no foundation. The paragraph to which we refer is as follows:

"May I venture to suggest to Mr. Bhownaggee, the Indian gentleman who, in the absence presumably of a qualified Englishman, represents Northeast Bethnal Green in the present Parliament, that he might do useful work in preparing the public mind for such a possible catastrophe by moving for a Parliamentary committee to inquire into the history of the constitution and the resources of the election fund of each of our political parties, with a view to ascertain to what extent each fund has had and has influential support in the bureaucracy of India; whether there be a possible connection between the extent of their support and the distribution of rewards and honors in India and the India Office, or a connection between such support and the condonation of offenses committed by those who have been decorated, betitled, and honored. If the public must have a surprise, they had better have at once a small one rather than apathetically await a greater surprise in the shape of a catastrophe."

OTHER ARTICLES.

Mr. Edmond Wilson, replying to Professor Mahaffy on modern education, protests against the notion that the proper university course in the nineteenth century

should be limited to those subjects which were sufficient for a priest in the fourteenth. The proper university course ought to include everything which a woman should know. There is a review of Zola's "Paris," and an article by Isabel Foard pleading for a more scientific system of dealing with criminals and dipsomaniacs, while the series of erudite articles on "Signs of the Cross" is prolonged for yet one more chapter.

THE NATIONAL REVIEW.

EXCEPTING the triple chronicle and the editor's article upon "The Military Terror in France," there is not much calling for special mention in the July number of the *National*.

FUTURE BRITISH POLICY IN CHINA.

Mr. A. Michie contributes a rather pessimistic paper on British policy in China. The favored nation, the open door, and equality of opportunity, he declares, have all gone by the board. His general advice is that the British Government ought to pull itself together and set to work to back British enterprise, as the German, Russian, and French governments back their subjects. He recalls the fact that thirty years ago the great desire of British diplomacy in the East was to choke off British railroad projectors, but the situation has completely changed.

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE "MAINE."

Mr. H. W. Wilson discusses the evidence as to the causes which led to the loss of the *Maine*, and sums up in favor of the theory that it was blown up by a mine purposely laid down in the immediate neighborhood of the ship by the Spanish Government. This, he thinks, would have been perfectly justified considering that war might have broken out at any moment, and it was necessary for the Spanish Government to be prepared. The actual explosion he attributes to the action of some unauthorized person who gained access to the shore key and connected the firing battery.

THE STREET-MUSIC QUESTION.

Mr. H. H. Statham summarizes the official reports as to the method in which street music is regulated in the various countries of the continent and the cities of America. Mr. Statham is for drastic measures. He would legislate on the principle that no unlicensed performer, good or bad, should be allowed in the public streets at all. Secondly, that all barrel organs or mechanical methods of producing music should be permanently and entirely stopped; but he makes other suggestions as to how his principles should be carried out. He would, however, sacrifice everything to the abolition of the barrel organ.

"THE MILITARY TERROR IN FRANCE."

Under this title Mr. L. J. Maxse presents his readers with a connected account of the Dreyfus trial. Mr. Maxse thinks that the operation of the court-martial, which has deprived M. Joseph Reinach of his rank, constitutes a very grave development of the military system. M. Reinach is in the reserve, as are most Frenchmen who are under forty-five. He is not in active service, and yet, because he offended the military authorities by commenting on the Dreyfus case, he is court-martialed, tried *in camera*, and dismissed with dishonor from the service. Mr. Maxse thinks that this

is another instance of the way in which the landmarks of the republic are being swept away one by one. Is France, he asks, drifting into a military terror? That would indeed be a heavy price to pay in order that a palpably innocent man may perish on the Devil's Island while the real criminal flaunts it in Paris.

A CONTRACTOR-GOVERNED COLONY.

In "The Colonial Chronicle" the editor, referring to the extraordinary fashion in which the Legislature of Newfoundland has handed over the whole colony to the railroad contractor Reid, quotes the following extracts from Mr. Chamberlain's dispatch, in which, after explaining that the home government is restrained on constitutional grounds from vetoing the measure, he cannot refrain from calling attention to its extraordinary nature:

"Under the contract 'practically all the crown lands of any value became, with full rights to all minerals, the freehold property of a single individual, the whole of the railroads were transferred to him, the telegraphs, the postal service, and the local sea communications, as well as the property in the dock at St. John's. Such an abdication by a government of some of its most important functions is without parallel. The colony is divested forever of any control over or power of influencing its own development, and of any direct interest in or direct benefit from that development. It will not even have the guarantee for efficiency and improvement afforded by competition, which would tend to minimize the danger of leaving such services in the hands of private individuals.'"

BLACKWOOD'S MAGAZINE.

SIR JOHN MOWBRAY contributes to *Blackwood* for July a series of interesting reminiscences under the heading "Seventy Years at Westminster." Born in 1815, the writer was educated at Westminster School, one of the privileges of which was that pupils might attend debates in Parliament. In this way he has a longer retrospect than those whose knowledge of Parliament only begins in adult life. Comparing the House of Commons in the years 1858 to 1857 with the same body to-day, Sir John remarks:

"I know it is the fashion to say that there is a great decadence in the tone and spirit as well as in the manners of Parliament. I think this is greatly exaggerated. The Parliament of 1890 was turbulent owing to the unsettled state of Ireland and the excitement among the Irish members within our walls. The short-lived Parliament of 1885-86 represented the great change which the lowering of the county franchise had made in the rural constituencies. But I believe the spirit which animates the House of Commons as a body is much the same now as it has ever been—a patriotic spirit, conscious of the great traditions which it inherits, and anxious to work for the good of the empire. There is and always has been a very real feeling of fraternity within the walls of the House. Members are not quite so willing as they were to burden themselves with the heavy work that falls on members who sit on committees. There is less rhetoric. Speakers are less profound and less ornate. Classical quotations are out of date and our ordinary debates are dull and commonplace. One really important change the House has made is in the hours it keeps."

ENGLAND'S TRADE IN CHINA

Blackwood calls attention to two facts in England's relations to China. First, "the privilege of trading throughout the whole of China has been ours by right for forty years, but has been neglected by our traders." Secondly, in regard to the illegal levy imposed on British goods by Chinese officials:

"It is a little startling to be told by an English official, and in a paper issued by the Foreign Office, that in those parts of China adjacent to the French territory these abuses have been suppressed, and that 'the French have freed our goods from Chinese exactions.' 'The energy of the French' is highly commended."

These and other failures of British merchants and diplomats are set down by the writer to their incurably maritime view of things. They are never at home except on the sea or seashore, and trade and policy that go inland are their weak points.

GLADSTONE'S FAILINGS.

The writer of the obituary sketch of Mr. Gladstone makes it his chief business to direct attention to his subject's faults, which he regards as "numerous and flagrant." The lack of "long-sighted persistency of purpose" is charged against him. Of his frequent change of opinion says this writer:

"We fear that one explanation lies in the entire absence from his mind, at starting on his career, of any well-thought-out and mature conviction . . . He was largely dependent on others for his final decisions and convictions . . . He could convince himself and most others of anything which he chose. . . . Another element in his character . . . is one which is responsible for much, viz., an overweening personal vanity."

Mr. Gladstone's transition from Conservative to Liberal is thus explained:

"Personal antipathy to Disraeli in his new position of chancellor of the exchequer and leader of the House was the cause and the striking characteristic of his new departure. . . . It is hard to say to which leader, Lord Palmerston or Disraeli, he was in reality the more averse; perhaps it was personally to Disraeli, politically to Lord Palmerston. But the latter was twenty years older than the former. Disraeli blocked the way to the leadership of the Conservatives, and these had a rooted distrust of him."

In this spirit his career is reviewed. After such criticisms it is refreshing, if surprising, to be told:

"In spite of his errors and gigantic mistakes there was a grandeur about the man both of character and intellect."

THE FRENCH REVIEWS.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES.

M. DESJARDINS, who, it will be remembered, is the arbitrator between England and Belgium in the question of Mr. Tom Mann's expulsion, deals with the Spanish-American war so far as it illustrates the law of nations. As might be expected, the bulk of the article is of an extremely technical nature. The article is written in an eminently judicial strain. With regard to the action of the Americans in bombarding San Juan without previous warning, M. Desjardins

COSMOPOLIS.

THE Rt. Hon. Sir Charles W. Dilke contributes to the English section of *Cosmopolis* for July a striking article on "The Three Powers and Greece," in which he maintains that France and Great Britain no longer deserve to be regarded as the champions of western civilization in the eastern Mediterranean, and that to Russia alone can we look for improvement.

In his notes on "The Theater in London," Mr. Arthur B. Walkley makes some interesting comments on the American temperament as it exhibits itself in the dramatic medium. He says:

"Besides Mr. Gillette and his comrades in farce, we have had a complete American company in an American melodrama, 'The Heart of Maryland,' and a third American company in a musical play, 'The Belle of New York.' In matters of art I do not think we English have anything to learn from these American plays and players. Military dramas would appear to be built upon the same formula all the world over; spies and the female relatives or sweethearts of the combatants play in these dramas a far more important part than falls to them in actual warfare. In 'The Heart of Maryland' both the Northern and Southern forces appeared to be commanded by spies in the service of the enemy, and the hearts of all the Federal ladies were hopelessly pledged to Confederate officers. Nor did 'The Belle of New York' show any advance in comic invention, wit, or melodic inspiration upon the musical plays which London has had the doubtful honor of originating. The American acting is apt to have a 'self-made,' unsophisticated air; it lacks finish, mellowness, and fastidiousness—everything, in short, which only *conservatoires* or jealously preserved stage traditions can impart. On the other hand, its vitality is tremendous; it is fresh, exuberant, rapid, and consequently exhilarating. Only an engineer could calculate the number of 'foot-pounds' of energy set free in one of these American entertainments. The result for the spectator may be a headache, but at any rate he cannot complain that he has been allowed to fall asleep—a fate that occasionally awaits him in our London playhouses."

This number of *Cosmopolis* has a Gladstone sketch in each of the three languages in which the magazine is printed. Justin McCarthy writes in English, Francis de Pressensé in French, and Dr. Theodor Barth in German.

The German section has an article on the military aspects of Spain by Siegfried Samosch.

says that although international law does not forbid the bombardment of a town which is protected by forts, it nevertheless does impose upon the bombarding forces the formality of giving warning. He brings forward several quite modern instances, such as the action of France in the sieges of Antwerp, of Rome in 1849, and of Sebastopol. The Germans gave no warning before the bombardment of Paris; but a formal diplomatic protest was made to Bismarck, and the chancellor's assertion that warning was not demanded by the principles of the law of nations nor recognized as obligatory by mili-

tary usage was flatly contradicted by the whole diplomatic corps. Moreover, there are examples of formal warning in the Chino-Japanese war and in the operations of the English at Zanzibar two years ago.

SIR J. R. SEELEY.

M. Filon contributes an able study of the great English imperialist—Sir J. R. Seeley. It is a just criticism that Seeley rather ignores, among the factors of English greatness, the moral personality of the English people, which was formed and grew great in the struggle for political and religious liberty. Seeley overlooks this or minimizes it, because it is a manifestation of individualism and does not square with his theory of the expansion of England. M. Filon is evidently rather alarmed at the thought that if England in the past acquired so large an empire without exactly meaning to and by force of circumstances, or by anything in the world except by deliberate intention, how much more will she acquire in the future now that her eyes are opened and her mind fixed upon a policy of expansion! He has been reading the Colonial Office list, and is terrified at the calm way in which she yearly adds protectorate after protectorate to her already enormous responsibilities. On the whole, M. Filon regards the life and work of Sir J. R. Seeley as eminently a triumph of moral forces, as he calls them. This simple, modest professor ended by creating an immense current of opinion and actually uniting the two great political parties upon certain questions of the day. At the same time, he recognizes that the extreme imperialists—the bombastic, Chauvinistic jingoes—have endeavored to find in Seeley's book, "The Expansion of England," a justification for their wild ambitions, though they are incapable of understanding his curious scientific fatalism.

FRANCE AND HER ARMY.

M. Sully Prudhomme is given the place of honor in the second June number for his article entitled "Patrie, Armée, Discipline." He devotes himself mainly to the consideration of the social influence of the military spirit, a subject which is naturally, in view of the Dreyfus trial and subsequent events, of the greatest interest in France. Of course he recognizes that if any army is to be efficient, blind obedience must be paid to those in whose hands the supreme control is vested. That is indeed a truism, but M. Prudhomme seems to distinguish between different degrees of obedience. The more spontaneous the obedience is the better will be its effect, he thinks. The chiefs of an army have only an amount of moral authority proportioned to the extent to which their intellectual and moral power is recognized by their subordinates. All the mechanical organization, however intelligent it may be, of the material brute force of an army must be sterile without the assistance of this immaterial and spiritual strength furnished by spontaneous obedience. The bearing of these remarks on the Dreyfus case is sufficiently obvious, and they at any rate account for, without perhaps altogether justifying, the passionate rallying of the French people to the support of the chiefs of the army.

OTHER ARTICLES.

M. Ernest Daudet begins a series of articles forming an historical study of Louis XVIII. and the Duc Decazes. M. d'Avenel continues his studies of the economic conditions of the working classes in the Mid-

dle Ages, and an anonymous educational expert writes upon the political evolution of the primary school.

REVUE DE PARIS.

ALTHOUGH the *Revue* takes advantage of the Spanish-American war to publish a number of military articles, the actual conflict now proceeding is severely boycotted. However, there can be no doubt that both Colonel Wonlarlarski's extremely vivid account of the taking of Plevna and the able anonymous article on the real value of modern fortresses have both been inspired by the fact that "war is in the air."

MODERN IRONSIDES.

The Russian soldier, portions of whose diary, written in 1877-78, are now published for the first time, was on the staff of the Grand Duke Nicholas. He gives a striking and, it must be admitted, not unfavorable picture of the Turkish soldiery; indeed, he goes out of his way to point out how far better the Turkish army behaved when the Russians finally made their way into Plevna than the soldiers of any other European nation would have done. Colonel Wonlarlarski quotes a Russian proverb: "The man who is not a soldier has never really said his prayers." Skobelev never went into action till his soldiers had knelt down and recited the "Our Father." And the most striking incident of the great day when Plevna fell was the thanksgiving service which was held in the presence of the troops, headed by the Czar. As is always the case in modern warfare, the fall of the Turkish stronghold by no means ended the war, and the writer describes at length the incredible privations cheerfully endured during the weeks which followed the defeat of Osman Pasha. It is curious to note that in the second military article published in the June *Revue de Paris* it is authoritatively stated that in the event of Russia going to war the Czar would only be ready to assume the offensive some ten weeks after the order to mobilize had been given to each commanding officer.

CONVENTS IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

As if to afford a complete contrast to the preceding articles, Mme. Arvède Barine, one of the most brilliant of French descriptive writers, gives a charming glimpse of those mediæval convents which played so great a part in the lives of our ancestors. Madame Barine declares that the convent of the eighth century was the Girtton and Newnham of that day. Ibsen's *Nora* would have found refuge in a nunnery, and the "revolted daughter" have blossomed into a great and world-famed abbess. It is clear that Miss Eckenstein's "Woman Under Monasticism" has largely supplied the facts on which Madame Barine has written her article, and she deals mostly with British nunneries and their occupants. In the year 700 the Pope granted certain special privileges to the monasteries of Kent, and in the charter five abbesses signed their names immediately after the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Rochester. Germany owed her first monasteries and convents to the missionary efforts of a British saint—Boniface. Accompanied by a group of English nuns, he went over to Germany and founded several large conventual establishments in wild, lonely stretches of country, given over till then to lawlessness and perpetual warfare. The Saxon abbesses soon became a power in the land, and the convent of Gandersheim ob-

tained the right to issue coins. It need hardly be said that pieces from these curious mints now form the joy of collectors. Probably few of the inhabitants of Whitby are aware that their town was founded by a nun. Hilda was, according to Madame Barine, "a girl with a head." She received the grant of land where Whitby now stands in 635. Nine years later a great synod was held there under her auspices, and she entertained in her convent all the most important guests.

MUSIC AND SOCIALISM IN GERMANY.

M. Emmanuel discusses the part played by music in German university life. He does not touch on the popular side, but prefers to give an elaborate account of the way in which the higher musical studies and harmony classes are conducted. This article should be read by every person interested in the science of music. It is in some ways the most valuable and remarkable contribution published in the French June reviews.

German socialism has naturally a great fascination for French political writers. M. Milhaud goes over much old ground, but he points out some new features. His most interesting statement concerns the financial position of the socialist party. In most European countries socialism spells poverty. In Germany alone the leaders of the movement early realized that money was an essential element of success; accordingly the party is highly organized, and each official has a right to a salary. The German socialists form, to all intents and purposes, a huge trade union; thus, in spite of the iron heel of the Prussian Government, they exercise an immense and growing influence, for they alone practice what they preach; and when they find public halls, and even hotel rooms, shut to their meetings, they are always ready to hold gatherings, admirably organized and arranged, in the open air, and this during every month in the year. Bebel has on many occasions actually held his meeting on a frozen lake or river.

OTHER ARTICLES.

Other articles consist of a series of letters written by Marshal Bugeaud from Algiers; of an analysis of the part played by nature in Shelley's poetry; and M. Vedel dedicates a short biographical account of Vasco da Gama to the present Queen of Portugal, Marie Amélie.

NOUVELLE REVUE.

MADAME ADAM'S review apparently continues to flourish. The June numbers are certainly up to the average in point of interest.

THE SOUL OF THE FRENCH ARMY.

As in the case of the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, the Dreyfus-Esterhazy-Zola affair has here also produced an article on the army. M. d'Ameugny thinks that the last thirty years have witnessed great changes in the French army, and that there is as much difference between the army of to-day and that of thirty years ago as there was between the patriotism of the troops of the Revolution and the loyalty of the regiments of the old French kings. The army still keeps the military spirit, but in a different way. The young soldier nowadays is seldom removed far from the paternal roof, he

has plenty of "leave," and postage is cheap. But he passes the three years of military service in a sort of dream, comforting himself with the idea that it will soon be over, like a great schoolboy patiently counting the days to the holidays. This transitory service prevents the common soldier from giving himself up to the profession of arms with the same ardor as his officers do. On the other hand, the class of non-commissioned officers returning to the colors as their real vocation in life is increasing, partly, no doubt, because they have the prospect of obtaining commissions—an excellent arrangement which does not obtain in the German army. The officers of the army, says M. d'Ameugny, form not a caste nor a sort of religious order, but simply the institution which is most strongly organized in France by legislation and tradition. The old feudal links and sanctions have been swept away, but for them the republic has substituted others not less strong. Each officer nowadays holds his rank from the chief of the state, and he cannot be deprived of it except by the verdict of his brother-officers, his peers. He must not marry except under certain conditions as regards income, he must not leave France without permission, or publish anything under his own name without authority, or mix up in politics. All this makes the whole body of French officers a homogeneous corporation, which M. d'Ameugny evidently regards as an invaluable social backbone, so to speak. In a country where the idea of reverence has lost all its strength, where the name of God is systematically expunged from every official document, it is certainly a grand thing to have this great army permeating the whole national life with ideals of obedience and faith in France.

MADAME ADAM ON FOREIGN POLITICS.

Madame Adam is, perhaps, naturally not very well pleased with the attitude of the American press toward France, but she observes that French sympathy for Spain is far from being declared in the form in which the sympathy of the United States for Germany was declared in 1870-71. She cites General Grant's congratulations on the German victories, and declares that Mr. Washburne, the American minister in Paris, gave information to the Prussians. It is an old quarrel, and Madame Adam explains that France knows quite well how the United States were driven into the war. Madame Adam is much disturbed at Mr. Chamberlain's advances to the United States and to Germany, and she sorrowfully asks, Who would have ever believed that Italy could ally herself not only with Germany, but also with her hated enemy, Austria? She quotes a striking passage from a book of Count Beust's, published in 1872:

"Soon England will perceive that this Prussia . . . will sap the power of England in the world and will deliver her, with feet and hands tied, up to the implacable and furious hatred of America. . . . The whole of Europe will suddenly see the American eagle, after having snatched from Spain, in passing, the Queen of the Antilles, plunge into its affairs and lie heavy with an enormous weight on the monarchical destinies of old and small Europe."

But Madame Adam comforts herself with the conviction that an alliance of England with Germany and America, or with one of them, is doomed to sterility as being an abnormal and hybrid union.

THE NEW BOOKS.

RECENT AMERICAN PUBLICATIONS.

NATURE STUDY.

Nature for Its Own Sake: First Studies in Natural Appearances. By John C. Van Dyke. 12mo, pp. 312. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.50.

Professor Van Dyke gives expression in this book to the artist's conception—not of Nature in art or literature, but of Nature herself as a self-revealing and self-sufficient entity. His treatment is limited to inanimate Nature—the elements of landscape beauty, and has as little relation as possible to human or animal life. The book has chapters on light, clouds, rain and snow, the ocean, running waters, lakes, mountains, plains, forests—in short, all the more important features of natural scenery. Professor Van Dyke's interesting treatment of these subjects should lead to a more diligent study of "that nature around us which only too many people look at every day and yet never see," as the author's preface puts it.

Familiar Life in Field and Forest. By F. Schuyler Mathews. 12mo, pp. 300. New York: D. Appleton & Co. \$1.75.

Mr. Mathews, who has heretofore written very acceptably about flowers and trees, now invites our attention to the animal life of our American woods, farms, and hillsides. His book is an unpretentious and well-informed naturalist's study of creatures that should be known with some degree of intimacy by those of us who can spend even a part of the year in the country. Among the illustrations of the volume are several photographs from nature by Mr. W. Lyman Underwood.

Nests and Eggs of North American Birds. By Oliver Davie. 8vo, pp. 548. Columbus, O.: Landon Printing and Publishing Company. \$2.25.

This is the fifth edition of Mr. Davie's valuable manual. The work has been thoroughly revised, and is now illustrated for the first time.

How to Name the Birds. By H. E. Parkhurst. 18mo, pp. 115. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.

Mr. Parkhurst has compiled a convenient pocket guide to the birds of the New England States, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. He has greatly simplified the common system of bird classification for the beginner by omitting such details as are invisible at field-range and by emphasizing such characteristics as color, size, and time of appearance.

The Art of Taxidermy. By John Rowley. 12mo, pp. 255. New York: D. Appleton & Co. \$2.

This is an up-to-date and practical treatise prepared by the chief taxidermist of the American Museum of Natural History. The book is carefully illustrated.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

Men, Women and Manners in Colonial Times. By Sydney George Fisher. 2 vols., 12mo, pp. 391—393. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. \$3.

These volumes make a delightful revelation of colonial life and customs. Mr. Fisher's studies of the domestic architecture of the period are especially suggestive, and are illustrated with several excellent photographs of typical country mansions. Altogether a great deal of interesting material is here brought to the reader's attention and presented in an attractive form.

The Life of David Dudley Field. By Henry M. Field. 8vo, pp. 376. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$3.

Dr. Field has given us an exceedingly compact and valuable survey of the life and public services of his eminent brother, the late David Dudley Field. David Dudley Field was born in 1805 and was in his ninetieth year when, in April, 1894, just after returning from one of his numerous visits to Europe, he passed away at his favorite home in Stockbridge, Mass. Through several decades of his long career David Dudley Field was the foremost figure at the American bar. He served the people of the United States most profoundly in his work for the codification of laws. The codes which he prepared, and which he advocated with such persistency and effect, are now with some modification in use in a great number of the States of the Union. Hardly less valuable were his services to the cause of the reform of international law and the development of the cause of peace among the nations. Dr. Field tells the story of the life of his eldest brother with an affection that adds many personal touches that enhance the readability of the volume; but he does not for a single moment forget the fact that David Dudley Field was preëminently a public character, whose biography must in the main be devoted to an account of his professional and external activities. The volume is not only a satisfactory contribution to the literature of American biography, but it will also add appreciably to several chapters of American history. For David Dudley Field had much to do with the nomination of Lincoln, with the efforts to avert the Civil War through peace conferences, and with the disputed Hayes-Tilden election of 1876.

Martin Luther, The Hero of the Reformation, 1483-1546. By Henry Eyster Jacobs. 12mo, pp. 469. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$1.50.

Dr. Jacobs, of the Lutheran Theological Seminary at Philadelphia, is a well-known authority upon the life, services and career of Martin Luther; and he has compacted into this convenient volume the results of wide study and familiar acquaintance with the whole body of Luther literature. So far as we are aware, this book will, better than any other, serve the purposes of the general reader who would like to acquaint himself with that great phase of the Protestant Reformation of which Luther was the leader and hero. This volume, we are glad to announce, is the opening one in a series entitled "Heroes of the Reformation" edited by Professor Samuel Macauley Jackson. Each volume will be at once scholarly and readable. The authors of the half dozen volumes now in preparation are abundantly competent.

John and Sebastian Cabot. By C. Raymond Beazley. 12mo, pp. 331. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. \$1.50.

A clearly-written and straightforward account of the principal incidents in the remarkable voyages of the Cabots and their discovery of the mainland of North America in 1497. The work is based on the original sources of information and is probably the most authentic brief treatment of the subject yet published.

Talks With Mr. Gladstone. By the Hon. Lionel A. Tollemache. 12mo, pp. 223. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. \$1.25.

The "talks" recorded in this little volume formed two series, the first of which occurred during the years 1856-70 and the latter in 1891-96. The writer, to use his own expres-

sion, "Boswellizes" Mr. Gladstone, and refrains from criticism for the most part. He is content to leave that task to others. Most of the conversations reported were on literary and theological subjects, and very few and slight allusions were made to politics.

POLITICAL SCIENCE.

Municipal History and Present Organization of the City of Chicago. By Samuel Edwin Sparling, Ph.D. (Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, No. 28.) Paper, 8vo, pp. 188. Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin. 75 cents.

Considering the great difficulties in the way of a satisfactory study of his subject in its various phases, Dr. Sparling has prepared a very creditable account of Chicago's municipal development from the days of the town charter, through the period of special legislation and the reincorporation under the general charter law, down to the present time. A useful summary is given of the functions and activities of the several city departments and boards.

The Centralization of Administration in New York State. By John Archibald Fairlie, Ph.D. Paper, 8vo, pp. 207. New York: Columbia University. \$1.

Public Administration in Massachusetts: The Relation of Central to Local Activity. By Robert Harvey Whitten, Ph.D. Paper, 8vo, pp. 167. New York: Columbia University. \$1.

The series of "Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law," edited by the political science faculty of Columbia University, contains several valuable studies of American administration. The monograph devoted to Massachusetts is especially interesting because of the advanced position taken by that State in the matter of central regulation of gas and electric light works, street railways, and other quasi-public enterprises.

LITERATURE AND THE STUDY OF LITERATURE.

Don Quixote de la Mancha. By Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra. Translated by Henry Edward Watts. With a Critical and Biographical Introduction by Joseph O'Connor. 2 vols., 8vo, pp. 498-557. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

In the series of "The World's Great Books," the admirable opening volumes of which we have already made note in a previous number of the *Review*, there now appears in two volumes a very excellent edition of the great Spanish classic "Don Quixote de la Mancha" by Cervantes. The translation is by Henry Edward Watts. The introductory biographical essay on Cervantes is by Joseph O'Connor. The first volume has as its frontispiece a fine photogravure portrait of Cervantes from a painting by Velasquez. In the second volume the frontispiece is from Leslie's "Don Quixote."

Studies in American Literature: A Text-Book for Academies and High Schools. By Charles Noble.

12mo, pp. 404. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$1.

Professor Noble has prepared a book for schools that may well be read and studied by many who have passed far beyond their own school period. It combines in an ingenious way the concrete study of American literature with analyses of literary form and the elements of literary criticism. In a minor and incidental sense, the book is a cyclopædia of American authors and a compend of literary information. Whatever may be its value for school purposes, it will certainly take its place as a useful manual for the general reader.

Choice Literature. Compiled and Arranged by Sherman Williams. Five vols., 12mo, pp. 144-190-256-336-506. New York: Sheldon & Co. \$1.75.

Mr. Sherman Williams, the well-known superintendent of schools at Glens Falls, N. Y., has prepared for use in primary, intermediate, and grammar grades an excellent series of selections "intended to create and foster a taste for good reading." It is believed that these books will enable the pupils who use them to complete the grammar-school course with a better acquaintance with English literature than most high-school graduates now have.

Stepping Stones to Literature. By Sarah Louise Arnold and Charles B. Gilbert. Fourth Reader, 12mo, pp. 320; Reader for Fifth Grades, 12mo, pp. 320; Reader for Sixth Grades, 12mo, pp. 320; Reader for Seventh Grades, 12mo, pp. 320; Reader for Higher Grades, 12mo, pp. 383. Boston: Silver, Burdett & Co. 60 cents each.

We have already commented on the earlier volumes of this series. The high standards adopted by the compilers in the beginning have been maintained throughout. The requirements of each grade in public-school work have been kept in view.

SCIENCE.

The Study of Man. By Alfred C. Haddon. 12mo, pp. 435. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$2.

This new volume is not so formidable as its title might seem to imply. It is not a systematic book, but a republication of a number of popular excursions in anthropological fields. A great part of the volume has to do with the origin of children's toys and games. One chapter is on the origin of the Irish jaunting-car, and another on the evolution of the common cart. An elaborate chapter is given to a monographic study of the human nose; another of like character and value takes up historically and anthropologically the study of hair and eye color. Professor Haddon is an eminent scholar, and it is needless to say that these chapters have scientific value as well as human interest.

The Nature and Development of Animal Intelligence. By Wesley Mills. 12mo, pp. 319. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$2.

An able treatment of the subject of comparative psychology by the professor of physiology in McGill University, Montreal.



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Abbreviations of Magazine Titles used in the Index.

[All the articles in the leading reviews are indexed, but only the more important articles in the other magazines.]

AP.	American Amateur Photographer, N. Y.	DeutR.	Deutsche Revue, Stuttgart. Ed.	NatM.	National Magazine, Boston.
AHR.	American Historical Review, N. Y.	EdRNY.	Educational Review, N. Y.	NatR.	National Review, London.
AJS.	American Journal of Sociology, Chicago.	EngM.	Engineering Magazine, N. Y.	NEM.	New England Magazine, Boston.
AJT.	American Journal of Theology, Chicago.	EM.	España Moderna, Madrid.	NW.	New World, Boston.
AMonM.	American Monthly Magazine, Washington, D. C.	FR.	Fortnightly Review, London.	NC.	Nineteenth Century, London.
AMRR.	American Monthly Review of Reviews, N. Y.	F.	Forum, N. Y.	NAR.	North American Review, N. Y.
AAPS.	Annals of the Am. Academy of Pol. and Soc. Science, Phila.	FrL.	Frank Leslie's Monthly, N. Y.	NR.	Nouvelle Revue, Paris.
APS.	Appleton's Popular Science Monthly, N. Y.	GM.	Gentleman's Magazine, London.	NA.	Nuova Antologia, Rome.
A.	Arena, Boston.	G.	Godey's, N. Y.	OC.	Open Court, Chicago.
AA.	Art Amateur, N. Y.	GBag.	Green Bag, Boston.	O.	Outing, N. Y.
AI.	Art Interchange, N. Y.	GMag.	Guntton's Magazine, N. Y.	Out.	Outlook, N. Y.
AJ.	Art Journal, London.	Harp.	Harper's Magazine, N. Y.	OM.	Overland Monthly, San Francisco.
Art.	Artist, London.	HM.	Home Magazine, N. Y.	PMM.	Pall Mall Magazine, London.
AM.	Atlantic Monthly, Boston.	HomR.	Homiletic Review, N. Y.	PRev.	Philosophical Review, N. Y.
Bad.	Badminton, London.	IJE.	International Journal of Ethics, Phila.	PA.	Photo-American, N. Y.
BankL.	Bankers' Magazine, London.	IA.	Irrigation Age, Chicago.	PSQ.	Political Science Quarterly, Boston.
BankNY.	Bankers' Magazine, N. Y.	JAES.	Journal of the Ass'n of Engineering Societies, Phila.	QJEcon.	Quarterly Journal of Economics, Boston.
BW.	Biblical World, Chicago.	JF.	Journal of Finance, London.	RN.	Rassegna Nazionale, Florence.
BU.	Bibliothèque Universelle, Lausanne.	JMSI.	Journal of the Military Service Institution, Governor's Island, N. Y. H.	Refs.	Réforme Sociale, Paris.
Black.	Blackwood's Magazine, Edinburgh.	JPEcon.	Journal of Political Economy, Chicago.	RRL.	Review of Reviews, London.
BTJ.	Board of Trade Journal, London.	Kind.	Kindergarten, Chicago.	RRM.	Review of Reviews, Melbourne.
Bkman.	Bookman, N. Y.	K.	Knowledge, London.	RP.	Revue de Paris, Paris.
CanM.	Canadian Magazine, Toronto.	LHJ.	Ladies' Home Journal, Phila.	RDM.	Revue des Deux Mondes, Paris.
CFM.	Cassell's Family Magazine, London.	LH.	Leisure Hour, London.	RE.	Revue Encyclopédique, Paris.
CasM.	Cassier's Magazine, N. Y.	Lipp.	Lippincott's Magazine, Phila.	RG.	Revue Générale, Brussels.
CW.	Catholic World, N. Y.	LQ.	London Quarterly Review, London.	RPP.	Revue Politique et Parliementaire, Paris.
CM.	Century Magazine, N. Y.	Long.	Longman's Magazine, London.	RS.	Revue Scientifique, Paris.
CJ.	Chambers's Journal, Edinburgh.	McCl.	McClure's Magazine, N. Y.	RSoc.	Revue Socialiste, Paris.
CRev.	Charities Review, N. Y.	Mac.	Macmillan's Magazine, London.	R.	Rosary, Somerset, Ohio.
Chaut.	Chautauquan, Meadville, Pa.	MA.	Magazine of Art, London.	San.	Sanitarian, N. Y.
CR.	Contemporary Review, London.	Men.	Memorah Monthly, N. Y.	SRev.	School Review, Chicago.
C.	Cornhill, London.	Mct.	Metaphysical Magazine, N. Y.	Scots.	Scots Magazine, Perth.
Cosmop.	Cosmopolis, London.	MidM.	Midland Monthly, Des Moines, Iowa.	Scrib.	Scribner's Magazine, N. Y.
Cos.	Cosmopolitan, N. Y.	MisH.	Missionary Herald, Boston.	SR.	Sewanee Review, Sewanee, Tenn.
Dem.	Demorest's Family Magazine, N. Y.	MisR.	Missionary Review, N. Y.	Str.	Strand Magazine, London.
DH.	Deutscher Hauschatz, Regensburg.	Mon.	Monist, Chicago.	USM.	United Service Magazine, London.
		M.	Month, London.	WR.	Westminster Review, London.
		MM.	Munsey's Magazine, N. Y.	WM.	Werner's Magazine, N. Y.
		Mus.	Music, Chicago.	WPM.	Wilson's Photographic Magazine, N. Y.
		NatGM.	National Geographic Magazine, Washington, D. C.	YR.	Yale Review, New Haven.
				YM.	Young Man, London.
				YM.	Young Woman, London.



THE AMERICAN MONTHLY REVIEW OF REVIEWS.

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Photo by Clineinst.

M. JULES CAMBON, FRENCH AMBASSADOR AT WASHINGTON.
(Who signed the peace protocol on behalf of Spain.)

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NO. 3.

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD.

*Modern Wars
Are Brief
and Decisive.* The war between Spain and the United States was ended on August 12, having run a course of less than four months. All recent wars in which important members of the world's family of nations have been pitted against each other have been of a short and decisive character. Last year's war between Turkey and Greece began April 17 and was terminated by a truce preliminary to a final peace treaty at the end of four and a half weeks. The Greeks had thought that their superior navy and the *esprit de corps* of their people would offset the great superiority of the Turkish army. But the Greek fleet accomplished next to nothing, and the invasion of the Turkish army was irresistible. The war between Japan and China showed the great superiority of the Japanese both on sea and on land, with the result that a war which began on July 25, 1894, was ended by the utter defeat of China after eight months. The great war of Russia against Turkey, which began April 24, 1877, came to an end with the Russian army lying just outside of Constantinople nine months later. The Franco-Prussian war, which began July 23, 1870, found the Prussians making peace at Versailles on January 28, 1871. Bismarck's war of 1866, in which Prussia made an attack against Austria, lasted only seven weeks. Civil wars and insurrections have a tendency to drag on for a longer time; but all the circumstances and conditions of modern life are favorable to brevity and positive conclusions in wars between distinct nations. Nineteenth-century life is practical; and nations have lost the habit of fighting on and on merely to gratify a false sense of pride or out of considerations of hatred and revenge. The cumulative force of precedent has helped to make it the established rule of modern statesmanship to seek peace with a public adversary on the best terms possible at the earliest moment when it is clearly apparent that the fortunes of war can have no

favorable turn. To fight on when there is no hope of victory is to commit national suicide. Modern public opinion—at least in all countries having parliamentary institutions—acts forcibly and sensibly upon questions of this sort. It is not that patriotism is a waning motive in the hearts of men, but that other motives have come to play a greater part than in former generations.

*Even Spain
Knew When
to Cry
"Enough!"* Thus the business motive which in the United States exerted itself so tremendously to prevent the outbreak of war with Spain came to the front in Spain itself by the middle of July to demand the cessation of war. When business men of towns like Barcelona, Cadiz, and Valencia learned of the destruction of Cervera's fleet, and found further that Camara's mysterious expedition by way of the Suez Canal had proved a farce, while the Watson expedition to the coasts of Spain was a practical certainty of the very near future, they saw that the game was up and began to bring every possible pressure upon the governing authorities at Madrid to make peace. The surrender of the city and bay of Santiago, together with the eastern end of the province that bears the same name, followed by the organization and actual embarkment of the expedition under General Miles to Porto Rico, only strengthened the case for a prompt ending of the war. The real hope of Spain had been to draw other nations into the controversy and to involve the United States, either in actual warfare or, at least, in diplomatic entanglements with continental powers. The hopelessness, however, of any such line of escape gradually became apparent to every intelligent man in Spain. General Weyler and a few of the malcontents and evil spirits surrounding him and acknowledging his lead were avowedly for a continuance of the war; but some of them had bad records to cover up, while others had not yet profited enough by the mis-

fortunes of their country and were hoping for personal opportunities through the further extension of the war. The great body of influential men of all parties—taken as they were, one after another, into the counsels of Señor Sagasta—assured the prime minister that his government would have their support in a non-partisan national policy which should have for its object the earliest possible restoration of peace with the United States on any terms that could be procured. For it was perfectly understood in Spain that, the main issues of the contest being already decided, the United States would certainly make the final terms more severe for every month that war expenditures had to be continued through Spanish stubbornness. All the powers of Europe—most of all, the Vatican—were urgently desirous that Spain should bring the war to an end. Even those powers whose conduct had seemed to be slightly unfriendly to the United States were urgent in behalf of peace, for the very reason that every successive American victory was adding to the international prestige of the so-called "Yankees," while at the same time the Yankee elasticity of mind was rapidly accommodating itself to the idea of unexpected and far-reaching responsibilities in regions where the continental nations themselves had their own secret designs.

*Opening
Peace
Negotiations.*

Precisely how to open the negotiations for peace was a delicate and difficult question. Its solution, however, proved easy enough when the attempt was made. The remarkable generosity of the United States toward the vanquished Spanish army at Santiago had a great influence in preparing the way. Whatever faults the Spaniards possess, they have a quick appreciation of courteous and kind treatment. And never were foreign foes so magnanimously dealt with as were the soldiers and sailors of Spain after the successive naval and military actions at Santiago. When the Spanish minister, Señor Polo, withdrew from Washington at the outbreak of the war, the French embassy and the Austrian legation at Washington were specially charged with the affairs of Spanish subjects in America and with other matters relating to Spain that might require diplomatic attention in the United States during the period of the war. This fact alone would have made it natural and reasonable that France should have had some initiative in the opening of peace negotiations. The agency of France in that respect was, moreover, greatly facilitated by several facts of a personal nature. It happened that Señor Castillo, probably the most effective of all surviving Spanish statesmen, was the ambassador of his country at Paris, while M. Pate-

notre, formerly French ambassador at Washington, was occupying a like position at Madrid. The successor of M. Patenotre at Washington was M. Jules Cambon, a diplomat, administrator, and statesman of extraordinary ability, who had come to Washington at about the time of the outbreak of our war against Spain with the prestige of a brilliant and successful career under difficult circumstances as a colonial administrator in Algiers and a promoter of French interests in Tunis. Señor Castillo at Paris, cherishing no illusions as to the outcome of the war, had for months been bending all his energies toward some form of solution. Having failed to secure intervention on the part of France, Austria, and other continental powers, he knew that peace at such price as the American people would be likely to demand would for Spain be preferable to a continuance of the war. Moreover, in view of the natural sympathies that exist between France and Spain, the United States has throughout the war received notably fair and honorable treatment from the great French republic. It is scarcely necessary to attempt to penetrate behind the scenes in order to inquire what part France might have contemplated assuming at the outset of the war in conjunction with other continental powers. It is enough for us that the French Government in the earliest days of the war wisely decided to maintain perfect neutrality. Thus, it was entirely proper from every point of view that Madrid should communicate with Washington by way of Paris, and that M. Cambon, the French ambassador at Washington, should have been selected as temporary representative of Spain for the purpose of conferring with the President and Secretary of State as to the terms that the United States should be willing to grant, and for the purpose of signing the peace protocol that ended the war. M. Cambon will have no very unpleasant memories of his interviews with President McKinley and Secretary Day. He found them entirely ready for the discussion of peace preliminaries and prepared in a general way to announce both privately and openly what terms the United States would make if Spain were prompt in her acceptance. On the other hand, they found M. Cambon sensible and business-like.

*The Protocol
of August 12.*

The protocol itself, as signed on the afternoon of August 12 by Secretary Day, representing the United States, and M. Cambon, representing Spain, is said to be a document of about twelve hundred words. Its full text has not been made public, probably for reasons having to do with Spain's domestic tranquillity. Six important points, however, in the

nature of a summing up of the protocol, were at once made public news in this country. These points, in the language of their official announcement, were as follows :

1. That Spain will relinquish all claim of sovereignty over and title to Cuba.
2. That Porto Rico and other Spanish islands in the West Indies, and an island in the Ladronea, to be selected by the United States, shall be ceded to the latter.
3. That the United States will occupy and hold the city, bay, and harbor of Manila pending the conclusion of a treaty of peace which shall determine the control, disposition, and government of the Philippines.
4. That Cuba, Porto Rico, and other Spanish islands in the West Indies shall be immediately evacuated, and that commissioners, to be appointed within ten days, shall, within thirty days from the signing of the protocol, meet at Havana and San Juan, respectively, to arrange and execute the details of the evacuation.
5. That the United States and Spain will each appoint not more than five commissioners to negotiate and conclude a treaty of peace. The commissioners are to meet at Paris not later than October 1.
6. On the signing of the protocol hostilities will be suspended, and notice to that effect will be given as soon as possible by each government to the commanders of its military and naval forces.

Peace Proclaimed. The sixth point, obviously, was the one of primary significance and importance, inasmuch as it provided for the immediate cessation of hostilities. President McKinley on the very same day—namely, August 12—issued a proclamation, announcing on the part of the United States a suspension of hostilities and commanding that proper orders be sent to the military and naval officers of the United States to abstain from all acts inconsistent with this proclamation. Simultaneously, Adjutant-General Corbin sent cablegrams of instruction to General Miles in Porto Rico, General Shafter in Santiago de Cuba, and General Merritt in the Philippines, while the Navy Department also on the same day sent dispatches to Admiral Sampson, Admiral Dewey, Commodore Howell, and Commodore Watson, with orders to raise the blockades of Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippine Islands, and with further orders requiring the prompt return of most of the important warships, excepting the monitors, from the West Indies to the coast of the United States. The word went ringing through the length and breadth of the land that peace was restored, while the cable lines bore the good news to all parts of the world. The cable from Hong Kong to Manila, however, had not been restored to use since Dewey had cut it in May, and it was several days before tidings could be carried to General Merritt and Admiral Dewey by the steamer that our consul-general promptly dispatched from the Chinese coast.

*The
Surrender
of Manila.*

Meanwhile, on the very next day, namely, August 13 according to the calendar, Admiral Dewey—acting, of course, in full conjunction with General Merritt—gave notice to Captain-General Augusti to surrender the city of Manila at once, under penalty

LIEUT. THOMAS B. BRUMBY, U. S. N.

(Admiral Dewey's flag officer, who had the honor of hoisting the American flag at Manila on August 13.)

of bombardment if surrender was refused. No attention being paid to the American demand, the bombardment promptly began at 9:30 o'clock on Saturday morning and lasted, according to the reports, about an hour and a half, the United States troops making a spirited attack on the entrenched lines of the Spanish army at the same time. Great care was taken by Admiral Dewey not to cause needless damage, and the bombardment was directed solely against fortifications and military defenses. The Spaniards did not attempt to reply directly—to any extent, at least—to the fire of the American fleet, but turned their guns against the United States troops on land. After some keen fighting in the trenches the Spaniards were driven back to the last line of defense that lay outside the walls of the fortified inner city of Manila, whence, with only a brief further resistance, they fled within the gates. No further defense was considered practicable, and the city was promptly surrendered. The American flag was raised over the government palace in the course of the afternoon, the Spaniards having formed in line and laid down their arms. The navy suffered no loss in the action, and the army was reported to have lost not more than 12 men killed, about 40 being wounded. The Spanish losses in the trenches were much greater.

*Augusti
and the
Germans.*

The city was surrendered, not by Captain-General Augusti, but by General Jaudenes, to whom General Augusti had turned over his command. General Augusti, with his family, had escaped by the assistance of the German admiral, who had taken him on board the *Kaiserin Augusta*. The propriety of this act on the part of the German admiral could not be pronounced upon at first, for the reason that detailed information was lacking. In view of the termination of the war, the United States had no possible reason or wish to hold the captain-general as its star prisoner. His escape, therefore, was of no practical consequence so far as Spain and the United States are concerned. In view, however, of a series of marked discourtesies toward the United States that had been charged against the German admiral in Philippine waters, it was naturally interesting to know the essential facts about this latest incident. As for the captain-general himself, all home-loving Americans who may happen to see the illustration which we present herewith will heartily wish that he and his attractive family may reach the mother country of Spain in safety, and that the Spanish Government may not subject him to the threatened summary punishment at the hands of a court-martial.

*Importance of
the Victory
of the 13th.*

It is true, undoubtedly, that the Spaniards were deeply chagrined when they learned the news of the bombardment and surrender of Manila. They had hoped that in the final settlement by the peace commission the fact would count for something in their favor that Manila had not been conquered, but had held out to the very end of the war, with the prospect of maintaining a long and stubborn re-

GENERAL AUGUSTI AND FAMILY.

sistance. It seemed, therefore, to the government at Madrid a last bitter drop in the cup of disaster and humiliation that Manila had been finally conquered by the Americans in the due course of war several days before the news of the peace protocol could possibly reach the Philippines. Manila had, in point of fact, if actual time is considered, been surrendered by the Spaniards even sooner than the Madrid government had sent its dispatch by way of Hong Kong to General Augusti, informing him of the termination of hostilities. This Madrid dispatch was not sent until some time in the course of the 13th; and when one makes allowance for the difference of time, it becomes evident that the American flag was actually flying over the governor's palace at Manila when the telegraph operator at Madrid began to send Premier Sagasta's message via Hong Kong to General Augusti. Moreover, when this difference of time is taken into account it also appears that Dewey's bombardment had actually begun at about the time when Mr. Allen, the Assistant Secretary of the Navy, on the evening of the 12th, sent his instructions to our Philippine fleet. Manila was an American city by the time Mr. Allen's message had been received at Hong Kong; and thus, even if the cable had been working from Hong Kong to the admiral's flagship in Manila Bay, the momentous events of August 13 would not have been altered. While



every one must deplore the loss of life incurred in the assault upon the trenches on the morning of August 13, it is at least worth bearing in mind that the restoration of the cable would not have prevented that bloodshed. Apart from the loss of life, Americans may well congratulate themselves that before the truce became operative the Philippine expedition had justified itself by the capture and occupation of the one point which virtually controls the whole Philippine situation.

*Dewey as
the Hero of
the War.*

Admiral Dewey could, of course, at any time since May 1 have bombarded and conquered the city of Manila; but although his task of waiting was an extremely trying one, he had determined to make no attack that should expose the city to the danger of anarchy and rapine. It was his policy to wait until the United States had sent a sufficient number of soldiers to maintain a safe and firm occupation and prevent the disorders that would flow from a state of civil warfare. With their fatal proclivity for postponement, the Spaniards had waited a week too long. Our complete conquest of Manila had altered the facts, because it had destroyed the Spanish argument that Manila was prepared to stand an indefinitely long siege. It was, upon the whole, highly fitting that Admiral Dewey, whose brilliant exploit on May 1 had been the first great event of the war, should have received the surrender of Manila and, in consequence thereof, virtually secured the American possession of the entire Philippine group as the result of the last naval action of the war. Admiral Dewey's tact as diplomat and administrator in these past four months is not less remarkable than his boldness and brilliancy as a naval strategist. Moreover, he has shown that well-nigh perfect self-mastery which can wait with infinite patience

or can act with lightning-like energy, as the occasion may require. Manila is so far away, and the news since May 1 has come in so condensed a fashion, that we have not known in minute detail how Admiral Dewey was occupying himself from one day to the next. But the people of the United States have felt that the admiral was in a very unusual degree the embodiment of American pluck, common sense, cool-headedness, and ingenious resourcefulness; and so they have felt a great satisfaction in the idea that the Vermonter in the Philippines could be relied upon to take care of himself and dominate the situation, regardless of Spanish captain-generals and the intrigues of pompous German admirals, not to mention the soaring aspirations of restless native patriots like General Aguinaldo. The winning side in every war develops its heroes. We are all glad to believe that many another officer of our navy would have given a splendid account of himself if he had, in Dewey's place, been in command of the Asiatic squadron at the outbreak of the war. But Dewey had especially qualified himself in advance for precisely the work he has so well executed; and by unanimous consent he will rank first in the list of heroes of the late war.

*A Possible
Naval
Postscript.*

It was reported that immediately after the surrender of Manila Admiral Dewey had sent a portion of his fleet to accept the surrender of Spanish ports in other parts of the extensive Philippine group. If it should prove to be true that these ships were actually sent, as had been expected, before the news of the peace protocol reached Manila, it would have been out of the question to communicate with them promptly. Thus it may turn out that an interesting and adventurous naval chapter may yet be added to the story of the

war, although it would not appear likely that any resistance could be offered to the American men-of-war by the virtually unfortified ports which were named in the dispatches as the objectives of the expedition. It was known, however, that a number of Spanish gunboats were at large in these remoter parts of the Philippine group, and their capture was supposed to be one of the errands assigned by Admiral Dewey to the expeditionary cruisers.

Later Manila Reports.

The Hong Kong-Manila cable was restored to working order on August 20. Philippine news thereupon began to arrive more freely. It appeared from General Merritt's explanation of the terms of surrender of August 13 that there was no specific agreement to turn over the whole Philippine group, although as a matter of fact the surrender of Manila with its harbor and bay and the environing district was, for practical purposes, almost exactly equivalent to a surrender of the whole group. Prominent officers of our army were at once installed in the important posts of administration; and although General Aguinaldo proved at first somewhat difficult to manage, it was reported that he had been persuaded after a few days to acquiesce completely in the American programme. It was also reported that Admiral Dewey's entire fleet remained at Manila, and thus the earlier rumors that cruisers had been sent to Iloilo and other distant points in the Philippines were contradicted.

The Primary Object of the War Attained.

As we have remarked, the first important result of the signing of the protocol was the general cessation of hostilities. The next important result, in the order of events, was to be the complete evacuation of the western hemisphere by Spanish troops and the sacrifice by Spain of all sovereignty claims over her recent possessions in the West Indies. It was to secure this practical result that the war was undertaken. Spanish rule had not merely outlived its usefulness, but had become a positive international grievance, and the people of the United States took it upon themselves to terminate Spain's political control over islands situated upon our side of the Atlantic. It would be threshing over old straw to re-

MANILA—THE COLGANTE BRIDGE.

capitulate once more the reasons why the people of the United States were not only amply justified in attacking Spanish sovereignty in the West Indies, but were morally bound to take the manly and righteous course that they have pursued in the present year. There are wisecracks in this country—happily not very many—who have carried their sneering and their cynicism through the entire period of the campaign, and who have affected from one day to another the discovery of new evidence that the United States was fooled and dragooned into a filibustering war which all moralists of to-day and all historians of to-morrow must agree in condemning. By sheer force of reiteration they have made themselves believe that there was virtually no insurrection in Cuba, that the insurgents never had an army, that the Spanish administration was not so objectionable after all, and that the Spanish outrages, culminating in the horrors of the *reconcentrado* policy, were figments of newspaper mendacity. Those of us who are better informed, while open always to the truth, can certainly afford to await very cheerfully the verdict of history.

Evacuating the West Indies.

The completeness of the settlement of the West Indian situation which is set forth in the summary of the protocol affords a magnificent justification of the policy pursued by the United States, while it also entitles President McKinley, with his Secretary of State and his other principal advisers, to the gratitude and esteem of all friends of progress and humanity. The surrender at Santiago, followed by the remarkable arrangements for the deportation of the army of Generals Linares and Toral back to their native shores, will undoubtedly have furnished in a general way at least the outlines of a plan upon which the com-

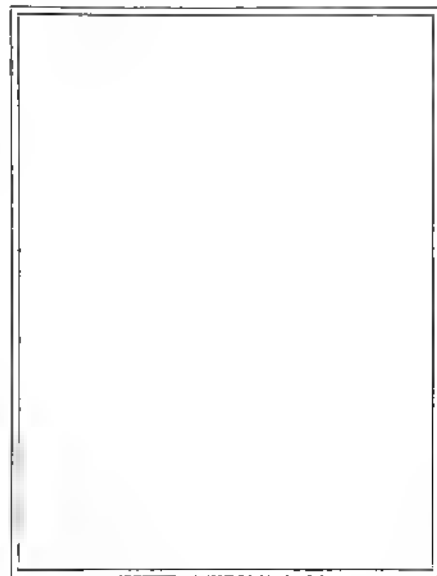
MANILA—THE AYOLA BRIDGE.

plete evacuation of Cuba and Porto Rico will be carried out in the course of the next few weeks or months. In the case of the troops surrendered at the eastern end of Cuba in July, as our readers will remember, the United States had agreed to provide transportation at its own expense back to Spain. Bids having been called for, it turned out that the principal transatlantic steamship company of Spain had made a more advantageous offer than any other of a considerable number of competing transportation agencies. The United States Government had, accordingly, accepted the Spanish proposition. And thus it happened that in the very midst of a vigorously prosecuted war the victor at a given point was amicably paying the expenses of sending a conquered army across an ocean, employing for that purpose the merchant marine of the enemy and carefully bargaining with the hostile contractors that they should furnish safe and suitable accommodations and provide ample and proper food for the men of their own army, whom they were being well paid to carry home. Nothing like this has ever happened before in all the history of warfare. The incident is immensely interesting in itself, but its importance is due above all to the light it throws upon the spirit in which the United States has prosecuted the war from the very beginning.

An Unparalleled Episode. Those of us who for more than two years have unhesitatingly made the prediction that the rebellion of 1895 would end in the defeat and withdrawal of Spain from Cuba had feared, with good reason, lest the final evacuation should occur amid scenes of fearful carnage and devastation. If the United States had merely recognized first the belligerency and then the independence of the Cuban republic without active armed intervention, the Spaniards would have been ultimately forced out ;

but they would not have withdrawn without first destroying Havana and leaving the whole island in a state of chaos and ruin. The evacuation that we shall actually see will be of a very different sort. It will be carried on in the same business-like and inoffensive manner that has marked the proceedings at Santiago within the past month. Every year witnesses the transportation of several hundred thousand people from Europe across the Atlantic, most of them coming to remain ; and this trans-

fer of population is accomplished without flurry or disturbance. We are now about to witness an almost equally quiet and orderly removal of the Spanish armies, aggregating scores of thousands of men, from Cuba and Porto Rico back to their homes in Spain. Their coming and their going constitute a military episode without parallel ; for it must be remembered that never before in the history of the world has there been any movement of troops across an ocean on a scale even half as great. Those who have formed the habit of speaking of Spain as a decadent and inefficient nation, while having much truth on their side, ought at least to remember that the assemblage of two hundred



GENERAL TORAL.

(Who surrendered Santiago to General Shafter.)

thousand Spanish soldiers in Cuba and their maintenance there for two or three years give evidence of a very considerable degree of energy and vitality. It is enough to say that Spain has forfeited all claim to the further management of distant colonial possessions. Her civil administration of those possessions had been hopelessly corrupt and oppressive, while the scandalous rottenness of her military administration affords the chief explanation of her failure to subdue the Cuban insurgents. The Spaniards at home in their own peninsula are more likely to exhibit a renaissance than a national decline as a result of this war with America. Our soldiers who have faced the Spaniards regard them as brave and vigorous opponents. Good leadership and honest government is their great need.

SEÑOR MONTONO.

(Member of the Cuban evacuation board.)

When the United States entered upon its policy of intervention in Cuba, it was with the distinct avowal that this country would take upon itself the responsibility not only of expelling the Spaniards, but, further, of establishing in Cuba a government that would give to the island a domestic régime of order, security, and justice, while capable of maintaining its external obligations. Time must be one of the essential factors in the carrying out of this programme. Precisely what the permanent government of Cuba shall be is a question that cannot be answered this year, and that may not be answered before the end of the century. It was absolutely essential to the carrying out of the immediate programme that there should be no divided responsibility. The United States could not possibly have completed its work in Cuba, for example, if it had regarded the insurgents, with their provisional constitution and civil government, and their military organization, as equal allies in the prosecution of the war, and therefore entitled to prompt possession and authority on the withdrawal of the Spaniards. A great many of the insurgents have failed to see the matter in this light. We must exercise

patience with them; for if one argues from their premises their conclusions are easily reached. Most of the insurgents (we refer, of course, to their civil and military leaders) are, however, able to take the broad view, and it is not likely that they will find it hard to reconcile themselves to the paramouncy in Cuba of the Government of the United States pending the necessary period of reconstruction.

Garcia and the Insurgent Attitude. The whole story of the controversy between Gen. Calixto Garcia and General Shafter does not seem as yet to have been authoritatively told. So far as we understand the facts, both of these generals were partly right and partly wrong. In view of the peculiar susceptibilities of the Spaniards, General Shafter was probably right in thinking it best that the army of the Cuban insurgents should not be represented on the occasion of the formal surrender of Santiago by General Toral. On the other hand, General Garcia was entitled to the highest consideration; and it does not seem to us that he received anything like the tactful and courteous treatment which all the facts of the case demanded. General Garcia was clearly wrong in allowing personal pique and offended dignity to govern his practical action at a time when the best welfare of Cuba required his coöperation with the forces of the United States, even though the American general had failed to show him the fair and generous treatment that

CAPT. D. EUGENIO VALLARINO.

(Member of the Porto Rico evacuation board.)



ADMIRAL SCHLEY.
(Porto Rico evacuation board.)

GENERAL SHAFTER.
(Head of army at Montauk Point.)

GENERAL MERRITT.
(Now governing the Philippines.)

GENERAL BROOKE.
(Head of Porto Rico evacuation board.)

ADMIRAL SAMPSON.
(Cuban evacuation board.)

was his due. The tact that President McKinley himself always exhibits, and that Admiral Dewey in the Philippines has so perfectly exemplified, was very sadly lacking in General Shafter's management of affairs at Santiago. But the cable from Santiago to Washington has been in good working order; and the present Government of the United States, with Judge Day as the leader of the Cabinet, is giving the whole world just now a series of lessons in the combination of gentle manners with resolute action. There will be no serious friction between the authorities of the United States and the brave men who have for three years prosecuted the insurgent movement against Spanish sovereignty. The insurgent army, after Spanish withdrawal, should be disbanded with high marks of American favor and honor. If possible, it should have some back pay.

The Cuban and Porto Rican Commissions.

The protocol provided that the details of the evacuation of Cuba should be arranged by joint commission. The commissioners were to be named within ten days and were to assemble in Havana within thirty days. President McKinley named as the American members of this commission Maj.-Gen. James F. Wade, Rear Admiral William T. Sampson, and Maj.-Gen. Matthew C. But-

GEN. GONZALES FARRADO.
(Spanish head of Cuban evacuation board.)

GEN. M. C. BUTLER.
(Member of the Cuban evacuation board.)

ler. General Wade, who is a distinguished officer of the regular army, has not seen active service in the present war, but has been prominent by reason of his being in command of the great encampment at Tampa, Fla. General Butler was one of the major-generals appointed from civil life at the outbreak of the war. He was an officer in the Confederate army and after-

ward United States Senator from South Carolina. More recently he has been on duty at Camp Alger, in Virginia. It was understood that the Spanish Government had selected Captain-General Blanco, at Havana, as the leading member of its delegation, but he persistently refused to serve, and his place was accorded to the next in command—namely, Gen. Gonzales Parrado. The other members for Spain are Capt. Pastor Landera and the distinguished leader of the Cuban autonomists, the Marquis Montoro. The commissioners will presumably have assembled at Havana very early in the month of September, and in accordance with the agreement their work must have begun by the 11th. A precisely similar commission will arrange for the evacuation of Porto Rico. The American members of the Porto Rican board are Maj.-Gen. John R. Brooke, who accompanied General Miles to that island as next in command, Rear Admiral Winfield S. Schley, and Brig.-Gen. William W. Gordon. General Gordon was a gallant officer in the Confederate army and is one of the foremost citizens of Savannah, Ga. He is highly esteemed by President McKinley, who made him a brigadier-general of volunteers after the opening of the war. The Spanish members of the Porto Rican commission are General Ortega, of the Spanish troops in that island, Captain Vallarino, commander of the naval station of Porto Rico, and Señor Sanches Aguila. The country will place the utmost confidence in the wisdom and ability of the American members of these two important joint commissions.

*Technically,
We Annex
Cuba.*

In spite of every precaution that can be taken, the Spanish evacuation would seem almost certain to be attended by a somewhat dangerous condition of interregnum in Cuba. Throughout the greater part of the island the Spanish authority is still in active political operation, although it is now more than two weeks since Spain signed away all her sovereign rights there. The government at Madrid is absolutely without any means of effective control over the officials in Cuba who remain clothed with a little brief authority. Every populous and civilized portion of the globe is supposed to pertain to some responsible power which holds an accredited place in the family of nations. Since the signing of the protocol Spain could not well be held accountable—at least, in more than a very limited sense—for violations on Cuban soil of the rights of foreigners; while, on the other hand, the United States could hardly be expected to admit as yet any full degree of accountability. Although the protocol does not specifically make a cession of Cuba to the United States, the logic

of the situation leads to practically the same thing. Political sovereignty must certainly be exercised by somebody in Cuba. Spain's withdrawal makes it obligatory upon the United States to exercise such sovereignty, and so far as other nations are concerned there can be no "limited-liability" clause in the arrangements. The Spaniards are going to make Cuba over to the United States in just as short a time as the transfer can be carried out as a piece of practical business. The United States will thereby have become wholly responsible, so far as the outside world is concerned, for the management of Cuban affairs. If, for example, a European consul should be mobbed in a Cuban town, the United States would be held to just as strict an account as if the outrage had occurred in New York or Washington. In other words, to be perfectly plain, the protocol means nothing short of the immediate annexation of Cuba by the United States. We have already annexed the easternmost tip of the island by virtue of the terms of the Santiago surrender. Major-General Lawton, who represents the United States as governor of the ceded district, and General Wood, who is in command of the city of Santiago, are exercising sovereign authority in the name of the United States in as complete a sense as Gov. John G. Brady is exercising it in Alaska. We must not confuse metaphysics with facts. So long as the Spaniard remained in exercise of Cuban sovereignty, he was accountable to the outside world for Cuban government. The responsibility that he relinquishes we, perforce, must assume.

*Morally, We
Are Trustees,
Not Owners.*

Thus, so far as the outside world is concerned, the transfer of Cuba to the United States by Spain will give as valid title to the exercise of political sovereignty as the transfer of Florida to the United States by Spain in 1821. This expresses the practical and the legal fact. It does not, however, by any means cover the moral situation. The people of the United States will be bound to remember that possession of Cuba is in the nature of a temporary trusteeship. They are entering upon the difficult task of establishing good government in the island, with the understanding that whenever the Cubans shall show themselves able to maintain a responsible republican government and desirous of an independent career we shall give them our best wishes and best help, place their flag where ours has temporarily waved, and evacuate willingly in favor of the principle of home rule. It is not necessary to make any predictions; the situation must develop in its own way. Far from the Cubans being in any danger from the greed of the Unit-

ed States for enlarged dominion, it is rather to be expected that the pressure will come from the other side. The advantages that Cuba would derive from permanent annexation to the United States could not well be overstated; while on the other hand it would be hard to exaggerate the difficulties and dangers that might await the career of an independent Cuban republic. The main advantages to the United States that would accrue from turning a temporary annexation into a permanent one would, perhaps, be of a negative and indirect character. The greatest benefit of all would result from the sanitary regeneration that we should be able to bring about, and the consequent prevention of all future danger of yellow fever and cholera in our Southern States.

Of several things at least we may be *Five Facts.* certain. First, the Stars and Stripes within a very few weeks will be floating from one end of Cuba to the other. Second, American sovereignty will have a magical effect in restoring order and reestablishing agriculture and trade. Third, all the responsible and peace-loving elements of the population will dread the uncertainties that might follow yet another change of flag, and will be in no haste to have the protection of the United States Government withdrawn. Fourth, the people of the United States will hardly be so ungracious as to compel the Cubans, against their own preferences and best judgment, to try the experiment of setting themselves up as an independent power. Fifth, the almost unavoidable conclusion is that temporary annexation will, by degrees, lead up to permanent union. Although these propositions would seem to be entirely justified by existing facts and prospects, it is not for a moment to be supposed that particular questions arising one after another will not cause an immense amount of discussion and sharp controversy. There will be plenty of opportunity for the exercise of a high order of statesmanship.

*Our New
Island
Possession.*

Whatever the future political status of Cuba may be, that of Porto Rico is settled beyond a doubt. The United States has demanded and Spain has granted a definite cession of the island. If we were to be perfectly consistent with the principles that Americans have generally professed, we should probably consider it our duty to allow the inhabitants of Porto Rico to have a voice in the question of their political future. But common-sense is an American quality; and the substance of freedom is always better than the shadow. We are perfectly aware that the Porto Ricans are a people who, although Spanish in origin, have lived as a dis-

COLUMBUS STATUE AND SQUARE IN MAYAGUEZ, PORTO RICO, NOW AN AMERICAN TOWN.

tinct community for many generations. We are further aware that their liberties will be better secured under our flag than under that of Spain. Their rights of person and of property will be scrupulously respected, and there will be no interference with their religion or their social customs. There is little reason to fear any very serious objection in Porto Rico to the changed *regime*. The mayors of Porto Rican towns and other officials to a considerable extent have welcomed the United States in terms of glowing enthusiasm. The people of the island will undoubtedly show capacity for the exercise of a large measure of local self-government. Porto Rican revenues can readily pay the legitimate expenses of local administration and internal improvement, and under energetic and honest management the island may hope for an increased prosperity. Its population, as enumerated twelve years ago, was somewhat more than 800,000, of whom nearly two-thirds were white and a little more than one-third negroes. Its area is 3,670 square miles, Cuba being eleven times as large, although having only twice as great a population. The possession of Porto Rico is not likely to entail any considerable burden of expense upon the United States, while the commercial advantages to this

country are thought to be considerable, and the gain from a naval and strategic point of view is held to be of the highest importance. Porto Rican commerce is already limited to ships having the American register.

*Our Tenure
in the
Philippines.*

It would not be profitable at this juncture to saddle one's self with any unalterable opinions about the relations of the United States to the future of the Philippines. A great deal must depend upon facts not yet perfectly in hand. Not only the information that Admiral Dewey will impart to our Government, but also such opinions respecting our policy as he may choose to express, will have great influence in the formation of public opinion in this country. The reported declaration of Señor Sagasta that the signing of the protocol completely nullifies the effect of the simultaneous surrender of the Philippine Islands to the American forces is of course a piece of purely legal sophistication. Again, it is to be remarked, we are not dealing with metaphysics, but with facts. Even as the sea-power of Spain had been the only amalgamating force that bound the colonies to the mother country, just so the Spanish Philippine fleet had been the only unifying factor that kept the vast archipelago together under the political dominion of the governor-general at Manila. When Admiral Dewey had destroyed the Spanish fleet on May 1 the Philippines were no longer a unified political group. Communication throughout the islands was virtually destroyed, and the movement of troops from one island to another was at an end. This condition of affairs gave the insurgents their opportunity; and the outlying detachments of Spanish soldiery were for the most part either captured or penned up at garrisoned points, while the main body of troops, on the island of Luzon, was driven into Manila, where on the 13th it was surrendered to the Americans. Theoretically, the governments at Washington and Madrid are in sovereign control of the opposing elements in the Philippines. Actually, however, the Philippine situation is wholly in the hands of the men who are on the ground. The Spanish troops in the capital city have become our prisoners of war. This country has, therefore, come into full authority at Manila, not in any sense whatever by virtue of the protocol signed at Washington, but wholly and completely by virtue of the terms of surrender agreed to by the responsible Spanish authorities in the Philippines a number of days before the news of the protocol had reached Manila. This was a chance that the Spaniards themselves took when they deferred so long their assent to terms of peace.

*Dewey
Versus the
Protocol.*

The part of the protocol relating to the Philippines was introduced to control the situation in case the Spaniards were still in possession. It could have little bearing if their possession had ceased. It provided that the Spaniards should allow the United States to occupy the city, bay, and harbor of Manila at once—the question of permanent possession of the archipelago being referred to the peace commissioners. The dispatch of the protocol, however, from Madrid to Manila found not a Spanish, but an American, sovereignty in actual exercise at that place. The future of the Philippines under these circumstances must of necessity become chiefly an American question. We had instructed Admiral Dewey to destroy Spanish sovereignty in the Philippines, and we had commissioned Maj.-Gen. Wesley Merritt to go there as military governor with full authority to exercise sovereignty in behalf of the Government of the United States. Those distinguished officers have simply obeyed instructions, and we are bound to honor and sustain the acts of our agents. The protocol could have no effect in the Philippines until it had been received there. Its intended effect was to suspend hostilities upon the due receipt of notice. Since the signing of the protocol could not undo the fact of the battle of August 13 at Manila, it is plain that it could not set aside the consequences of that battle. General Merritt at the moment when the Spaniards surrendered had unlimited authority to accept that surrender on behalf of the United States and to set up American rule in the islands. He went there with instructions as to all the steps to be taken. From the day of surrender the United States was responsible to all foreign nations for the safety of their subjects at Manila and for the protection of their material interests. It happens that the situation was not known at Washington, but that does not alter the facts in the least. Washington and Madrid cannot properly disavow the acts of their accredited agents.

*A Strictly
American
Question.*

We have come into legal possession by virtue of the fortunes of war, and our possession has been acknowledged and made good by the only Spanish authorities who were in a position to have any effective voice in the matter—namely, the military and civil authorities in the Philippines. It would be highly improper under those circumstances that Spanish members of a peace commission should be allowed to call into question the title by which American sovereignty has now superseded Spanish sovereignty in the archipelago. It may well be that the United States will eventually conclude to

place some limitations upon its Philippine occupancy and control; but the people of the United States will not wish to have those limitations fixed by any outside authority. Nor can we consent for a moment to permit the Spanish Government, through its peace commissioners or otherwise, to talk about Spain's "rights" in the Philippines—to use the term that Premier Sagasta is reported as employing—in so far as such "rights" were surrendered to the United States in the due course of war. In any case, Spain's further dominion in the Philippines is clearly impossible. The United States has obtained the islands by conquest, duly acknowledged in the terms of the Manila surrender. It would not be compatible with the dignity of the United States Government to permit Spain to have equal voice in deciding what we should do with the sovereignty which we have already acquired. Spain's only sensible course in the peace negotiations is to resolutely resist the temptation to quibble. Her loss of the colonies under all the circumstances will be a gain.

*Spain's
Easy
Escape.*

It may be set down as an axiom that even the strongest power cannot afford to try to retain political sovereignty over distant colonies against the will of the inhabitants. And what a strong power cannot afford to do is ruinous to the last degree for a weak power like Spain. The loss of the colonies, therefore, will for Spain be a good riddance. The chief argument for the retention of them has been the danger that their loss might so offend national pride at home as to precipitate a revolution. Spanish pride could not countenance the surrender of the islands to colonial rebels; but their surrender to a great power like the United States is a wholly different affair. Beyond that, Spain will be marvelously fortunate if she escapes without being asked to pay a money indemnity. France, besides losing Alsace and Lorraine—which were part and parcel of her home domain rather than troublesome distant colonies—was compelled to pay to Germany \$1,000,000,000. The terms of the peace treaty between Japan and China required the payment by China of a substantial money indemnity of \$175,000,000. Even the quick campaign of the Turks against impecunious little Greece called for a matter of \$16,000,000. Spain ought certainly to have made careful note of these and other recent object-lessons. For example, it is only within the past month that the Japanese, having received the last installment of the indemnity from China, have withdrawn their troops from Wei-Hai-Wei, a strategic point on the bay of the same name adjacent to Port Ar-

thur. (The Japanese withdrawal, by the way, was immediately followed by the occupation of the English, who had received Wei-Hai-Wei as a grant from the Chinese Government to offset the Russian acquisition of Port Arthur.) Moreover, it is among very recent financial happenings that several European governments have guaranteed the bonds issued by Greece with which to pay off the Turks, and thus secure the evacuation of Thessaly. If the United States had shown the disposition that any other power in the world would have exhibited under like circumstances, we should not have been content with the mere extinction of Spain's already forfeited sovereignty over distant and refractory colonies, but would have insisted upon an indemnity of several hundred millions of dollars, coupled with the occupation of Cadiz or some other Spanish port until the money was paid.

*Madrid
Cannot Afford
to Quibble.*

We are not aware that the protocol precludes the demand for an indemnity by the American peace commissioners; but it seems to be commonly understood that the United States does not intend to present any bill. In that case, the Spaniards would be guilty of an amazing folly if they should persist in raising the sort of questions that are now engaging the attention of the Madrid press. For example, having given up Cuba, the Spaniards are disposed to assert a property ownership in the public buildings and governmental establishments of the island. Nothing could be more absurd; for such property, scattered throughout the provinces and cities of Cuba, belongs just as essentially to the people of the island as do the roads and streets. They do not belong to the people who are living in Spain any more than they do to the Egyptians. They are a part of the equipment for the carrying on of administrative work in the island, and were originally paid for by the Cuban people themselves. All public property in Cuba must henceforth be used strictly and solely for the benefit of the inhabitants. The politicians and newspapers of Spain are not less absurd in their blind supposition that the United States will consent to foist upon the long-suffering people of Cuba a large part of the Spanish public debt. Those outstanding obligations which in Madrid are called the "Cuban debt" are not Cuban, either directly or indirectly. They were not even nominally issued by the Spanish authorities in Cuba. They are in the fullest sense a part of the public debt of the kingdom of Spain. The Spanish Government issued the bonds, obtained the money, and expended it. In order the better to market those bonds, the Spanish Government

chose to make them a sort of lien or mortgage upon the revenues it should be able to exact from the people of Cuba. But that was the misfortune and not the fault of the Cuban people. It was to be rid of precisely that kind of villainy that the Cubans set on foot their rebellion of 1895 against Spain. A treaty of peace which should require either the United States or Cuba to pay one penny of Spain's public debt would certainly be repudiated by the United States Senate. But the Spaniards ought to have enough intelligence to understand that President McKinley will not appoint American peace commissioners who could for a moment entertain any such ridiculous ideas.

Ecclesiastical issues. Another question of a somewhat more delicate sort will be introduced by the Spaniards before the peace tribunal, and it will have to be dealt with plainly, though courteously. One of the principal griev-

BARCELONA—THE NEW LAW COURTS BUILDING, NOW BEING CONSTRUCTED.

ances of the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands, and to a lesser extent one of the grievances of the people of Cuba, has been the oppressive nature of the union of church and state. A large part of the lands of the Philippine Islands are held for purposes of gain and profit by monastic orders, and all of it is exempt from taxation. The abuses of clericalism in the Philippines are probably much greater than those which existed in England prior to the drastic measures of Henry VIII. The United States will have every disposition to deal fairly with the Church, but Spain will be entirely mistaken in supposing that an American administration in any part of the world will support ecclesiasticism at the expense of a policy of just and equal treatment of all citizens. The extreme solicitude that the Vatican

NEW CHURCH, "OUR LADY OF PERPETUAL SUCCOR," AT MADRID.

has shown for its investments in Spanish bonds and its property holdings in the Spanish colonies has not made an altogether favorable impression upon the American mind. Whatever influence the Vatican might at certain stages of the Cuban troubles have exercised in behalf of peace and good-will among men has been, it is to be feared, almost if not quite neutralized by its concern for its earthly treasures. The Government of the United States is not in a position to guarantee the Vatican's investments; nor can it promise as a special favor that ecclesiastical organizations may hold vast landed estates for purposes of profit without paying taxes like other holders of property. There need not be the slightest danger of religious or ecclesiastical bitterness in the forthcoming settlement of Philippine and Cuban affairs, if only everybody will agree to take American principles of freedom and fair play as a basis.

Spain's Money-Making Proclivities. Thus far the Spaniards have shown an astonishingly slight amount of sentiment over the ending of the war and the loss of the colonies. They had always taken it for granted that the Americans were a dollar-loving race who subordinated all other motives to the pecuniary one, while they themselves were the embodiment of the full catalogue of high national virtues such as chivalry, honor, courage, and patriotism. The present facts seem to prove the very opposite. The Spaniards are exhibiting a remarkably keen business sense, and are giving the financial aspects of the war and its settlement their first consideration. The Americans, on the other hand, are swayed by sentiment and ideal considerations beyond any other nation of modern times; and in the prosecution and settlement of the war with Spain they have been almost absolutely unmindful of pecuniary profit or loss. Spain's colonies in the days when cane sugar

brought high prices were profitably exploited by the mother country. Outrageous differential tariffs made Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines the monopoly victims of the merchants of the Spanish seaports. It had been hoped that the colonies might again be made lucrative, both to the public treasury of Spain and also to the private coffers of the Spanish merchants. This having proved impossible, however, the business men of Spain are now devoting themselves to the discussion of a commercial treaty with the United States, by means of which they hope to retain special privileges in the Spanish-speaking islands. In this object they are likely to be disappointed; but there is not a little business skill and energy in Spain, and the loss of political sovereignty over certain island domains ought not in the long run to cripple Spanish trade.

*Spain's
National
Outlook.*

There is no reason why the Spanish peninsula should not develop a lucrative foreign commerce with all parts of the world, and especially with the Spanish-speaking republics. It must not be supposed for a moment that the eighteen or nineteen millions of people living in Spain have in any true sense suffered a national blight by the events of the past four months. On the contrary, they are delivered from their tedious and costly provincial wars. It is true that they have lost nearly all of their warships, but they are also relieved of the expense of maintaining a navy that they no longer need. Their war expenditures within the past four months have been only a small fraction of those incurred by the United States. They

**MADRID—EXPOSITION OF NATIONAL INDUSTRIES, IN SESSION
LAST MONTH.**

come out of the war with a total public debt of more than \$1,500,000,000. As we remarked in the May number of the *Review*, in discussing Spanish finances, there was a scaling down, virtually a repudiation, of about half the accumulated indebtedness outstanding in 1882 after a long period of Cuban and Carlist wars. It remains to be seen, of course, whether the readjustment of the Spanish finances in the near future will involve another composition with creditors. If the interest bearing debt were reduced to \$1,000,000,000, the budget could be balanced, even with considerable lightening of taxation, by the very reasonable policy of reducing the army to small dimensions, avoiding for some years all extravagance in naval and military outlay. The Spanish people as a whole are woefully ignorant, but it does not follow that as a nation they are in a state of decay. Certainly the population is not stationary, for it has steadily increased all through the present century. Although the mass of illiteracy is very great, it is by no means so great as it was twenty-five years ago. A number of the towns exhibit striking improvement in many ways.

the Secretary of State, who was credited with having drafted the protocol, should head the five American commissioners. It was also subsequently announced that Senator Davis, of Minnesota, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, would serve as a commissioner. Some amusing reports came from Madrid after the announcement of Senator Davis' appointment, to the effect that the Spaniards regarded it with much disfavor on account of the pronounced attitude that Senator Davis had occupied as respects the war. Surely, loyal support of the policy of one's own government in waging a successful war ought not to disqualify a man for participating in the final settlement. Spain may be sure, furthermore, that she will fare best at the hands of American commissioners who have had no apologies to make for their country's course.

COL. JOHN HAY.

(Who will succeed Judge Day as Secretary of State)

During this very period of trouble and uncertainty the course of modern progress has not been essentially retarded in Spain. Important new public buildings are in process of construction in Madrid, Barcelona, Cadiz, and elsewhere, as several illustrations on the two preceding pages will attest. An exposition of Spain's national industries and mechanical arts has just been held in Madrid. A few months ago the International Hygienic Congress held a most brilliant session in that city. The defeat of France by the Germans marked the beginning of a new era in the educational advancement and internal progress of the French nation. Something of the same sort is not unlikely to happen in Spain as a consequence of the experience of 1898.

The Paris Commission.

The peace commissioners, in accordance with the terms of the protocol, will be ten in number, five to be appointed by the President of the United States and five by the Spanish Government. It is now quite generally agreed in Spain that the Sagasta cabinet will remain in office through the period of the peace negotiations. The commissioners are to meet at Paris on or before October 1. It was not required by the protocol that the names of the commissioners should be immediately announced, and both governments showed a disposition to proceed deliberately in the matter of selection. It was, however, made known very promptly in the United States that Judge Day,

Judge Day and Colonel Hay.

Judge Day's acceptance of the foremost place on the peace commission will involve his retirement from the Cabinet. Elsewhere we publish an appreciative article upon his personal characteristics and his public career. He has borne himself well, and there is no sign that his quickly gained honors have turned his head or aroused in him any merely selfish ambition. He will carry to his important work at Paris the confidence and esteem of millions of his fellow-countrymen who had never heard his name two short years ago. It is announced, without contradiction in any quarter, that the position of Secretary of State will be promptly assumed by Col. John Hay, our present ambassador at London. Colonel Hay's knowledge of diplomacy and of American political history and policy is scarcely surpassed by that of any man who could be considered available for Judge Day's place. The press of the country has warmly commended the selection. It is to be hoped that President McKinley's selection of Colonel Hay's successor at London will be as felicitous as his appointment of Judge Day for the peace commission and Colonel Hay for the State Department. It would certainly be a safe and business-like proceeding to make Mr. Henry White our ambassador. He has served us most faithfully and ably as first secretary of the legation through many years, and is conversant with all the questions that are likely to require the attention of our representative at the Court of St. James.

England and the Nicaragua Canal.

One of the questions that will have to be discussed very frankly between the United States and England in the near future is that of the political control of the Nicaragua Canal. The people of the United

States have been accustomed to look upon the Clayton-Bulwer treaty as totally obsolete and outgrown. This view also has been in general, if we mistake not, accepted by our English friends. But there has been some disposition to assert that Mr. Clayton in the 50s had succeeded in tying the hands of the American nation through all time to come as respects an American ownership and control of the canal which will be virtually a part of our coast-line, and which we must certainly construct in the near future for naval if not for commercial purposes. Joint control is not a feasible proposition. Insistence upon it by England would seriously endanger those good relations between the two great English-speaking countries that are so valuable to both and so essential to the best progress of the world's civilization. There is not the slightest thought on the part of the United States of any use or control of the Nicaragua Canal that would not be thoroughly hospitable not only to England's merchant marine, but also to the British navy. The canal would certainly be open to British commerce at precisely the same rates of toll that would be charged to ships having an American register. It would be long-sighted rather than short-sighted statesmanship on the part of England to encourage in every way the American construction and control of the Nicaragua Canal. English trade would benefit materially, and the political understanding between the two nations—which is already recognized by the continental powers as the most important fact in all recent international tendencies—would be greatly strengthened. England wishes our support in a general way for her positions and policies in the far East. But the value of our support in the last resort lies in our ability to use our naval strength in the Pacific. With the Nicaragua Canal constructed and under our control, our naval strength as respects affairs in the Pacific would at once be more than doubled.



LORD HERSCHELL, OF THE CANADIAN-AMERICAN COMMISSION.

The Canadian-American Commission. It will be a great gain for everybody concerned to have all pending controversies between the United States and Canada finally adjusted. Fortunately, the

outlook for such an adjustment is much better now than ever before. The names of the members of the Canadian-American high commission, which began its sessions at Quebec on August 23, give abundant promise of excellent results. President McKinley has selected a very strong and representative group of American commissioners.

These are Senator Fairbanks, of Illinois, Senator Gray, of Delaware, Mr. Dingley, chairman of the Ways and Means Committee of the House, Mr. John W. Foster, Mr. John A. Kasson, and Mr. T. Jefferson Coolidge, of Boston. The British Government on its part has made a careful selection.

SENATOR FAIRBANKS, OF THE CANADIAN-AMERICAN COMMISSION.

Baron Herschell, lord high chancellor, stands first on the list and is the only Englishman. Next comes Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the Canadian prime minister, with two members of his cabinet, Sir Richard Cartright, minister of commerce, and Sir Louis Davies, minister of marine, and Mr. John Charlton, a leading member of the Canadian Parliament. The sixth place is occupied by the prime minister of Newfoundland. The questions to be dealt with are numerous. The Alaskan boundary line is to be adjusted; there remains a last word to be said about the pelagic taking of seals; transshipment in bond and the relation of Canadian railroads to the American interstate commerce act are matters of no slight consequence; and finally, of course, there remains the very large question of a reciprocity tariff arrangement.

Our Invalid Army. While the work of transporting the conquered Spanish soldiers back to their native land has been progressing, there has been a simultaneous transfer of the conquering American troops from Santiago to the United States. If the Spaniards had fully realized how seriously the army of General Shafter had been weakened by hardships and disease, it is scarcely probable that General Toral would have surrendered without further resistance. The American people will not be satisfied

until they are convinced that every phase of the Santiago campaign has been rigidly investigated, with no political screen for the negligent or the guilty. It is declared that this country—the richest and presumably the most enlightened in the world—dispatched an army to the tropical jungles of eastern Cuba at the height of the season of rains and fevers, without medical supplies or any kind of adequate provision whatsoever for the principal dangers that every one knew the army would encounter. To send the army to Santiago without every precaution against the real enemy—namely, the fever fiend—was every whit as absurd as it would have been to send it without ammunition for the rifles. There is not even the excuse that the expedition was gotten off in haste. It took an inordinate time after Cervera's fleet had been bottled up in Santiago harbor by our navy to get General Shafter's army on board the transports and fairly started. Unhappily, there has seemed, even after these matters had been pointed out, very little capacity on the part of the authorities of the army to improve sanitary conditions. Nothing could have been more severe than the physical examination to which the volunteers were subjected when the regiments were formed at the opening of the war. We sent into the various camps something like three hundred thousand young men, every one of whom was in excellent health. It needs no argument to show that the experience of being in camp in the United States in the pleasant months of May, June, and July, far from breaking down the health of these young men, ought to have just the opposite effect. The regular life, systematic drilling, and careful attention to personal and camp hygiene that were not only feasible, but plainly obligatory, ought to have put our army into a superb physical condition by August or September. That is what would have happened in France or Germany. It is not what has happened in the United States. The camps have been infested with typhoid fever, malaria, and enteric troubles of all sorts, with the alleged result of a shocking average degree of debilitation.

*The Fever-
Infected
Camps.*

At first the troops were huddled into camps which nobody seemed to be responsible for preparing in advance; and their consequent hardships were fearful. It was supposed by all of us, however, that a very little experience would enable our army authorities to cope with problems not one whit more difficult than able business men are meeting every day of their lives. It is with extreme reluctance that we are obliged to express the opinion that these army authorities have not risen to the oc-

casion. Why unhealthy spots with bad water supply should be selected for camps, when the country abounds with healthful localities and ample supplies of pure water, is a mystery that the people of the United States are now bent upon having cleared up. The condition of our army in Santiago and vicinity had reached a point where all its generals and competent officers were of the opinion that it would perish of disease *en masse* unless brought back at once to the United States. The war authorities at Washington had proposed to keep this army in Cuba; but on receipt of the desperate protest of the generals in the field, Washington changed its plans, and the Santiago army was ordered to be removed at once to a camp in the United States. For this purpose a remote tract at Montauk Point, at the extreme eastern end of Long Island, was selected, a region very difficult of access and apparently very ill-supplied with the factors that are requisite for making an army of invalids comfortable while being nursed back to health and strength. One would have supposed that in view of the intensity of national indignation the War Department would have made a supreme effort to have this camp ready for the shiploads of invalids who were coming by virtue of its orders from Santiago to Montauk Point.

With the War Department's unlimited resources there was no possible reason why fever patients by the hundreds should have been dumped on the coast of Long Island, only to find the hospitals not yet built because mules enough had not been provided to haul the lumber from the railroad station. While hostilities lasted, it behooved us all to be very patient and forbearing in our criticisms. But when the War Department had no longer to cope with hostile armies, there was no reason why a single enlisted man, whether at Montauk Point or at any other camp in the United States, should have gone for another twenty-four hours without suitable shelter, food, medicines, surgical attendance, and nursing. Milk can be had in this country, and the men who have been responsible for feeding typhoid patients on tainted pork and musty hard-tack are not to be dealt with in mild and forbearing terms. There are times when vigorous language is in order. There is not the slightest danger that any one will condemn too harshly the seeming inefficiency that has been responsible for the hideous treatment to which our brave soldiers have been subjected. It is unnecessary at this point to mention any names. It is enough to join the best public opinion of the whole country in the demand for a searching investigation and for the fixing of re-

sponsibility where it belongs. The course pursued by the leading officers of the Santiago army, and especially by Col. Theodore Roosevelt, in courageously subjecting themselves to possible disfavor by protesting against the War Department's policy, was commendable in the highest sense. The whole country appreciated it.

*Col.
Theodore
Roosevelt.*

Colonel Roosevelt, like all other brave men who show heroic qualities when the occasion offers, has never for a moment thought of setting himself up as a popular idol. He is an eminently practical gentleman who certainly never stops to dream of glory or to ask himself anxiously whether his name will live in the annals of his country. He has simply developed a taste for public work, while the excellent habit of doing what seems to be his immediate duty has worn for itself a deep rut in his character. He has learned to perform public tasks with that same avidity and concentration of purpose that many other men of similarly energetic temperament devote to the prosecution of money-making schemes or to professional success. He does not cultivate any of the arts or dodges of the popularity-seeking politician. Nevertheless, he is popular in spite of himself, because he deserves to be and because the entire country has now discovered the sterling worth which his friends have long recognized. The people of New York would be delighted to elect him governor in November, though the people have very little part in the selection of candidates. Next month the electoral conditions in various States will have assumed definite shape. The prospect, of course, now is that the Republicans will be sweepingly successful in the election of a new Congress, and that the successful prosecution and termination of the war will have a favorable effect upon the fortunes of Republican State and local tickets.

*A Welcome
to the
Fleet.*

An informal, but none the less memorable, event was the reception given by the city of New York on Saturday, August 20, to the magnificent fleet of armored ships under the command of Admiral Sampson, which had just arrived in war paint and fighting condition fresh from the scene of its great triumph off the southern coast of Cuba. Before going into dock for much-needed cleaning and repairs the fleet sailed up the bay, filed up the river as far north as Grant's tomb, in Riverside Park, where a salute was fired, and then moved back again to its anchorage off Staten Island. It is probable that more than a million people saw this parade and joined in the enthusiastic welcome to our ships. The popularity of our navy

is so great that it will doubtless for years to come be an object of especial pride on the part of the American people. Three or four new battle-ships now in the later stages of completion will soon be added to the list, and several others, the construction of which has been authorized by Congress, are likely to be laid down upon plans that will make them at once the swiftest and most powerful warships ever built.

OUR "JACKIES" WELCOME, AUGUST 20.
(From the *Herald*, New York.)

*Future
of the
Army.*

The mustering out of volunteer regiments has gradually begun, but it is obvious that the army cannot at once be reduced to a peace footing. Technically, peace will not be established until the final treaty is drawn up at Paris and afterward ratified by the American and Spanish governments. In any case, moreover, we shall for a good while to come have to maintain large bodies of troops in the Philippines and Cuba, with several regiments also in Porto Rico. How many troops we may need in Cuba nobody can yet precisely foresee. It is evident that the United States will maintain a considerable army for several years.

*The
Saratoga
Conference.*

A spirited conference was held at Saratoga on August 19 and 20, at the suggestion and under the auspices of the Civic Federation of Chicago, to discuss the bearings of our victory over Spain upon our future international and territorial policies. The conference was presided over by President Henry Wade Rogers, of the Northwestern University. A number of eminent American citizens took part in the discussions, and the best public opin-

ion of the country, with all its aspirations and misgivings, was ably and fairly represented in the course of the proceedings. The committee on resolutions, consisting of twenty-one members, were able to agree upon a unanimous report, which, in turn, was heartily adopted by the conference. We are glad to say that the point of view which this magazine has presented from month to month respecting the moral responsibility of the United States toward the Spanish West Indies and the Philippines was indorsed by the conference. Providential circumstances have placed us in a position where we must at once take the best possible care of the inhabitants of the territories in question. Whether or not we are to make permanent annexation of those territories must remain to be decided in the fullness of time.

*The Death
of Bismarck.*

The death of Prince Bismarck has occupied more space in the European papers than any other subject during the month of August. We, in turn, have devoted much space in this number to a review of his career by Mr. Lowe, whose biography of Bismarck is a well-known work, and whose recital, followed by Mr. Stead's discussion of the qualities of Bismarck's personal power and greatness, can hardly fail to interest our readers. The careers of Gladstone and Bismarck, as a parallel and a contrast, will for centuries to come be an inviting theme for the historian and the moralist. Bismarck was a doctor of divinity, and Gladstone's favorite study all his life was theology and church history. But when all this is said it remains true that in most regards these two eminent Christians resembled each other hardly more than a German beer-garden resembles a Christian Endeavor prayer-meeting. This is not said by any means in disparagement of the beer-garden or in praise of the prayer-meeting. It is merely a fact that the two men belonged to widely contrasted types and schools of thought and statesmanship. Bismarck was a man of gigantic powers, who devoted himself to the noble cause of the upbuilding of German nationality. He made free use of all sorts of means to attain what he believed to be a righteous end. His de-

THE RIGHT HON. GEORGE N. CURZON, M.P.
(The newly appointed Viceroy of India.)

clining years of private life at Friedrichsruhe were devoted to very harmful and dangerous indulgences of his ill-will toward the young emperor who had driven him from the chancellorship. This strife between the ex-chancellor and his royal master has been a mischievous thing for Germany. The feud was carried to the grave, and it is likely to have sequels that can only cause pain and vexation. The Germany that Bismarck welded together so masterfully is not a happy political organism. Germany as a nation has won its proud place in Europe; but the German as an individual has yet to gain his political freedom. There is needed in Germany a great statesman of the Gladstone type, to build up a régime of free speech, free press, and free government.

*England
and
Russia.*

The strained feeling in England against Russia on account of rival ambitions in China has been steadily increasing throughout the summer. It was undoubtedly due to this feeling and to the belief that British interests throughout Asia were in unusual peril that Mr. George N. Curzon, the parliamentary under secretary for the Foreign Office, has been suddenly appointed Viceroy of India. Mr. Curzon is a young man, but he has made his way swiftly to the high seats of British administration by virtue of a clear intelligence and a remarkable industry. His book, published four years ago, on Japan, Corea, and China, entitled "Problems of the Far East," was dedi-

Mr. A. B. Walkley. (Secretary to the conference.)	Sir Spencer Walpole. (Secretary G.P.O.)	Mr. A. A. Pears. (Representing crown colonies.)
Mr. H. Burton Forman. (Assistant secretary G.P.O.)	Sir W. Peace. (Natal agent-general.)	Sir James Winter. (Premier Newfoundland.)
Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal (Canadian high commissioner)	The Hon. W. Mulock. (Canadian postmaster-general.)	Duke of Norfolk (Postmaster-general.)
	Sir David Tennant. (Cape agent-general.)	

IMPERIAL PENNY POSTAGE—ORGANIZING COMMITTEE OF THE LATE CONFERENCE AT LONDON.

cated "To those who believe that the British empire is, under Providence, the greatest instrument for good that the world has seen, and who hold, with the writer, that its work in the far East is not yet accomplished." Mr. Curzon has already written a valuable book on "Russia in Central Asia," and another entitled "Persia and the Persian Question." England is prone to give political preferment to young men who travel in foreign parts to make political observations and then write able books strongly favorable to British imperial interests. The talented young journalist, Alfred Milner, who wrote a volume in glorification of England's work in Egypt, was knighted and is now the Queen's high commissioner at Cape Town, in charge of the interests of the empire throughout South Africa. Mr. Curzon takes charge of India, to aid in the great policy of thwarting Russia's designs in the far East. Our opinion, many times expressed already, is that Lord Salisbury, stimulated by the ill-advised zeal of men like Mr. Chamberlain and

Mr. Curzon, has been pursuing a fatuous and dangerous policy in respect to Russia. The situation must soon change in one way or the other. Either England and Russia must come to a fair understanding or they must fight. But they have nothing whatever at issue that is worth fighting about, and they ought to be able to agree.

**Imperial
Penny
Postage.**

The untiring crusade which Mr. Hen-
niker Heaton, M.P., has waged for a
number of years past in favor of the
extension of the domestic one-penny (two-cent)
letter rate throughout the British empire has
now in a large measure been successful. A con-
ference has been held in London, composed of
the Duke of Norfolk, who is postmaster-general
in Lord Salisbury's cabinet, the Hon. W. Mulock,
Canadian postmaster-general, Sir James Winter,
premier of Newfoundland, and various other
British and colonial officials. The Australians
have not yet seen their way to an inclusion in the
project, but the rest of the British empire will

soon be in the enjoyment of a uniform two-cent rate of letter postage. Canada and the United States have for a good while extended the domestic letter rate to one another; and now that Canada and England have adopted a like policy it is reasonable to suppose that England and the United States might in the early future be ready to try the plan of a two-cent rate. It would seem to be financially feasible. By the way, the popular and useful administration of Lord Aberdeen as Governor-General of Canada is about to terminate. The Earl of Minto will be his successor. The new governor-general will be entirely at home in Canada, for he served as an aid to Lord Lansdowne when that personage represented her majesty at Ottawa.

Anti-Vaccination in England. A remarkable agitation in England against compulsory vaccination has at last carried the day. The fight was a bitterly contested one all along the line. The vaccination act is now amended in such a way that parents who represent that they have conscientious scruples against the vaccination of their children are to have their own way. The agitation has been waged in England on two grounds. First is the ground that vaccination itself is a delusion and a snare, highly injurious to health and of no avail against small-pox. The other ground is that of personal liberty where conscientious scruples are involved. Perhaps the more fundamental truth lies in the fact that the progress of hygiene and sanitary science is rendering small-pox almost an extinct malady, so that the time is arriving when such special precautions as vaccination may be regarded as belonging to bygone times.

Some Obituary Notes. The medical profession of America loses one of its most eminent members and Philadelphia mourns one of its most public-spirited and useful sons by reason of the death of Dr. William Pepper. The most severely condensed statement of his services to his profession, to the cause of education, and to the advancement of his city would occupy a large space. His father before him was a distinguished physician and professor of medicine in the same city. The late Dr. Pepper was for many years provost of the University of Pennsylvania, and under his administration the institution attained a marvelous development. He was fifty-five years of age, and his death was probably due to the fact that his prodigious and varied labors had prematurely exhausted his vitality. Col. James

O. Broadhead, of St. Louis, was one of the most eminent citizens of his community and was widely known in politics. Official Albany will miss the late Dr. James Hall, who had been State Geologist of New York for more than sixty years and was generally regarded by geologists everywhere as the father of that science in this country. The city of San Francisco, in its turn, will miss the unique figure of ex-Mayor Adolph Sutro, who died on August 8 at the age of sixty-eight. Rear Admiral William A. Kirkland, who died at San Francisco on August 12, entered the navy

DR. WILLIAM PEPPER, OF PHILADELPHIA.

as a boy in 1850. He was retired in July, being at that time the senior ranking officer on the active list. Of European names in the obituary list, apart from that of Count von Bismarck, the most distinguished, perhaps, is the name of Georg M. Ebers, the eminent German Egyptologist and man of letters. General Tcherniaieff, who had served in the Russian army since 1847 and who died at St. Petersburg on August 17, had played a distinguished rôle in the task of extending the Russian empire in western Asia. Prof. Leopold von Dittel was a famous surgeon and scientist of the University of Vienna. Dr. Edward Aveling, son-in-law of Karl Marx, was a British scientist and an advocate of socialism.

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS.

(From July 21 to August 20, 1898.)

WAR BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND SPAIN.

July 21.—The main body of the military expedition to Porto Rico, commanded by General Miles, sails from Guantanamo Bay convoyed by the *Massachusetts*, *Dixie*, *Gloucester*, *Cincinnati*, *Annapolis*, *Leyden*, *Wasp*, *Yale*, and *Columbia*; the troops number about 3,400 men.... The port of Nipe, on the northern coast of Santiago province, is bombarded by Admiral Sampson's ships and the Spanish cruiser *Jorge Juan* is destroyed.

July 22.—Aguinaldo, the Philippine insurgent leader, declares himself dictator of the islands.

July 23.—Five transport ships carrying General Schwan's brigade of troops for Porto Rico sail from Port Tampa.... Five troops of cavalry at Camp Alger, Virginia, are ordered to Newport News to embark for Porto Rico.... The transport ship *City of Rio de Janeiro* sails from San Francisco for the Philippines with 900 men commanded by Brig.-Gen. H. G. Otis.

July 24.—It is announced that all the Spanish soldiers within the surrendered portion of Santiago have laid down their arms.

July 25.—The military expedition under General Miles, consisting of four light batteries of the Third and Fourth Artillery, Battery B of the Fifth Artillery, the Sixth Illinois Infantry, the Sixth Massachusetts, 275 recruits for the Fifth Corps, 60 men of the Signal Corps, and the Seventh Hospital Corps, effects a landing at Guanica, a port on the southern coast of Porto Rico fifteen miles west of Ponce, after a skirmish between the *Gloucester's* launch crew and a small force of Spanish troops.... The *Newport*, with General Merritt on board, arrives at Cavite.

July 26.—Through M. Jules Cambon, ambassador of France to the United States, Spain opens negotiations for peace.... Admiral Sampson's report of the naval battle of July 3 off Santiago de Cuba is made public.

July 27.—The American troops in Porto Rico advance on Yauco.

July 28.—Reinforcements for General Miles sail from Newport News for Porto Rico under command of General Brooke.... Commander Davis, U. S. N., demands and receives the surrender of the port and city of Ponce, Porto Rico, the Spanish troops making no resistance; American forces occupy the place under General Miles, and the Stars and Stripes are raised amid great enthusiasm, the inhabitants professing loyalty to the United States; General Miles issues a proclamation.

July 29.—The American troops advance from Cavite toward Malate, on the road to Manila.

July 30.—A statement embodying the views of President McKinley as to the basis of peace acceptable to the United States is transmitted to Spain.

July 31.—The Spanish troops attack the Americans intrenched near Malate, between Cavite and Manila; the American loss is 9 killed, 9 seriously wounded, and 38 slightly wounded; the Spanish loss is very heavy.... MacArthur's reinforcements reach Cavite.

August 1.—The American troops in Porto Rico advance toward San Juan, General Miles having been joined by Generals Brooke and Schwan.... General Shafter reports 4,239 cases of sickness in his army and 15 deaths, of which 5 are from yellow fever.

August 2.—Spain virtually accepts the terms of peace offered by the United States.

August 3.—All of the cavalry under General Shafter at Santiago is ordered to proceed to Montauk Point,

LIEUT.-GEN. ARSENIO LINARES.

(In command of Spanish army evacuating Santiago.)

Long Island. ... Eight regiments leave for Camp Alger, Virginia, for the new camp ground near Manassas.

August 4.—Five volunteer regiments of immunes are ordered to Santiago for garrison duty.... A letter from Col. Theodore Roosevelt to General Shafter protesting against the further detention of our troops at Santiago in view of perils to health, and a petition of commanders to have the troops removed to a northern camp, are made public.

August 5.—Parties of the United States marines make landings near San Juan, Porto Rico, and take possession of light-house station.... The town of Guayama, Porto Rico, is captured by the Fourth Ohio and Third Illinois Volunteers after a slight skirmish. The 16,000 inhabitants of the place surrender to General Hains.

August 6.—Transports sail from Santiago with

Havana, Porto Rico, and Manila are raised; President McKinley proclaims a general armistice....Manzanillo, on the south coast of Cuba, is bombarded by the *Neuark*, *Suwanec*, *Hist*, *Osceola*, and *Alvarado*, of the American blockading fleet, before news of the armistice is received....In an artillery fight near Aibonito, Porto Rico, 1 American officer is killed and 4 privates wounded.

August 18.—The fleet under Admiral Dewey and the troops under General Merritt make a simultaneous attack on the city of Manila; the brigades commanded by Generals McArthur and Greene carry the Spanish works, with a loss, in killed, wounded, and missing, of about 50 men; the navy sustains no loss whatever; the Spanish authorities surrender the city after six hours of fighting; about 7,000 prisoners are taken; a military government is proclaimed by General Merritt.

August 14.—Troops arrive at Montauk Point, L. I., from Santiago.

August 17.—President McKinley names as commissioners to adjust the Spanish evacuation of Cuba and Porto Rico in accordance with the terms of the protocol—for Cuba, Maj.-Gen. James F. Wade, Rear Admiral William T. Sampson, Maj.-Gen. Matthew C. Butler; for Porto Rico, Maj.-Gen. John R. Brooke, Rear Admiral Winfield S. Schley, Brig.-Gen. William W. Gordon.

August 19.—Spain announces as her commissioners

BRIG.-GEN. R. B. M. YOUNG.

(The organizer of Camp Wikoff, Montauk Point, N. Y.)

American troops of General Shafter's command ordered north.

August 7.—The divisions of the American army in Porto Rico commanded by Generals Brooke, Wilson, Schwan, and Henry, respectively, make simultaneous advance movements....Admiral Dewey and General Merritt demand the surrender of Manila, which is refused.

August 8.—In a skirmish a few miles beyond Guayama, Porto Rico, five men of the Fourth Ohio Volunteers are wounded.

August 9.—Spain's reply to the peace propositions of the United States is presented to President McKinley by the French Ambassador, M. Cambon....American troops take the town of Coamo, Porto Rico, from the Spaniards, killing 3 Spanish officers and 9 privates and making the whole garrison prisoners.

August 10.—Secretary Day and Ambassador Cambon agree on the terms of a protocol to be transmitted to Spain for approval....General Schwan drives back a strong force of Spaniards north of Mayaguez, Porto Rico, with the loss of 2 privates killed and 15 wounded.

August 11.—The town of Mayaguez, Porto Rico, is occupied by the American troops under General Schwan.

August 12.—A protocol suspending hostilities between the United States and Spain is signed at Washington; orders are sent to all American commanders directing a cessation of fighting; the blockades of

CAPT. HENRY GLASS.

(Commander of the *Charleston*, who hoisted the American flag in the Ladroneas.)

on the evacuation of Cuba, Gen. Gonzales Parrado, Capt. Pastor Landera, and Marquis Montoro.

August 20.—The *New York*, *Brooklyn*, *Massachusetts*, *Indiana*, *Texas*, *Oregon*, and *Iowa* join in a grand naval parade at New York City.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—AMERICAN.

July 21.—North Dakota Republicans nominate F. B. Fancher for governor.

July 23.—The American members of the Canadian-American commission meet in Washington.

July 27.—The corner-stone of the new Minnesota State capitol is laid at St. Paul.

August 1.—The annual convention of the League of American Municipalities is opened in Detroit.

August 2.—Speaker Thomas B. Reed is renominated for Congress by acclamation in the First District of Maine.

August 3.—The Populist-Democratic fusionists of Nebraska nominate W. A. Poynter for governor.... Florida Democrats nominate candidates for State offices.

August 4.—Texas Democrats nominate Joseph D. Sayers for governor.... Indiana Republicans nominate State officers.... The report of the New York Canal Commission, exposing abuses in the expenditure of public funds, is made public.... James R. Garfield is defeated for the Republican nomination to Congress from the Twentieth Ohio District by ex-Judge T. O. Phillips.

August 9.—Florida Republicans make nominations for State officers.

August 10.—Nebraska Republicans nominate Judge M. L. Haywood for governor.... Missouri Democrats nominate candidates for Supreme Court judges.... The corner-stone of the new State Capitol of Pennsylvania is laid at Harrisburg.

August 17.—Wisconsin Republicans renominate Governor Schofield.... Tennessee Republicans nominate James A. Fowler for governor.

August 18.—Idaho Republicans nominate A. B. Moss for governor.... California Democrats nominate James G. Maguire for governor.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—FOREIGN.

July 25. Queen Victoria approves the appointment of the Earl of Minto to succeed the Earl of Aberdeen as Governor-General of Canada.

July 28.—The Peruvian Congress is opened by President Pierola.

July 29.—The Irish local government bill passes its third reading in the British House of Lords.

August 1.—It is announced that the Empress Dowager of China has relieved the Emperor of all actual power; Li Hung Chang is again chief adviser.

August 10.—The British Foreign Office announces the appointment of George N. Curzon as Viceroy of India, to succeed the Earl of Elgin.

August 15.—The Portuguese ministry under José Luciano de Castro resigns office, and the retiring premier is asked to form a new government.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

July 23.—A general arbitration treaty is signed between Italy and the Argentine republic.

July 28.—The government of Haiti refuses to permit the United States to establish a weather station on its territory.

July 29.—Sir Wilfrid Laurier announces that the Canadian-American conference will open in Quebec on August 23.

August 7.—Turkey disclaims all responsibility for losses sustained by Americans in the Armenian massacres.

August 10.—The Chinese Government assents to Russia's conditions regarding the New-Chwang railroad loan contract, although these conditions run counter to China's agreement with Great Britain.

August 14.—The government of Colombia concedes all of Italy's demands in the Cerruti claim case as enforced by a squadron of warships.

August 20.—Mail service is resumed between the United States and Spain.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH.

July 25.—The town of Pugwash, Nova Scotia, is destroyed by fire.

July 27.—Rear Admiral Miller, U. S. N., sails on the cruiser *Philadelphia* to raise the flag of the United

LORD MINTO.

(The new Governor-General of Canada.)

States over the Hawaiian Islands.... Ernest T. Hooley testifies in bankruptcy proceedings in London to having paid certain titled Englishmen large sums of money for the use of their names in business enterprises.

July 29.—A storm does great damage on the northeast coast of England.

July 30.—Pope Leo XIII. issues an encyclical to the people of Scotland, urging them to return to the Roman Catholic faith.

August 3.—The United States Spirits Association, a remarkably strong combination of distillers, is formed in Cincinnati.

August 4.—The funeral services of Prince Bismarck are held in Berlin.

August 8.—Most of the business portion of Bismarck, N. D., is destroyed by fire.

August 10.—A West Indian weather service is put in operation by the United States Government.

August 13.—Hawkins County, Tennessee, suffers from a cloud-burst in which 26 persons are drowned.... Fire in Fresno, Cal., destroys raisin-packing houses and other property to the value of \$500,000.

OBITUARY.

July 21.—Alphonse Pierre Octave Rivier, professor of international law in the University of Brussels, 63.

July 24.—Evan McColl, the Scottish-Canadian poet, 90.

July 25.—Bishop Thomas McGovern, Catholic diocese of Harrisburg....W. I.waukee capitalist, 52.

July 26.—Capt. Benjamin H. Gills, United States Infantry, 47.

July 27.—Bishop J. H. D. Wingfield, Episcopal diocese of Northern California.

July 28.—Dr. William Pepper, formerly the University of Pennsylvania, 55.

July 30.—Prince Otto von Bismarck, John Caird, of the University of Glasgow, Edward Lewis Sturtevant, American tific agriculture, 56.

August 2.—Stevenson Archer, prominent lawyer and Democratic politician of Maryland, 70....William David Murray, fourth Earl of Mansfield, 92....Gen. George C. Smith, of St. Paul, Minn., 69....Rev. Dr. Joseph Osgood, of Cohasset, Mass., 83.

August 4.—Dr. Edward Bibbins Aveling, English socialist, 47....Jean Louis Charles Garnier, eminent French architect, 73.

August 7.—Col. James O. Broadhead, United States minister to Switzerland under President Cleveland....Dr. James Hall, New York State Geologist since 1837, 87....Georg Moritz Ebers, Egyptologist and novelist, 61.

August 8.—Brig.-Gen. John S. Poland, U. S. V....Adolph Sutro, builder of the Sutro tunnel, 68.

August 9.—Gov. Frank A. Briggs, of North Dakota....Ex-Congressman Alexander Campbell, of Illinois, 84....W. Ramsden, for over thirty-five years British consul at Santiago de Cuba.

August 10.—Mrs. Ellen Louise Demorest, of the W. C. T. U., 74.

August 11.—Isaac Hill Bromley, journalist, 65....Dr. Gardner Quincy Colton, a well-known dentist of New York City.

August 12.—Rear Admiral William A. Kirkland, U. S. N., 63.

THE LATE REAR ADMIRAL WM. A. KIRKLAND, U. S. N.

of Tashkend, 70.

August 18.—Dr. Carl Zeller, German musical composer....Sir William Augustus Fraser, English author, 72.

August 20.—Don Federico Madrazo, the distinguished Spanish painter, 83.

SEPTEMBER CONVENTIONS.

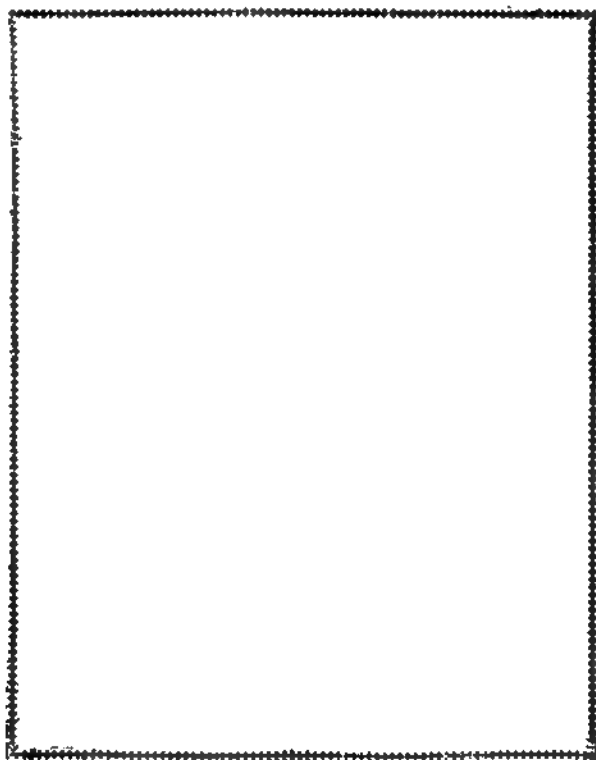
During this month, as in the three preceding, numerous organizations will meet at Omaha in connection with the Trans-Mississippi Exposition. One of the most important of these gatherings will

be the Congress of Social Economics. A call has been issued, too, for a National Central Labor Congress (September 5-8) and for a Monetary Congress (September 13-15). The Trans-Mississippi Conference of Charities and Corrections will be in session September 15-20. At the end of the month there will be a Congress of Christian Activities and a Sunday-school Convention.

CARTOONS APROPOS OF THE END OF THE WAR.

THE cartoonists naturally find plenty of material for comment in the circumstances of the conclusion of the war. Mr. Cory represents Uncle Sam as washing his hands at the end of the day's work, and very glad to have it over. Mr. Nolan and Mr. Bush exhibit Uncle Sam as calmly dismissing the vanquished Spaniard. Mr. Bush reminds us that the proud Spaniard, though badly disfigured, is allowed to feel that he has saved his honor. It is hard for the Spanish press to realize exactly what has happened; and we must wait until next month to present the reflections of cartoonists like those of *Don Quixote*, for example, upon the success of a foe they had been so accustomed to ridicule and deride. The press censors in Spain, with the aid of the police, prevented the circulation of newspapers—even those coming from Paris and the outside world—containing the facts about the destruction of Cervera's fleet in July. Undoubtedly the same policy will have made it difficult for the Spanish people at large to understand the terms of the peace protocol. The strict censorship of the press, under suspension of all constitutional rights, will probably continue to prevent the Spanish cartoonists, at least for some weeks yet, from turning savagely against their own government.

UNCLE SAM: "Well, I'm durn glad it's over."—From the *Evening World* (New York).



THE BITTER END.
From the *Herald* (New York).

UNCLE SAM: "Now be good to yourself, old man."
From the *World* (New York).

OVERHEARD IN THE NATIONAL ART GALLERY.

PORTO RICO: "I reckon he must be our stepfather—eh, Hawaii?"—From the *Journal* (Minneapolis).

NOW, WILL HE LET GO?

If you think he will let go you don't know him.
From the *Evening Journal* (New York).

The cartoonists in general are evidently of the opinion that Uncle Sam intends to make his territorial acquisitions permanent. Mr. Nelan waxes somewhat satirical at Uncle Sam's expense as respects the "great humanitarian expansion specific." The cartoonist of *Barcelona Comica* represents General Aguinaldo as a desperate character about to apply torch and sword to the city of Manila, and held in restraint only by Admiral Dewey. Spanish cartoons are not always so intelligent as this. *Judy*, of London, preaches a harrowing sermon on the inevitability with which certain unwelcome birds will come home to roost. Poor Spain needs less of this sort of thing just now and rather more of friendly encouragement.

"BEFORE AND AFTER TAKING."

Uncle Sam proudly informs his physician that the treatment has been a success.
From the *Herald* (New York).

**DEWEY ALONE HOLDS AGUINALDO
IN CHECK.**
From the *Barcelona Comica*.

"COMING HOME TO ROOST."

The vulture of greed, corruption, and tyranny, which short-sighted Spain had chained on her colonies, having hatched its evil brood of revolution, famine, and every horror, at last breaks its bonds, and now returns to settle on its native shores.
From *Judy* (London).

UNDER OUR WING.

People of Ponce knew a fine bird when they saw it.
From the *World* (New York).

The first cartoon on this page is expressive of the very remarkable enthusiasm with which the people of the Porto Rican seaport of Ponce greeted the arrival of the United States army under General Miles. There has been a good deal of that disposition shown throughout the annexed island. In a different way Mr. Bowman expresses the same idea when he represents Porto Rico as the fair daughter eloping from the house of old Spain, General Miles being the gallant cavalier who waits at the foot of the ladder. Bart, of the *Minneapolis Journal*, reminds us that while welcoming the home-coming volunteers, President McKinley still stands by the great gun of diplomacy. It is a very ingenious cartoon.

UNCLE SAM PAYS THE FREIGHT.
From the *Herald* (New York).

SHE CAN'T RESIST HIM.

It looks more like an elopement than an abduction.
From the *Tribune* (Minneapolis).

GETTING STALE.

UNCLE SAM "Well, I'll be darned if there ain't that Dutch bugaboo again."—From the *Tribune* (Minneapolis).

THE END IS AT HAND! (SEE LAST CHAPTER OF "DON QUIXOTE.")
From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin).

Kladderadatsch, up to the very last, has pursued its policy of belittling both combatants, managing always to show Germany's jealousy and ill-will toward the United States. The cartoon at the top of this page is based upon the last chapter of "Don Quixote." Don Carlos and his fellow-wreckers are represented by

Kladderadatsch as watching the steady drifting of the Spanish ship of state toward the rocks, with the hope of plundering the vessel when the crash comes. The final despair of Spain is well expressed in *La Campana de Gracia*, of Barcelona, in a cartoon emphasizing the hopelessness of the Spanish cause.

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THE WRECKER.

Don Carlos follows anxiously the course of events in Madrid.
From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin).

DESPAIR OF SPAIN.

"To save the rights of Europe in America I am giving my sons, my blood, and my treasures—and Europe abandons me!"
From *La Campana de Gracia* (Barcelona).

HE'S A NATURAL-BORN JOKER.
From the *Oratorion* (New York)

UNCLE SAM'S ATTITUDE.
From *Le Rêve* (Paris).

HOW HIS FACE HAS CHANGED.
Notice how the expression of the don has passed from
defiance to grief—and how soon.
From the *Journal* (New York).

COLUMBUS: "The earth is ours."
WASHINGTON: "The water is ours."
From the *Bolond Istók* (Budapest).

WILLIAM R. DAY: A NEW STATESMAN OF THE FIRST RANK.

BY HENRY MACFARLAND.

HON. WILLIAM R. DAY, OF OHIO,

Secretary of State, who will be head of the Paris peace commission.

WILLIAM R. DAY came to Washington from Canton, Ohio, to become Assistant Secretary of State in April, 1897, practically unknown in his own country. He leaves Washington for Paris, having resigned the Secretaryship of State, to which he succeeded in April, 1898, to complete the work of making peace with Spain, with world-wide reputation as a successful diplomat. He will not be fifty years old until April 17 next, when he will have returned to his home and his law practice, from which he was drawn by the claims of friendship and the call of duty, and not by the temptations of power, or honors, or money. For a quarter of a century he had been the friend of William McKinley, and for most of the later years perhaps his most intimate friend and trusted counselor. When his friend came into the responsibilities and perplexities of the Presidency it was most natural that he should

turn to him for the advice and assistance which he more than ever needed; and when loyalty to country was combined with loyalty to friendship in the appeal, it was inevitable that Mr. Day would respond.

At first the President asked only for advice on the many new questions he had to decide. When he had to ask something more, it was only that his friend should go to Cuba to see as with his eyes and to hear as with his ears what the President could not otherwise find out about the condition of that island. Mr. Day consented the more readily that it did not involve participation in the official life of Washington, which he avoided as eagerly as many men seek it. But before Mr. Day could leave for Cuba President McKinley became satisfied that he must have him remain in Washington as Assistant Secretary of State, in view of the fact that Secretary Sherman could not carry on the diplomatic business of the Government, and yet could not be expected to resign the office for which he had just surrendered his place in the Senate. Nothing but such an appeal as President McKinley was able to make to his friend could have induced Mr. Day to undertake the difficult and delicate task of being Secretary of State in fact while only Assistant Secretary of State in name. If the President had asked him to take the post of Solicitor-General, in the line of his profession, and in the line of promotion at an early day—inasmuch as it was known that Attorney-General McKenna would succeed Justice Field on the Supreme bench when that veteran jurist retired—he would have made a sacrifice in accepting; but he sacrificed far more in taking the office of Assistant Secretary of State. He would have given up a considerable portion of his income in taking the seven-thousand-dollar salary of the Solicitor-General, and he gave up more than half of his income in taking the forty-five-hundred-dollar salary of the Assistant Secretary of State. But this difference did not measure what it cost him in time and effort, and at the continual risk of losing his health, always delicate, and of spoiling his public reputation in the making of it.

For one year as Assistant Secretary he performed the duties of Secretary of State, except those ceremonial functions which the nominal

STEPHEN DAY.

Secretary of State could perform and attendance upon Cabinet meetings, which became purely ceremonial on the part of the Secretary of State, Assistant Secretary Day going over the State Department business with the President before or after Cabinet meetings. It was hard to do all this day after day without offending the nominal Secretary of State or impairing the dignity of that venerable statesman's position. But Mr. Day showed by his manner, as he did by his work, that he was a natural diplomat in the best sense of the word; and he preserved to the end that courteous fiction which the circumstances demanded. Everybody who had serious business with the State Department went to Assistant Secretary Day, because that was the way to get it done; but none of his callers ever heard him put into words what they all recognized as the extraordinary and unprecedented situation of the Department. The ambassadors and ministers sometimes had to go through the Secretary's room by way of satisfying official etiquette, but they soon learned that they must deal with the Assistant Secretary, while Senators and Representatives, newspaper men and office-seekers wasted no time, but went directly to Mr. Day. He was an interesting study to these curious critics, many of whom were veteran *connaisseurs* in Cabinet officers and measured the new man, who was to be Cabinet officer without the title, with scientific standards.

Outside of the Ohio circle, who set the example of calling him Judge Day, which is now his popular title in Washington as it is in Canton, few public men had even so much as heard of him when they were suddenly called upon to know him thoroughly, because, like the diplomats and newspaper men, they had a business necessity for it. It was only by degrees that any stranger got to know him, and to this day

LUTHER DAY.

he probably has no intimate friends except those he had when he first came to the State Department; but at the beginning he seemed almost inscrutable to most of his callers. They could see that he was rather above the average height, thin, with a scholar's face and the old-fashioned scholar's shoulders, light complexion, reddish-brown hair and mustache, and fine light-blue eyes which added to the expression of power in the lines of his face when they were not covered by his eyeglasses. They saw that he was well dressed because there was nothing noticeable about his clothes, they felt that he had a strong hand-shake, and they knew that he had a low, but distinct and pleasing voice and a simple and courteous manner. To most of them he looked like a gentle old-fashioned college professor rather than a man of affairs, and in such marked contrast to his stalwart and athletic predecessor, Secretary Olney, that they could hardly credit the story, which proved to be true, of his fondness for looking at the game of baseball. If he had any considerable conversation with him they discovered that they were dealing with a singularly strong and silent man. They found that he never said too much or too little for his own purpose, that he was absolutely truthful and straightforward, and that he spoke with unusual clearness and cogency and candor, but above all with the most discreet reticence and perfect self-possession.

In Washington, where every official secret is open and the "executive sessions" of the Senate only emphasize that fact, the new man's ability to keep his own counsel and that of the President, whose representative he was as well, deepened the impression of power which what he did say made, and helped on the idea, soon generally accepted, that he would be able to cope with any circumstance and with any antagonist.

WILLIAM L. DAY.

"He looks delicate, but if his health lasts he'll do," said Senator Hoar, summing up Senatorial opinion. He was particularly unwilling to talk about himself. "Mine are the short and simple annals of the poor," he said with char-

RUFUS DAY.

acteristic modesty and humor as a smile removed the melancholy which seems occasionally to cloud his face, when he was asked by a newspaper man for some account of his career, and that was all he would say. It was with difficulty and from others that the newspaper men learned his story, which was only that of the average successful "country lawyer," who, after all, was only so in the metropolitan view, since he practiced not only in the Supreme Court of his State habitually, but before the Federal courts, including the Supreme Court, making more than the average income of successful city lawyers. He had naturally followed in the footsteps of his father, Judge Luther Day, of the Supreme Court of Ohio, from whom perhaps he inherited that judicial temperament which has made him Judge Day, although while twice placed on the bench he has only served one year as a judge.

He was born at Ravenna, Ohio, April 17, 1849, prepared there for college, and after he was graduated at the University of Michigan in the class of '70, read law with Judge G. F. Robinson, of Ravenna, for eighteen months, returning to Ann Arbor for a year's law lectures, and then, being admitted to the Ohio bar, he began practice, forming a partnership October 10, 1872, with William A. Lynch at Canton, where he soon formed also the more important connection of an acquaintance with Maj. William McKinley, Jr., who had then held no other civil office than that of prosecuting attorney of Stark County and was not until four years later sent to Congress. Judge Day, the firm changing from time to time, broke his professional career only once until he came to Washington, when, in the spring of 1886, he was elected Judge of the Common Pleas Court of the Ninth Judicial District of Ohio, and after serving until the following year resigned because he could not afford, with his wife and four boys, to longer give up

his professional income. President Harrison, always careful in his judicial appointments, made him United States District Judge for the Northern District of Ohio, but he had to decline this honor, under the advice of his physician, because of his health (never robust, so that his classmates wondered that he was able to stand the college strain) having been seriously impaired by overwork. After spending the summer and fall of 1889 in the woods of northern Michigan he returned to his pleasant home and profitable practice in Canton, which he left only for summer outings, chiefly at Mackinac.

MRS. WILLIAM R. DAY.

Judge Day was married on August 24, 1875, to Miss Mary E. Schaefer, of Canton, and has four children, all boys—William L. and Luther, who are at college, and Stephen A. and Rufus S., who are preparing for college. They make an ideal family, and their mutual devotion is celebrated among their friends. It is not strange that Judge Day prefers his life at home to his life in Washington, especially as neither he nor Mrs. Day cares for fashionable society. It is not only his distaste for life in Washington, however, which prompted his withdrawal from it as soon as he could be spared, but the fact that he could not afford to entertain, as the Secretary of State is expected to entertain, upon the eight-thousand-dollar salary of the office. Twelve years ago Eugene Schuyler wrote: "For a long time it has been impossible for a man to accept the office of Secretary of State unless he should

have an independent fortune. His salary has been barely sufficient to cover the additional expenses necessitated by his position ;" and in the twelve years this has become even more evident. Judge Day has not attempted formal entertaining in Washington, and has lived quietly in a modest house, only attending official entertainments.

Secretary Olney the day before Judge Day's selection as Assistant Secretary of State was announced said, at the dinner given by the Boston Bar Association to celebrate Secretary Olney's return home : "The lawyer who, from choice or accident, finds himself in politics, changes his sphere of activity, but not his mental habitude. The ends in view may be broader or higher, but the principles governing their pursuit remain the same. He simply takes his country for his client, and the public man of whom it can be said that he has always lived up to that theory could not possibly ask and could not possibly receive a higher eulogium." This sums up the light his Canton career threw upon Judge Day's beginnings in Washington, in view of his self-sacrifice to friendship and patriotism. It was as a lawyer applying his skill and knowledge to new problems that Judge Day, at the bidding of his friend the President, "took his country for his client," and served both friend and country with such intelligence, fidelity, and disinterestedness that he not only commanded, but deserved, success. Jonathan's friendship for David was not more devoted than Judge Day's for President McKinley, and both have had a peculiar pleasure in that opportune manifestation of it for which their country's crisis gave occasion. Perhaps the most striking evidence of it was given when President McKinley offered and Judge Day declined the Attorney-Generalship, when Mr. McKenna was placed on the Supreme Court, in the midst of Judge Day's exacting and trying labors. President McKinley made the offer in good faith, believing that Judge Day ought to be rewarded for what he had done in the State Department, but he was greatly relieved when Judge Day declined it, much as he preferred it, on the ground that he felt that he was more needed where he was.

Washington had learned to appreciate Judge Day by that time and thought him well worthy of entering the Cabinet as Attorney-General, and it had the same opinion about his promotion to the title of Secretary of State when Mr. Sherman retired at the opening of the war, although, judging from the newspapers, the country did not realize (even though it was well known in the foreign offices of Europe) that it really involved nothing more than moving from one room into the next, drawing a larger salary, and

attending formal Cabinet meetings and occasions of ceremony. Now that Judge Day has been Secretary of State for four months the country recognizes his worth and work, and knows that none of his predecessors had harder tasks or performed them better. But this was not generally admitted when he stepped out of the Assistant Secretary's office into that of the Secretary of State—probably because, personally and officially, he was opposed to advertising what he was doing.

President McKinley has said recently, "Judge Day has made absolutely no mistakes," and he referred, of course, to the whole period of Judge Day's service in the State Department. This is high praise even from his friend. That it is well deserved, everybody who knows the inner history of the State Department since Judge Day entered it must attest. Although negative in form it is positive in fact, for Judge Day could not avoid mistakes by doing nothing, since the times demanded important action almost daily. It is, of course, well understood now at home and abroad that Judge Day's "shirt-sleeve diplomacy," as it has been sneeringly called by the envious and by European diplomats who hold the Talleyrand traditions, has been eminently successful. He has been fortunate above most of his predecessors in being able to carry out so many of his ideas without being thwarted by the Senate or the House or their committees—even though the march of events prevented the accomplishment of his greatest purpose, which was to free Cuba by peaceful pressure upon Spain. The Hawaiian annexation treaty, the protocol for the commission to settle if possible all the disputed questions between the United States and Canada, which are about all that is left to make friction between the United States and Great Britain, and other State Department projects of less importance, could not have been scored to Judge Day's credit if Congress had not done its part by ratification or by legislation.

But while these achievements of themselves would give sufficient luster to Judge Day's administration of the State Department to make it conspicuous in history, it is what he did in the far more important negotiations respecting Cuba and the other Spanish colonies, with which Congress had little to do, that gives him his fame. That fame would be doubled if the world could know the whole story, which will never be published, of Judge Day's successive engagements with the veterans of European diplomacy. But it is known that he held his own with the best of them without ever resorting to their methods, yet without ever breaking the "rules of the game." "I see," he said one day to a friend,

with that humor which, like his tenderness, he conceals so carefully from strangers—"I see that the newspapers talk about the diplomacy of this administration as 'amateurish,' and I must confess that it is." But what an amateur he proved to be let the masters who learned so much from him testify.

Judge Day found the Cuban question, which had become acute under his predecessor, waiting for him when he entered the State Department, and he took it up with earnestness. He found, as Secretary Olney found, that Señor Canovas would do nothing of any real value to ameliorate conditions in Cuba, and it was not until the assassination of Señor Canovas brought Señor Sagasta into power that our Government could accomplish anything under its purpose to improve the condition of the Cubans and eventually secure their liberation. Then by steady pressure our Government did secure the recall of General Weyler and substitution of General Blanco, with some immediate changes for the better in the Spanish system in Cuba and liberal promises of more in the near future. In spite of the characteristic Spanish diplomacy that Judge Day had to encounter, he believed he saw ultimate success for the administration's purpose when the explosion of the *Maine* in Havana harbor on February 15 brought the country gradually to the point of war with Spain. Judge Day, to whom the sufferings of the Cubans had strongly appealed and who sincerely desired to see them ended—although he could not favor the recognition of belligerency or the recognition of the Cuban republic—believing that all that the Cubans desired could be obtained for them by persistence in the course the administration had taken, strove to bring the Spanish Government to see the wisdom of acting as the administration had suggested. And until his labors were cut short by the demand for war he still hoped that they might be successful. But while he hoped for peace he prepared for war. Long before war was declared he had made the arrangements which secured the neutrality and non-interference of the

great powers and the moral support of Great Britain, which were met when war was declared by the proclamation on our part of the most advanced principles of warfare. Throughout the war Judge Day missed no opportunity of cooperating with the army and navy, and at the same time lost no opportunity of promoting a return to peace.

In the negotiations following Spain's request for our terms of peace Judge Day was at his best, and their early and happy conclusion in the protocol prepared by him and signed by him and Ambassador Cambon was largely due to him. Nothing in his diplomatic career was more successful than the determination to end the matter by taking the Spanish reply, which was meant to invite prolonged correspondence, as a definite acceptance of our terms, warranting him in asking that the bargain be clinched immediately by signing the protocol. It is most appropriate that Judge Day should complete his patriotic service by taking the leading part on our behalf in framing and signing the treaty of peace at Paris. He enlisted "for the war" when he became Secretary of State, stipulating that he should not be asked for further executive service, his only other condition being that Prof. John Bassett Moore, of Columbia College, although a Democrat, should be made Assistant Secretary of State to aid him during the time he should remain, because of his knowledge of international law. This was the first time in the history of the State Department that a man of the anti-administration party was appointed to that office; but this meant no more to Judge Day than the fantastic idea, suggested since, that he was great enough not to fear that he would be "overshadowed" by Professor Moore. Judge Day, now that his health seems perfectly established, may later on be placed on the Circuit bench, or even on the Supreme bench; but although he would shine in either place, he will never excel the reputation he has made at the head of the State Department in what may perhaps be termed the most interesting year of its existence.



MAJ.-GEN. NELSON A. MILES, U. S. A.
(Who organized and led the expedition to Porto Rico.)

GENERAL VIEW OF THE HARBOR AND SURROUNDINGS OF PONCE, PORTO RICO.

THE OCCUPATION OF PORTO RICO.

BY JOHN A. CHURCH.

TO understand the plan and meaning of the military operations in Porto Rico it is necessary to consider the size, topography, and climatic conditions of the island. Porto Rico is 108 miles long and 37 wide, lying east and west, is rectangular, with so few irregularities that its surface covers more than 88 per cent. of the mathematical rectangle which would include it. A mountain range runs from one end to the other, nearer the southern than the northern side, and these heights interrupt the moisture-laden northeast trade winds, which causes a great rainfall on the northern slope and sometimes leaves the southern to suffer from drought. Thirteen hundred streams are known and 40 or more are navigable to some extent, probably for short distances only. The temperature is mild in the elevated interior, but trying on the south coast, and August is the worst month of the year for heat. September is about the worst for hurricanes, though these may be severe at any time. The rainy season lasts from July to December, culminating in September.

The island contains about 800,000 inhabitants, or 221 to the square mile which is a large number for a country that raises beef for export.

Remembering that we approached Porto Rico from the south, that all our landings except one, of no present importance, were made on the south side, that after landing all our objective

points were on the north coast, and that a chain of not very high mountains separated us from them through the whole length of the island, and combining these facts with the conditions of climate, the heat, rainfall, and danger of hurricanes, we have before us the physical elements of the problem General Miles undertook to solve.

Porto Rico was discovered in 1493 and has never been under any other than the Spanish flag. The Morro of San Juan Bautista, the capital, was begun by Ponce de Leon about 1511.

Although the task undertaken in the projected conquest of Porto Rico was very different in character as well as magnitude from that in Cuba, it was begun in about the same way. On the north coast at San Juan, the capital of the island, the Spaniards had not only their best fortifications, but their strongest armed force, presenting a situation analogous to that of Havana, and it was treated in the same way. That is to say, it was observed by a blockading fleet, but no attempt was made to attack it.

Ponce, near the south coast, was the second city in size of the island, with a good harbor four miles distant, called Playa, or Port of Ponce, and it was the Porto Rican representative of Santiago in Cuba. Presumably it would be well defended, and accordingly it was treated very much like Santiago, being neglected at first while a descent was made on the near-by harbor of Guanica (the

ter, Cincinnati, Annapolis, Leyden, and Wasp. Several of the latter had done distinguished service in Cuban waters. The fleet passed along the north coast of Haiti and Santo Domingo, a course which rather indicated Fajardo as a destination, but off the Mona Passage, between Santo Domingo and Porto Rico, the general called a council and directed the fleet to go south through that passage and, rounding Cape Rojo, the southwestern corner of Porto Rico, arrived off Guanica on the 25th at daylight.

As usual in oversea expeditions, the navy had to clear the way for the army; this was done by the *Gloucester*, a swift converted yacht of light draught. Commander Wainwright

PORT GUANICA, LANDING-PLACE OF AMERICAN TROOPS, WEST OF PONCE.

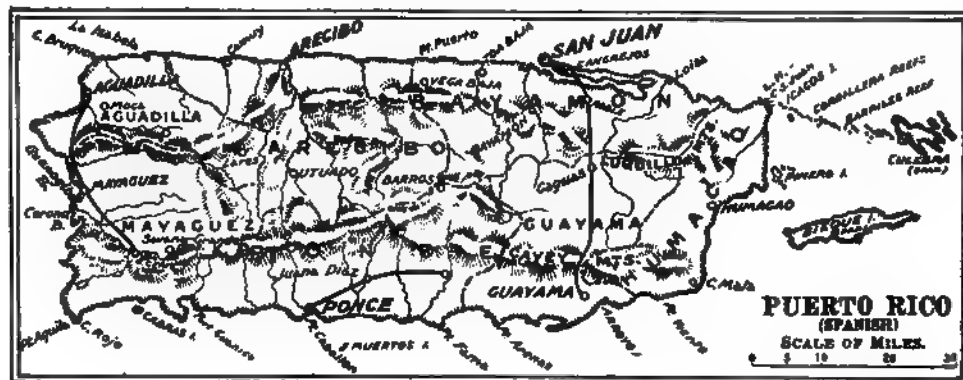
analogue in the Porto Rican campaign of Guantanamo in the Cuban). There our ships could secure a harbor probably without serious resistance and have a refuge in case of storm, and there they made their first descent.

When General Miles left Guantanamo for Porto Rico he set sail ostensibly for Fajardo, a port in the extreme northeastern corner of the island. He had with him only 3,415 men all told, and it is evident that if a general scheme of conquest, advancing from a number of widely separated landing-points, had been decided upon he could cover only one of them. He is entitled to the credit of keeping his own counsel so well that even the naval commanders of his vessels supposed they were sailing for Fajardo, though the authorities in Washington knew his plans and did not forbid their publication three days after he sailed, but before he had been heard from.

General Miles left Guantanamo Bay July 21 at 3 P.M. with the *Yale* and seven other transports, loaded with men, horses, artillery, and stores, and the battleship *Massachusetts*, the cruiser *Columbia*, and six small vessels, the *Dixie*, *Gloucester*,

ran into the harbor, silencing with his one and six pounder guns the slight opposition made by the Spaniards. A party of bluejackets landed and hauled down the Spanish flag from a blockhouse near the beach. No Americans were hurt in the landing, but the Spaniards lost several killed and wounded. The first landing in Porto Rico had been effected, like that in Cuba, without the loss of an American life. The occupation of Guanica by the sailors was completed by 11 o'clock, and the troops disembarked in the afternoon. Many of them had been on the transports for three weeks, and they were all glad to leave the ships. The transports were taken right into the harbor, which is well protected and deep enough to allow the lighter ships to go up to the wharves and the heavy vessels to anchor within a few hundred feet of shore.

Guanica is about fifteen miles west of Ponce, the real objective point of the expedition. The road connecting them runs over marshes for the first four or five miles and is bad in this, the rainy season. At Yauco it connects with a railroad to Ponce, and an advance was made toward Yauco



so promptly that on the 26th we met the Spaniards in a sharp skirmish, which cost us 4 wounded men, all in the Sixth Massachusetts Volunteers. The Spaniards are reported by General Miles to have lost 3 killed and 13 wounded. It was a decided success to gain possession of the railroad so promptly, but the occupation of Ponce was destined to proceed along very different lines.

tin, of the *Dixie*! The *Dixie* had entered the harbor and found the authorities ready to give up the port. The next day, the 29th, transports arrived under convoy of the *Massachusetts* and *Cincinnati* and landed their troops at once and without a mishap. We captured 60 lighters, which were used immediately in landing the troops, and 20 sailing vessels.

This surrender was most important not only for the advantages it gave us of a new port with railroad connection and adjacent high ground with good roads to the capital, but as an example to other towns on the island. Our reception by the inhabitants was simply hilarious, and we were greeted not as conquerors, but as deliverers. General Miles immediately issued a proclamation, in which he indicated plainly the destiny of the island as a future member of the Union.

One result of this valuable capture was to reestablish direct cable communication with the United States. The retreating enemy broke all the cable instruments, but others were procured from St. Thomas and in a few days the line was open. Wherever our troops have advanced they have been followed by a telegraph division of the Signal Corps, so that General Miles was in quick communication with every column of his troops. At least 150 miles of field telegraph have been laid, the barbed-wire defenses of the enemy being used sometimes for telegraphic communication.

The cable was not in working order until July 31, and the first message from General Miles announced that four-fifths of the people were overjoyed at the arrival of the army. Spanish volunteers were surrendering with their arms, and 2,000 natives had offered to serve with us. In two days the custom-house at Ponce had yielded \$14,000. No more troops were wanted, and the island, which is a great cattle country, could supply all the beef needed. The feeling of the people was shown in his request for "any national colors that can be spared, to be given to the different municipalities."

It is necessary to consider these indications of the temper in which the Porto Ricans received our army, because they give the key to the bold and rapid advance ordered by General Miles in all directions. Under hostile circumstances the plans he developed after landing would have shown a temerity inexcusable in the commander of so small a force.

On August 1 the army made its third capture of a town on the southern coast of the island, at Arroyo. The *Wasp* and *Gloucester* went into the harbor and the mayor and priest greeted them with cheers before they came to anchor. Not a shot was fired nor was a Spanish flag seen. The next day troops were landed from the *St. Louis*

Photo by Steffens.

MAJ.-GEN. JOHN R. BROOKE, U. S. A.

(Left in command of Porto Rico by General Miles.)

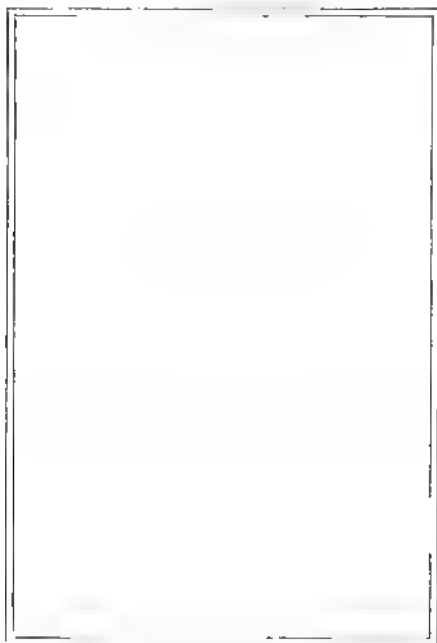
Captain Higginson, of the *Massachusetts*, senior officer of the squadron, sent the *Dixie*, *Annapolis*, *Wasp*, and *Gloucester*, on July 27, to blockade Ponce and capture some lighters which were wanted at Guanica. The little squadron appeared off the port of Ponce early the next morning, and the citizens, fearing that their town would be bombarded, sent a delegation to say that no resistance would be offered. This was the beginning of the peaceable occupation of Porto Rico, for though we have had encounters of minor importance at other places, we overran, within two weeks, an extent of the island that no force, even four times as strong as ours, could hope to gain in so short a time if resisted with vigor. Both the port and the town of Ponce surrendered, and it is said the latter place yielded on a demand made by telephone by Ensign Cur-

and *St. Paul*. This capture was necessary, as Arroyo is the harbor of the important interior town of Guayama, toward which one column of our men was advancing from Ponce. At Arroyo we were much nearer the goal than at Ponce.

A small force landed at Cape San Juan, in the northeast corner of the island, thirty miles east of the capital, and occupied the light-house. Some days later they had a slight skirmish with an attacking body of Spaniards, but no movement was attempted from this point. It was occupied only in anticipation of the advance of our troops from the south coast, and in the general plan of our operations it represents the projected movement on Fajardo, which is a few miles distant.

With the aid of the navy we were now in possession of three valuable ports on the southern coast of Porto Rico, Guanica, Ponce, and Arroyo, covering sixty miles of the coast-line. The army now began to play the principal part, and it undertook to complete the occupation of the principal coast towns remaining in Spanish control and collect the whole force of the enemy in San Juan. The points which General Miles determined to reach were Aguadilla, in the extreme northwestern corner of the island, taking the port of Mayaguez, on the west coast, on the way, and Arecibo on the west and San Juan on the eastern half of the north coast. Nearly the whole surface of the island would be traversed in

CAPT. F. J. HIGGINSON, OF THE "MASSACHUSETTS."
(Senior naval officer of Porto Rico expedition.)



GENERAL MACIAS.

(Retiring Governor-General of Porto Rico.)

reaching these places. Remembering that the island is only 108 miles long and that the whole front of our operations would not cover more than 70 miles, and that we were operating on three lines, it is evident that these columns would be within supporting distance if a check should be encountered at any point. Other transports had arrived with troops, but our whole force was only 11,000 men, manifestly too small to undertake such extended operations in the face of determined opposition, but no serious resistance was expected. As in Cuba, the strategy of the commander was adapted closely to his circumstances, and no mishap has occurred to throw blame upon his plans.

Though the army in Porto Rico is composed chiefly of volunteers of no military experience, it is commanded by regular officers who have recognized the raw character of their troops and advanced them with great caution. Two cases of disorder under attack occurred, but in both the officers were to blame. One who exhibited cowardice will be court-martialed, and several others were allowed to resign for inefficiency. Wherever the regiments have had proper leading they have done well, especially when it is considered that this is their first campaign, and they

will come home with honor. They are better armed than the volunteers in Cuba, all having the Krag-Jørgensen guns and smokeless powder.

The advance toward Mayaguez and Aguadilla, parallel to the western coast of the island, was undertaken by General Schwan, operating from Yauco, the western end of the railroad and the first town taken by our troops after Ponce. With him were the Eleventh United States Infantry, Troop A, of the Fifth United States Cavalry, and batteries of the Third and Fifth United States Artillery. The force started at 2 p.m. August 8. The road led through the mountains, and on the 10th Sabana la Grande and San German were entered. In both places the Americans were received with every demonstration of welcome. San German is one of the larger towns, with 30,000 people in its jurisdiction. Three miles beyond the road crosses the Rosario River by an iron bridge, and near the same place a tributary stream is also crossed by a bridge. These were crossed under the fire of outposts, and beyond them the enemy were stationed in a strong position in the hills. Their force consisted of the Alphonso III. regiment of Spanish regulars and 200 volunteers, about 1,200 in all, disposed in three bodies within supporting distance. The Americans deployed in a field of sugar-cane, where the men lay down in the furrows, which were nearly filled with water from recent rain. The enemy knew the range, and several of our men were hit. Reaching a stream the men forded it, though it was so deep that they had to carry their rifles above their heads. A charge was made up the hill, and one body of the enemy, about 400 strong, was dislodged. The artillery and Gatling guns were got into position, and the whole body of Americans advanced with eagerness. Most of the enemy retreated toward Lares, an inland town on the road connecting Aguadilla

and Arecibo. Some were driven into Mayaguez, but left early next day without waiting for our arrival. This is known as the action of Herminqueras. In it we lost 1 killed and 15 wounded, including Lieutenant Bryan, of the Eighth United States Cavalry. This was the most important action in Porto Rico considered merely as a contest between hostile troops, and the only one fought by regulars exclusively. Though General

MAJ.-GEN. JAMES H. WILSON.

Schwan did not desire reinforcements, General Miles is reported to have sent the First Kentucky Volunteers by sea to Mayaguez.

General Schwan entered Mayaguez the next morning, finding it abandoned by its garrison. From there he moved north toward Aguadilla. On August 13 he was attacked by 1,500 Spaniards near Rio Canas, but without casualties. The enemy was reported to be retreating from Lares in a demoralized condition. On the 14th the news of the armistice reached him and operations were ended. General Schwan captured Colonel Soto, the commander of the Spanish forces in Mayaguez district, who was found lying ill in a cottage, also several other officers and 40 privates. The loss of the enemy at Herminqueras was 4 officers and 20 privates killed and 50 wounded, showing that our marksmanship was superior to theirs.

Twenty miles east of General Schwan's line of march is a parallel road that crosses the island from Ponce and Yauco, on the south, to Arecibo, on the north coast. The roads from Yauco and Ponce meet at Adjuntas, a town twelve or fifteen

105 in number. When their guns and ammunition had been taken the town was in our possession, especially as the *alcabde*, or mayor, cooperated with us. The general then went on to Utuado, seven miles north, and was greeted warmly, the enemy's forces having fled. The expedition was then out of flags, having had so many towns surrender unexpectedly, but the soldiers painted a flag on a sheet of linen, and the improvised Stars and Stripes was raised over the town hall amid cheers. General Stone enlisted 300 natives there to act as scouts, and also sent back for reinforcements, as a considerable force of Spaniards was reported to be holding the passes toward Arecibo. Finally he pushed on to Arecibo, and making a demonstration before the town is said to have received an offer of surrender, which he did not accept on account of the weakness of his force.

This expedition, though unimportant in a military sense, for it could have been turned back at any point if the enemy had shown energy, is significant of the condition of feeling in the interior of Porto Rico. General Stone started out with only a few men, and it was not until his progress had shown decisive results that he was reinforced to the strength of 200 men. His suc-

BRIG.-GEN. OSWALD H. ERNST, U. S. V.

miles from the coast, and the road runs from that point direct to Arecibo. Gen. Guy V. Henry commanded a force which undertook to reach the north coast by this route and effect a junction with General Schwan at Arecibo. In advance of him Gen. Roy Stone was sent out with a small body of men, apparently about 100, to reconnoiter this road and determine its fitness for military use. He took with him a company of the Second Wisconsin Volunteers and a detail from the Signal Corps, which laid a telegraph line as fast as the force proceeded. The incidents of this little expedition are remarkable as an indication of the state of feeling in the interior of the island.

General Stone started out at noon, August 1, with his small body of men. The character of his task as he viewed it is indicated not only by the smallness of his force, but by the fact that he and his officers went in carriages, though in an enemy's country! He reached Adjuntas the same night and found that the 400 Spaniards who had garrisoned the town had retreated to a point five miles away. These were regular troops. The volunteers in the place who had remained to surrender themselves changed their minds when they saw how small the American force was, and began to prepare for defense, but on General Stone's making a pretense of sending back for reinforcements, which are said to have consisted of two men in the rear, the enemy surrendered,

GOVERNMENT OFFICES AT SAN JUAN, PORTO RICO.

A FAMOUS SPRING AT THE TOWN OF AGUADILLA, PORTO RICO.

cess in crossing the island dismayed somewhat the plan of General Miles, which is said to have been to leave open lines of retreat for the enemy toward San Juan, so that by the time they were gathered there all the rest of the island would lie peaceably under American government. The total force of Spanish regulars in the island was reported to be 6,000 or 8,000 men.

General Stone's movement was intended to be no more than a reconnoissance to determine the availability of the Arecibo road for the movement of troops. The information given by the natives was that the military road from Ponce by Coamo to San Juan had been intrenched near the mountain town of Aibonito, and it might be necessary to flank this position, which could be

done by Arecibo. General Stone was followed by a battalion of the Nineteenth United States Infantry, with 500 native laborers under Colonel Black, who were instructed to repair the road. In consequence of the peaceful conquest obtained by General Stone's advance guard the main body, under General Henry, had nothing to do. All the towns had surrendered to the outpost before he arrived! No news of their advance has been received.

The principal task of the army in Porto Rico was the capture of San Juan, where the greatest strength of the enemy was. A fine road connects that place with Ponce, about seventy miles distant, or nearly twice the width of the island. The principal reason for this great length is that the road climbs the mountain range by running nearly parallel to the southern coast. At Cayey, twenty-five or thirty miles from Ponce, the road is only eight miles from the coast, and this situation was one of the facts that determined our occupation of the port of Arroyo, which is southeast of Cayey and not more than twelve miles distant. Columns moving simultaneously from Ponce and Arroyo would flank any force on the main road between them.

The first step taken was a movement on Guayama from Arroyo. Guayama is a city of 16,000 people and was needed as a base of operations. General Brooke sent General Hains, with the Fourth Ohio and Third Illinois regi-

HEADQUARTERS OF CAPTAIN-GENERAL AT SAN JUAN.

ments, at 7 o'clock on August 5. They had a brush with the Spaniards, who had blocked the road with barbed-wire entanglements, but their fire, though rapid, was aimed so badly that we had only 3 men wounded. Guayama was reached at 11 o'clock. The town was lifeless, every door and window being shut, but when the presence of the Americans was discovered the inhabitants poured into the streets and showed the joy with which our troops were greeted everywhere else. The enemy, who had retired to the hills, began shooting into the town, but succeeded only in wounding one man, and a few shots from dynamite guns dispersed them.

Three days later, on the 8th, Colonel Coit, Major Dean, and Lieutenant Wardman, of General Brooke's staff, went with Companies A and C, of the Fourth Ohio, to reconnoiter the road to Cayey. They found the enemy intrenched three miles beyond Guayama, at a point where the road winds sharply, and were thrown into confusion by the sudden attack of the Spaniards and the demoralization of an officer who, it is said, will have to account to a court-martial for his conduct. Afterward two dynamite guns were brought up from Guayama, the men dragging them three miles, as no horses were available.

PROVINCIAL DEPUTIES' BUILDING, SAN JUAN.

At the same time an attack was made on the enemy's trenches and they retreated. Five men were wounded in this affair. Our troops returned to Guayama, which they found steeped in consternation, for the story had spread that our men were cut to pieces. Nothing but the reappearance of the guns encouraged them to come into the streets again and shout their "*Vivan los Americanos!*" The reconnoissance showed that the enemy were determined to make a stand on this road and that they had a very favorable position.

The force at Guayama was not strong enough to meet with certainty of success the opposition expected and was deficient in cavalry. Various circumstances, such as the grounding of a transport and tardiness in landing horses owing to the lack of means, delayed General Brooke's preparations at Arroyo, and it was not until August 12 that he was able to move. Leaving Arroyo at daybreak, he passed Guayama at noon, and three hours later found the Spaniards in the same strong position where the Ohio companies had met them. Preparations for attack were made, but just as the first gun was sighted orders came from General Miles to cease hostilities.

The main movement began on August 4, from

Juan Diaz, thirteen miles from Ponce and on the main military road. This place had been entered, immediately after the capture of Ponce, by a small force, which was received enthusiastically. General Wilson afterward moved his headquarters there. General Ernst's brigade, consisting of the Second and Third Wisconsin and Sixteenth Illinois, advanced on the day mentioned five miles to a bridge over the Descalabrados River, and a few men scouted as far as Coamo, where the enemy was said to be intrenched. They were fired on and retired. On August 9 Coamo was taken. The Sixteenth Pennsylvania, under command of Colonel Hulings, moved out from Descalabrados bridge the night before and established themselves in the rear of the enemy. In the morning Captain Anderson's battery of the Fourth United States Artillery opened fire on a blockhouse held by them, and when that was set on fire the battery moved to a new position, and Troop C, of New York City cavalry, went around to flank the town on the right, while the two Wisconsin regiments moved on right and left of the direct road. The fleeing Spaniards ran into the Pennsylvania troops, and after a short engagement 200 of them surrendered, nearly as many more escaping. We occupied the town. In this engagement we had 6 men wounded. The Spanish commander and two captains were killed, and the enemy's other losses must have been serious.

The next affair in which this force was engaged was near Aibonito, a town situated in the mountains at an elevation of 1,000 feet, where nature affords every opportunity for the stoutest defense. It was here that the Spaniards were expected to make their stand, and it was partly to meet the resistance they could offer here that the route by Arecibo was reconnoitered so promptly and the flanking advance from Guayama was made. The engagement was intended to be an artillery attack exclusively, for the purpose of developing the Spanish position. The enemy were found intrenched on the hills overlooking the pass of Aibonito, and were shelled by Potts' battery of the Third United States Artillery at a range of somewhat over a mile. The Spaniards replied both with artillery and small arms, wounding Lieutenant Haines and 4 privates and killing 1. At this place General Wilson received the only plucky answer returned by any Spanish

commander in Porto Rico. When called upon to surrender, Lieutenant-Colonel Nuvillers replied: "Tell General Wilson, if he wishes to avoid the further shedding of blood, to stay where he is!" This took place on August 12, and just as General Wilson was about to order a renewal of artillery fire from a new and advantageous position the news of the armistice came and hostilities ceased.

The operations of Generals Brooke and Ernst, though starting from points twenty-five or thirty miles distant, were really one movement. Each force had for its objective Cayey, where the two roads on which they moved unite in the main military road across the island to the capital.

In all this Porto Rican campaign, which lasted nineteen days, there were only four or five encounters, and none of these rose above the dignity of skirmishes, though the enemy frequently held strong positions. The operations on the west coast were undertaken by regulars; those on the main line of attack along the military road were confided to volunteers, who conducted themselves well and would soon have acquired the coolness of veterans.

Though the Porto Rican campaign ended with every movement uncompleted, there is no doubt that it would have been a decided military success, and if the war had continued another month we should have seen every foot of the island in our possession. In a few days more Generals Schwan and Henry would have united at Arecibo, ready for a flank movement on the capital in rear of the Spanish forces operating around Aibonito. These would have been driven from the last-named position by General Wilson, and though in that hilly region they might have found many points for a stand against their foes, the only possible result of the movement from Arecibo would have been their precipitate retreat to San Juan or their capture. It is fortunate that the armistice came when it did, for every life lost was thrown away for Spanish honor. The prospect of successful defense has not existed in Porto Rico since the Spanish fleet was destroyed, and when the natives exhibited their joyful welcome of American rule the resistance of the Spaniards, however costly in life, became merely formal. After flaunting over the island for four hundred years the Spanish flag is hauled down by the people it covered.



PRINCE BISMARCK: AN ANECDOTAL CHARACTER SKETCH.

BY HIS ENGLISH BIOGRAPHER, CHARLES LOWE.

WHEN, in the course of his tour round the world, General Grant went to Berlin and had an interview with Prince Bismarck—then at the height of his power—he carried away with him the impression that the German chancellor was the most interesting conversationalist he had ever met. Carl Schurz, who subsequently came to Berlin and was entertained by the chancellor, said that the best table-talkers he had ever known were Mazzini and Oliver Wendell Holmes, but that Bismarck was better than either.

It was a strange anomaly, as I have elsewhere remarked, that one of the wisest men and best table-talkers of modern times should have been born on "All Fools' Day"—the best of talkers, because the greatest man of action, of modern times. And how infinitely more interesting must ever be the talk of a man who has done great things than that of a man who has only thought great thoughts!

Largely inheriting the warrior instincts of a warrior ancestry and a military nation, Bismarck was a soldier by nature, a statesman only by chance; and even his statesmanship was of the military order. Above all things, his figure on the historical stage of the nineteenth century was that of a very powerful fighting man—a William Wallace, a Cromwell, or a Wallenstein—who at his best stood six feet two and scaled twenty stone; and no more perfect idea could be got of the crusading knight in armor, terrible to foes, than when the German chancellor appeared mounted on a heavy charger in his shining cuirass and eagle-crested helm—a singular contrast, indeed, to such a pygmy as the "Man of Destiny," or rather the "Man of Sawdust," Napoleon the Little, with his cigarette and dainty white kid gloves, ashen-hued face, and general air of tailor's block, when the two stood face to face before the weaver's cottage at Sedan.

Must not the life of such a man—the greatest man of action of his time—be intensely interesting when it comes to be written in full? Bismarck himself never published his autobiography, if he ever wrote one. But when his own memoirs come to see the light it will be found that much of their interest has been discounted by the autobiography which he has already spoken.

For, in addition to being the greatest actor of his time in the literal meaning of the word—doer, achiever, author of events, maker of history—he has also been one of the greatest talkers in the sense employed by General Grant and Carl Schurz, and much of this talk has been about his own accomplishments. Indeed, there might now be written an ingeniously compiled book entitled "Bismarck. By Himself," in which nothing would be used but the Prince's own words.

At any rate, the Prince himself has already saved us from the labor of historical sketching in order to convey a clear outline of his character and career, seeing that these already stand artistically outlined to us in his own actions and his own words. Some of the sapient incidents in that career amply suffice for the purpose of the historical painter. But let us make a dash *in medias res*—into the very middle of things—and commence with the climax of the Prince's achievements, the proclamation of the new German empire, with which his name will be associated to the end of time, just as much as that of Washington with the independence of the United States. The results the same, but how different the methods!

For example: During the French war the first attempt at peace negotiations had ended in smoke, and when Jules Favre repaired to Versailles to resume the discussion which had been broken off at Ferrières, Bismarck represented that if the French still clung to their previous principle of "not an inch of our soil, not a stone of our fortresses!" it was useless to waste any more talk on the subject. "My time," he said, "is precious, so is yours, and I don't see why we should waste it. Moreover, you have come too late. For there, behind that door, is a delegate of the [captive] Emperor Napoleon III., and I am about to negotiate with him."

The prospect of the new republic being thus, after all, supplanted by the resuscitated empire, filled Favre with a feeling of indescribable fear. Bismarck, perceiving at a glance the enormous advantage he had gained over his opponent, fixed his eyes on the door behind which he had (falsely) asserted the existence of a Bonapartist envoy

NAPOLEON III. AND BISMARCK ON THE MORNING AFTER SEDAN.

(From the painting by Camphausen.)

and continued: "Besides, why should I treat with you? Why give to your republic an appearance of legality by signing a treaty with its representative? In reality you are only a band of rebels. Your emperor, should he be allowed by us to return from captivity in Germany, would be entitled to shoot you all down as traitors and rebels."

"But should he return," cried Favre with a face of horror, "there will be civil war and anarchy."

"Well," replied Bismarck with cynical indifference, "I do not see what harm that would do us Germans."

After some more altercation in this tone the chancellor rose as if to leave, and grasped the handle of the door behind which the impatient delegate of Napoleon was supposed to be waiting; whereupon Favre, chalky-white with terror, sprang up and imploringly cried: "No! no! Not so! Have all you ask, but do not impose on France, after all her misfortunes, the shame of being again obliged to endure a Bonaparte."

The two resumed their seats, and what between

playing off on the republican Favre a dummy delegate of the fallen emperor and dwelling on the superior merits of monarchy as a form of government for France, Bismarck at last gained his point, which involved the double principle of a cession of territory and a cash indemnity, and then the chancellor invited his visitor to join him at dinner.

The famished Favre (he had come out of besieged and starving Paris) ravenously devoured the viands which Bismarck set before him, but his stomach could not stand the Iron Chancellor's strong cigars. He did not smoke.

"You are wrong," said Bismarck. "When you enter on a discussion which may lead to vehement remarks you should smoke. When one smokes the cigar is held between the fingers; one must handle it, not allow it to fall, and thereby violent movements of the body are avoided or weakened. With regard to the mental condition, it does not deprive us of our intellectual capacity, but it produces a state of kindly repose. The cigar is a diversion, and this blue smoke which rises in curves and which

the eye involuntarily follows pleasures and renders us more flexible. The eye is occupied; the hand is engaged; the organ of smell is gratified; one is happy. In this state one is very disposed to make concessions; and our business—that of diplomats—continually consists in the making of mutual concessions."

Like General Grant, Bismarck was always a constant smoker of the strongest cigars, and in his earlier days he even used to be what the Germans call a "chain-smoker"—that is to say, a man whose morning and night is connected by a chain of cigars each link of which is lighted at the stump of its predecessor. One day when at Versailles during the French war Lord Odo Russell, English envoy at the German headquarters, went to call on Bismarck, but found him closeted with Count Harry Arnim, who was known as the "Ape" from his fantastical ways. Lord Odo had not long to wait before the "Ape" came out, fanning himself with his handkerchief and looking as if he were about to choke. "Well," he gasped, "I cannot understand how Bismarck can bear that—smoking the strongest Havanas in a stuffy little room. I had to beg him to open the window."

Presently my lord entered the sanctum of the chancellor, whom he also found fanning himself at the open casement.

"What strange tastes some people have!" exclaimed the Prince. "Arnim has just been with me, and he was so overpoweringly perfumed that I could stand it no longer and had to open the window."

Lord Odo Russell used to say that in diplomacy the cigarette had taken the place of a pinch of snuff—as an occupation which gave you time to ponder an answer to a question while only appearing to puff smoke. But Bismarck ever used a cigar instead of a cigarette, in war as well as in diplomacy.

"Do you remember, my dear general," said the Prince once to Moltke as he passed round the Havanas at his dinner-table in Berlin, "the last time you accepted a cigar from me?"

"No, I cannot say I do," replied the great strategist.

"Well," rejoined Bismarck as he lighted his weed, "I myself shall never forget the occasion. It was on the day of Königgrätz, during the anxious time when the battle stood still and we could neither go backward nor forward—when one aid-de-camp after another galloped off without ever returning, and we could get no news of the Crown Prince's coming. I began to feel frightfully uneasy, and my eyes wandered about in search of you. Looking round, I saw you standing not far off. You were gazing on the

course of the battle with a look of the most serene indifference and the stump of a cigar in your mouth. 'Well,' said I to myself, 'if Moltke can go on smoking so calmly as that it can't be so very bad with us, after all.' So, riding up, I offered you my case, which contained two cigars, a good and a bad one. With the unerring glance of the true commander you selected

BISMARCK AT THE AGE OF THIRTEEN.

the former. Gentlemen, I smoked the bad one myself after the battle, and I can assure you that I never had one in all my life that tasted half so well."

Another cigar incident was characteristic of the man. When the German troops entered Paris in triumphal procession after the French war, Bismarck, in full cuirassier uniform, rode in with them as far as the *Arc de Triomphe*, where, amid the gloomy mob of on-lookers, he espied a workman scowling at him with a villainous expression of hate and fumbling in the folds of his blouse for something which might have been a revolver. Turning his charger's head, Bismarck calmly rode up to this evil-looking fellow, and in the most polite manner begged the favor of a light to his cigar, which had gone out; and the immediate change in the man's expression showed that his malice had been completely disarmed.

Moreover, when the chancellor, some months thereafter, rode into Berlin with the Emperor of

his making and all his great generals at the head of the home-returning victorious troops, he was the hero of another little incident which showed the sort of stuff of which he was made. The streets were crammed with acclaiming multitudes, fluttering with triumphal flags, and echoing with the wheels of captured French cannon. Berlin had never beheld such an impressive spectacle.

Halting in front of Blücher's statue, there were borne past the Emperor fifty-five captured French colors, with their silken folds fluttering and rustling in the breeze created by the thundering cheers of the multitude. Bismarck sat upright, but restless, in his saddle behind his majesty, looking around him as if in quest of something. Some one approaching him asked what his highness wanted. "Paper and pencil," was the quick reply, and these articles were quickly procured from the pocket-book of a policeman. The Prince wrote off a hasty word or two on his thigh, and holding the paper aloft said: "Here is a telegram. Will you carry it?" "Yes," replied the bystander thus addressed. "Thanks," said the Prince. "You can read it." Hurriedly passing through the crowd, the messenger read on his way to the telegraph office: "To the German commander of the outposts, Paris: If the French outposts advance farther, attack them."

What had happened? The French troops had pushed their outposts beyond the line agreed upon, and the German commander (of the army of occupation left behind to insure performance of the peace conditions) had asked whether he should hold on to his line or whether he should make way for the French movement. In response to Bismarck's peremptory telegram this commander stood firm; the French were awed; and the war, which seemed on the verge of breaking out afresh, was happily averted, just as at first it had been precipitated by equal promptness and perception of the true state of affairs on the part of the German chancellor.

Beyond all doubt the French were to blame for the great war of 1870. They had resolved to fight Germany in order to pay off old scores and frustrate her unification—this is quite incontestable. But the "time when" was slightly imposed upon them. Napoleon's hand was forced by Bismarck, whose purpose it did not suit to wait until France felt herself to be completely ready. By persistent efforts the French had got the avalanche of war pushed and levered to the brink of the abyss, and Bismarck, in order to gain time by precipitating the inevitable, had given the avalanche the final filip, the briskest little finger-touch which sent it over.

A finger-touch, this, which he—at Berlin—

applied to the telegram sent him from Ems by King William detailing his refusal to comply with the insulting demands of the French ambassador. With the chancellor, when this telegram reached him, were dining his great fellow-paladins Roon, the reorganizer of the Prussian army, the maker of the sword, and Moltke, its wielder. "And on my reading it out to them," said Bismarck once, "they both dropped their forks and knives and receded a little from the table. There was a long pause. We were all very much depressed, feeling that the matter was slipping through our fingers, and that, after all, there might be a feeble and inglorious issue of the affair. At last I asked Moltke whether we could absolutely rely upon our army, and received from him the most explicit assurances on this head. 'Well, then,' said I to both, 'you can now go calmly on with your dinner.' There-

Photo by M. Ziesler, Berlin.

EMPEROR WILLIAM II. AT FRIEDRICHSHAGEN IN 1896.

upon I sat down at a little round marble table and 'edited' the King's telegram somewhat, leaving only the head and tail. 'Splendid!' exclaimed my two guests; 'that will do;' while Moltke added: 'At first it sounded like a *chamade*, and now it is a *fanfare*.' I gave orders for the immediate publication of the King's telegram in its altered form, which now made it seem to the French as if their ambassador had been rudely treated by the King, whereas in reality they had submitted a most insulting demand to our lord and master. The effect at Paris was like that of a bomb, and the boulevards now burst into cries of '*À Berlin! À Berlin!*'"

Bismarck had achieved his object, which was to force the hands of the bellicose French and precipitate the war which he knew to be quite inevitable. Shortly after the declaration of war the King said to Bismarck:

"What are we now going to do with France?"

"It will be '66 over again," confidently returned the chancellor, while to Queen Augusta,

who wanted to know what the cost of the war was likely to be, he promptly replied: "Only a Napoleon!"

"Sixty-six over again," when Austria was completely crushed by Prussia in less than seven weeks, or rather days, while it was to take seven months to bring the infatuated French to their senses. And Bismarck was by no means so certain of victory in 1866 as he was in 1870; though he himself was determined to act on the fine old Douglas motto, "Do or die!"

"I was with Count Bismarck," wrote Lord Augustus Loftus, British ambassador in Berlin, "late on the evening of June 15, 1866. We had been walking and sitting in his garden at a late hour, when to my astonishment it struck midnight. Bismarck took out his watch and said: 'At this moment our troops are entering Hanover, Saxony, and Hesse-Cassel. The struggle will be severe. Prussia may lose, but she will at least have fought bravely and honorably. If we are beaten I shall not return. I shall fall

in the first charge. One can die but once, and if beaten it is better to die."

On another occasion he said that if beaten he never would have returned alive, to become a target for the broomsticks and dish-clouts of every peevish old market-woman in Berlin.

Bismarck himself was present at the crowning victory of Königgrätz (or Sadowa) on the day of which he was thirteen hours at a stretch in the saddle and at night slept on the dirty pavement stones of the colonnade of a village. "I was dead beat," he afterward said, "and slept like a marmot. But this was not the worst bed I found in Bohemia. I still reflect with horror and backache upon the night that I spent in a child's crib."

"A child's crib!" exclaimed a lady. "The minister-president in a child's crib! How did you manage that?"

"Oh, that was simple enough. I doubled myself up like a pocket-knife."

At the battle of Königgrätz he stood in the thickest of the shell fire at the side of his sovereign, to whom he was so devoted as to cause him once to exclaim during the heat of the conflict between crown and Parliament, soon after his accession to power, when he was accused of playing the Strafford to the King of Prussia: "What matter if they hang me, provided the rope by which they string me up bind this new Germany more firmly to your throne?" And for the safety of this beloved sovereign at Königgrätz Bismarck was much more concerned than for his own. "Does your majesty, then, think that these whistling shells are mere swallows, that you thus remain exposed to this terrific fire? Sire, I entreat you to leave this dangerous spot." The King, just to humor his solicitous premier, did ride on a little out of the very thickest of the shell fire, but not far enough to please Bismarck, who then, as he afterward said, "edging up with my dark chestnut to Sadowa" (the name given to the King's mare *after* the battle), "gave her a good [sly] kick from behind with the point of my riding-boot, when she made a bound forward, and the King looked round in astonishment. I think he saw what I had done, but he said nothing."

"That Bismarck is certainly an astonishing fellow," wrote a secretary of the French embassy a few days after. "On my journey to Vienna after the battle of Sadowa I learned he was at Brünn. It was July 15. I called upon him at 2 o'clock in the morning and found him in bed. There was a table at his bedside, upon which two candles were burning and two books were lying. The man was reading: and what do you think he read? You will scarcely be-

BISMARCK AS HE APPEARED A FEW MONTHS BEFORE
HIS DEATH.

lieve me when I tell you that it was a sensational French novel."

It was generally with French novels that Bismarck sought to calm his excited nerves (though on the night of Sedan he read far into the morning the Moravian tracts and "Daily Refreshments for Believing Christians"), and during the Bohemian campaign of 1866 his nerves were in a constant state of the extremest tension. It was long, as it is still, a popular belief that Bismarck was the Hotspur of the Prussian court and camp, ever ready to plunge in where others feared to tread. But the truth was just the other way about, and he often complained of the worry he had to endure "in the ungrateful task of watering the King's wine." After Königgrätz the military party wanted to carry the war up to the very gates of Vienna, while the King insisted on taking a slice of Bohemia as part of the spoils of victory. But to both projects Bismarck was strongly opposed, as calculated to make peace at once more difficult of attainment and more unlikely to last.

He told the King that he would rather resign than take upon himself the responsibility for a continuance of the war, and begged his majesty, if he went on with the campaign, to give him a commission in the active army, in order to prove,

at least, that he had no lack of personal courage. Prussia, he said, had already attained great results, and these should not be imperiled by aiming at such things as a triumphal march into Vienna or the annexation of Austrian or Saxon territory. "They persisted, however, in their opinion," he afterward related, "and in vain I repeated my protest against the enterprise. I then went into my chamber, which was separated from the council-room [in the old castle of Nicolsburg, where the great Napoleon had slept after Austerlitz] by a wooden partition only, locked my door, threw myself upon the bed, and wept aloud from nervous excitement. After a short time they grew quiet, and the idea was given up."

On a previous occasion, when the sovereigns of the fatherland had met at Frankfort to tinker at the German constitution and indulge in what Bismarck described as mere "wind-baggery," instead of adopting his own prescription of "blood and iron" to the Sick Man of Germany, "I was so nervous and excited," he said, "that I could scarcely stand on my legs, and in closing the door of the adjutant's room I tore off the latch."

But what he suffered from the Hotspurs of the Prussian camp during the Bohemian campaign of 1866 was nothing to what he had to endure from the French ambassador, M. Benedetti (of subsequent Ems fame), who, on behalf of Napoleon the Little, was forever pestering him for compensation to France for the acquisitions of Prussia. A fine demand this, was it not? With masterly diplomacy Bismarck succeeded in staving off the covetous Frenchmen until the signature of peace between Austria and Prussia, when one fine day Benedetti presented himself to Bismarck with the plump alternative—"Cession of the Rhine frontier to France or war!"

"Very well, then," said Bismarck; "let there be war!"

But when speaking with this splendid promptitude the chancellor knew something that was a profound secret to Benedetti. He knew, in fact, that the southern states of Germany, which by the treaty of peace, at the instance of Napoleon, had been promised a federal existence separate from that of the north, had already concluded with this north military conventions binding them to assist the north against France in the event of war. Benedetti's threat of war had been mere bluff; and when, in the following year, the secret military treaties were revealed on France again threatening to go to war with Prussia on account of Luxembourg, Napoleon the Little once more took to his heels on finding, like the highway robber which he really was, that his intended victim had produced from his pock-

et, not a purse, but a six-chambered revolver of the newest type. Both in France and Austria these secret military treaties between north and south Germany were denounced as a "masterpiece of treachery," to use the words of Count Beust, and as "the *ne plus ultra* of Machiavellism."

And so they were, it must be owned. But it was a masterpiece of treachery in a good cause, and with Bismarck more than any other statesman the American principle "My country, right or wrong!" has ever been the guiding maxim. With him the means ever justified the end, and any means were good enough in his eyes which served to save his country from the French. Verily M. Benedetti was right in more senses than one when, after dining with Bismarck one day at Berlin, he took up the latter's helmet, in passing out through the entrance hall, to try if it would suit him, and remarked with a smile to a companion, "Certainly his head is much bigger than mine," as he was afterward again to discover to his cost on more occasions than one, and last of all at Ems.

But though a diplomat of the subtlest and most far-seeing kind when occasion demanded, Bismarck's diplomacy generally consisted in the plainest and most straightforward speech, as when,

for example, he hinted to the Duke of Augustenburg (father of the present German Empress), during the Danish war of 1864, that he had better behave himself, for that "Prussia could easily wring the neck of the chicken she herself had hatched;" or when he told the Austrian ambassador on the eve of the Bohemian campaign that "their relations must either become better or worse." These relations, he remarked to the English ambassador, might be described by the words of Richelieu to his discarded mistress: "We are not enemies, only we don't love each other any longer." Bismarck could write the suavist of diplomatic dispatches with his "mailed fist," yet sometimes his spoken language was of almost brutal directness.

To take only one typical instance, in the Prince's own words: "Late one night" (during the French war), "after a ride of several hours, I arrived, tired and hungry, at Baron von Rothschild's celebrated *château* [Ferrières]. To my modest request for something to eat and drink and a bed the major-domo replied, with a flood of pompous French phrases, implying that he had nothing for me—taking me for an officer. In this portly representative of the Paris millionaire I at once recognized a son of the free city of Frankfurt, and I asked him in German whether he knew what a truss of straw was. The honest Frankforter looked at me in amazement, and then I explained to him that on such bundles of straw recalcitrant major-domos could be bound with their posterior parts upward—the rest he would understand. In less than a quarter of an hour all that I had asked for was forthcoming."

How ready, too, with his hand, ever to suit the action to the word! After the battle of Gravelotte Bismarck and General Sheridan, United States representative at the German headquarters, got their carriage mixed up in a big block of military traffic and could neither advance nor recede. But the Count (he was not yet Prince), said the general, "was equal to the emergency, for, taking a pistol from behind his cushion and bidding me keep my seat, he jumped out and quickly began to clear the street effectively, ordering wagons to the right and left. Marching in front of the carriage and making way for us till we were well through the blockade, he then resumed his seat, remarking: 'This is not a very dignified business for the chancellor of the German Confederation, but it's the only way to get through.'"

A man of action, every inch of him, and a despiser of men of mere words—a man who, when talking to the British ambassador at Berlin on the subject of peace and war, could say to him: "Why, after all, Attila was a greater

than your John Bright. He has left a greater name in history. The Duke of Wellington will be known in history as a great warrior, and not as a pacific statesman."

A man of action himself, Bismarck has ever entertained the profoundest contempt for all political wind-bags and mere word artists. Thus he once remarked that "if in the course of his whole life he had inflicted upon Germany half the ignominy and weakness which Mr. Gladstone had inflicted upon England in the course of four years, he would not have had the courage to look his countrymen in the face again." It was in the same tone that he once replied to a letter of the French statesman, M. Émile Ollivier: "Sir, if in the course of my life I had had the misfortune to do as much harm to my native country as you have done to yours, I should have believed that my days would not be long enough to pray to God for forgiveness."

A man of action, and how magnificently prompt! On one occasion things came to such a pitch between Bismarck and Count Rechberg, his Austrian rival at the old Frankfort Diet, that the latter passionately exclaimed:

"One of my friends shall wait upon you in the morning."

"Why all this unnecessary delay?" Bismarck coolly replied. "In all probability you have a pair of pistols handy. Let us settle the matter immediately. While you are getting the things ready I shall write a report about the whole transaction, which, in case I am killed, I request you to forward to Berlin."

It was this dare-devil spirit of action which distinguished Bismarck from the moment he was summoned to the helm of office at Berlin from Paris, where he had been sent as Prussian ambassador to study Louis Napoleon. Before repairing to Berlin he had gone over to London, unofficially, to unfold his views of Germany's future to the Queen's ministers—views which one of these ministers characterized as the "mere moonshine of a German baron." But Mr. Disraeli was much more acute. "Take care of that man, said the perspicacious Dizzy; 'he means what he says.'"

Perhaps the finest and most characteristic incident in all Bismarck's career was his interview with King William on reaching Berlin to assume the office of premier of Prussia—King William, whose conflicts with the Chamber on the subject of army reform had filled his majesty's heart with terror and despair.

"When I arrived in Berlin on September 19, 1862," said Bismarck afterward, "his majesty's abdication, already signed, lay on his writing-table. I refused to take office. The document

was ready for handing to the Crown Prince. The King asked me whether I was prepared to govern against a majority of the Chamber even without a budget. I answered 'Yes,' and the letter of abdication was destroyed.

"But even then the struggle was not over. A fortnight after, the King wrote to me from Baden in a state of intense despondency. I went to meet him on his way back to Berlin. He was terribly depressed. The Queen had pointed to the lessons of history. I pointed to the Prussian officer's sword which he wore."

"What is going to happen?" he exclaimed. "I can see far enough from the palace window to behold your head fall on the scaffold, and after yours—mine."

BISMARCK'S LATEST PHOTOGRAPH.

"Well," I replied, "for myself I cannot imagine a nobler death than that or on the battlefield. I should fall like Strafford and your majesty like Charles I., not like Louis XVI. Surely your majesty, as captain of a company, cannot think of deserting under fire?"

"Never!" was the reply, and the King sprang up resolute and erect. The Prussian officer's sword had carried the day, and I had won back my King."

Yes, he had indeed. The King in 1862 had

FRIEDRICHSHUHE—BISMARCK'S HOME.

summoned Bismarck from Paris to Berlin to make him his premier, and nine short years later Bismarck, so to speak, was to return the compliment by summoning this King from Berlin to Paris to make him an emperor and get him proclaimed *Deutscher Kaiser* in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles!

In return for having made him a *Kaiser*, King William raised his chancellor to the rank of prince. "It was very singular," said Bismarck a little later, "that I, who had always been opposed to petty princes, should now have become one of them!"

Bismarck, who was born in the year of Waterloo (1815), began his public life in 1847, when he became a member of the first Prussian Parliament; and from 1851 till 1862 he was active as a diplomat—at Frankfort, St. Petersburg, and Paris. From 1862 till 1890, or close on thirty years, he was premier of Prussia and chancellor of the German empire, and history presents no parallel to such a spell of continuous achievement, official responsibility, and political labors that would have crushed all but a Hercules or an Atlas. It is from this point of view that one must judge of the mere physical strength and endurance of the founder of the German empire.

The Grand Old Man of England (Mr. Gladstone) has sometimes been compared to Bismarck, the Grand Old Man of Germany. But there is no comparison between the two. Gladstone had his spells of office and his intervals of rest, but Bismarck was in continuous harness of the most

galling kind for nearly thirty years; and, moreover, he never led the careful, self-cosseting kind of life which was ever affected by the Grand Old Man of England. Gladstone, for one thing, never tried his stomach to anything like the extent that had always been done by Bismarck, who was one of the greatest and most indiscriminate eaters, drinkers, and smokers of his time—a Colossus from every point of view. "I have always lived hard and fast," he once said. "By hard I mean that I always did what I had to do with all my might; whatever really succeeded I paid for with my health and strength. If I were only to do half my duty I should have to work from ten to fifteen hours a day; and I did so, too, for a long time. But there is a limit to the strength of the strongest."

"If the state expects good work out of me," he once remarked, "it must feed me well." But better work, it must be owned, was never got out of any man than out of Bismarck during the thirty years of his being harnessed, as he phrased it, to the car of Prussia and the empire, his Thirty Years' War with the elements of chaos, disunion, disruption, and democracy. "After all," he sighed soon after his dismissal from office by the present Emperor, "I derive consolation from the fact that if the crown is a real power in Germany, I have mainly contributed to that result."

And again: "Formerly all my efforts were directed to strengthening the monarchical feeling in the people. In the courts and in the official world I was extolled and overwhelmed with

proofs of gratitude. The people wanted to stone me. Now, on the other hand, it is the people who acclaim me, while the higher circles are careful to avoid me. That, I think, is what is called the irony of fate."

Universal suffrage he once described as "the government of a house by its nursery;" adding,

LOUISE WILHELMINA MENKEN, BISMARCK'S MOTHER.

"You can do anything with children if you only play with them," as he himself had done by giving universal suffrage to the German people while investing the German Government with a power of absolute veto. Some one observed: "You can make a mob cry anything by paying a few men among them a *groschen* apiece to start the shouting."

"Yes, but you need not waste your *groschen*," demurred the premier; "there are always asses enough to bray gratis."

He was ever afraid of popular pressure on the Reichstag, and hence his suggestion that the new imperial house of Parliament should be built, not at Berlin, but at Potsdam. "I really am in earnest," he said on seeing one of his guests smile. "The Reichstag should not be held in the capital. Just think how wise it was of the Americans to choose Washington, instead of New York, as the seat of their Legislature! The French, too, saw that Paris was unsuited for their Senate and Chamber of Deputies, and selected

Versailles. In the same way the Germans should go to Potsdam."

It is a curious thing that, much as he detested democratic forms of government, Bismarck, after the French war, showed himself most resolutely opposed to the restoration of a monarchy in France; and perhaps this was the most cynically selfish thing he ever did. It was really for the bane of France and for the indirect benefit to Germany that he supported by every means in his power the republican form of government in France which had been established after the great war. His calculation was that the republic would ever prove a perfect hot-bed of domestic dissension, and that thus the French would have no energies left and no inclination to execute their schemes of revenge. In republicanism and priesthood in France he beheld positive blessings to monarchical and military Germany.

"It is really a blessing for us," he once said, "this rising predominance of the clerical element in France, as thus the fencible power of the country is weakened. A battalion in which the chaplain is of more account than the major is easily beaten."

The republic, he argued, was the saucepan, so to speak, in which France might best be made to stew in her own juice; and above all things he foresaw that as long as France remained republican she would have little chance of being ever able to enter into an anti-German alliance with any of the military monarchies.

The German Emperor himself was strongly in favor of a return to a monarchical *régime* in France, and so was his ambassador in Paris, Count Harry Arnim; but Bismarck, claiming to see further into the future than either of them, insisted on having his own way.

"My opinion," wrote Arnim in May, 1872, "is that we ought not repel the addresses of the Bonapartists."

"A monarchical France," replied the Prince in December of the same year, "would meanwhile be more perilous to us than the contagious influence of republican institutions, the spectacle offered by these being more deterrent than otherwise; wherefore you are to regard my instructions on this head as unconditional and to refrain from saying or doing anything in an opposite sense."

At one of his parliamentary *soirées*, or beer-and-baccy evenings, Bismarck had said, "My diplomats must all wheel like soldiers at the word of command," and the "Ape" was to experience what it was not to dance as piped to by its imperious master.

It was this difference of opinion between Bismarck and Count Arnim as to the form of gov-

ernment in France which gradually widened into a personal quarrel that was only disposed of after the Count, at the instance of his resentful chief, had been arrested and conveyed to Berlin like a common felon, and after he had been tried on various charges, including high treason, and ultimately sentenced to five years' penal servitude, to which he preferred exile and death.

Bismarck's hatred of his opponents was like that of the immortal gods. He never forgave an injury, and political opposition to him was ever injury of the worst kind. As he had persecuted Count Arnim even unto death, so he also refused to be reconciled, even in death, to Herr Lasker, for many years leader of the Liberals in the Reichstag, who happened to die in the course of a tour in America. Thereupon the House of Representatives sent over an address of condolence to the Reichstag, but Bismarck refused to be the medium of its presentation, and returned it to Washington by the hands of the German minister there. Lasker, he said, had imbibed his life too much for him (the chancellor) to become reconciled to the little Jew, even in death.

But while capable of implacable hatred, the Prince's heart was also open to the tenderest passions of love and personal attachment. Thus when his favorite *Reichshund*, or "dog of the empire," lay down to die, Bismarck watched beside his poor attendant with such an appearance of sorrow that his eldest son at last endeavored to lead his father away. The Prince took a few steps toward the door, but on looking back his eyes met those of his old and faithful friend. "No—leave me alone," he said; and he returned to poor Sultan. When the dog was dead Bismarck turned to a friend who was standing near and said: "Those old German forefathers of ours had a kind religion. They believed that after death they would again meet in the happy hunting-grounds all the good dogs that had been their faithful companions in life. I wish I could believe that."

The Prince repeatedly expressed his firm conviction in the truth of Christianity and in the immortality of the soul, but perhaps his religious faith had better be expressed in the words which Lord Beaconsfield puts into the mouth of one of the characters in his novel "Endymion." "'As for that,' said Waldersee, 'sensible men are all of the same religion.' 'And pray what is that?' inquired Prince Florestan. 'Sensible men never tell.'"

Bismarck's true religion was his patriotism, and into the service of this patriotism he pressed all the machinery of modern civilization—militarism, diplomacy, autocracy, democracy, Parliament, and press. No man in his

time affected to have a greater contempt for the press than Bismarck, and no man ever made a greater use of it for his personal and political purposes. On the occasion of one of his visits to Paris he called on M. Thiers, when the latter asked him what he had been doing all day.

"Oh," said Bismarck, "I refused myself to three diplomats, one of whom was an ambassador; but, on the other hand, I received five journalists, and from them I learned more than I should have done from the others, who are all more or less pupils of Machiavelli or Talleyrand," whose maxim was that language had been given to man to enable him to conceal his thoughts.

But it was only when the humor suited him or when he had a special purpose to serve that Bismarck proved complaisant to journalists, and at other times he stubbornly refused to be "drawn." Thus when the Hon. W. W. Phelps, now deceased, was American minister in Berlin, he wrote to the chancellor:

"DEAR PRINCE BISMARCK [without the c]:

"I have received this morning a dispatch from Mr. Fisher, an important journalist of San Francisco, now in New York, which I take out of cipher and repeat to you:

"'Prince Bismarck is respectfully requested to cable a few words in reference to the following question: What benefit will be derived in your grace's opinion from international expositions?'"

On the margin of this the Prince simply wrote in pencil, "None!" and refused to be further drawn on the subject.

I have said that while affecting to despise the press, no man ever made a greater use of it for his purposes than Bismarck, but his method of doing so was often peculiar. For example, in 1866, about the time of the war with Austria, he sent for his private secretary, Lothar Bucher, who had formerly been an exile in London, supporting himself by his pen, and suggested to him that he should resume his old relations with the

PRINCE BISMARCK.

English press in the interest of Prussian policy. This Bucher at last succeeded in doing, and it only remained for him to strengthen his hold on the print in question by giving it an occasional bit of news. But in spite of all his representations on the subject, the chancellor vouchsafed him never a scrap of intelligence.

At last one evening Bucher was summoned to the presence of his master, who gravely informed him that he was now prepared to gratify the legitimate desire of his London friends by something in the nature of a *quid pro quo*. But what was the astonishment of Bucher on hearing that the piece of intelligence thus offered him was the fact that Queen Victoria's son-in-law, the Grand Duke of Hesse, had seen fit to recognize the peace of Prague! Here was a magnificent bit of news for the British public, was it not?—enough to excite the curiosity and secure the services of all the editors in England. Bucher promptly wired the news to London, only to find that nobody cared a single straw about the Grand Duke of Hesse, and thus Bismarck's desire to establish relations with an English journal came to utter grief.

Against his most exacting master Bucher had

other crying grievances which ultimately drove him to seek his pension and retire. But when at last Bismarck himself was driven from office and abandoned by most of his former friends and henchmen, as rats desert a sinking ship, Bucher hastened to rally to the side of the old despot from whose masterful humors he had suffered so much, and took up his quarters at Friedrichsruhe, where he acted as a kind of press secretary and helped the Prince to arrange his memoirs.

But even now there were frequent tiffs between the two, and shortly before he died—deeply bewailed by his master—Bucher let in the light on some of the exiled Prince's frailties. For one thing, he complained, the same statesman who, in a glance of true genius, could read the heart of a foreign diplomat by the light of a single phrase in a dispatch, was incapable of distinguishing in personal conversation between a cringing self-seeker and an upright man. Hence, he said, the frequent mistakes made by the chancellor in the filling up of posts, and the harm which thus accrued to the public service.

But, indeed, what was the use of nice discrimination of character in the case of a chancellor who selected his ministers as one selects a *commissionaire*—that is to say, by taking the one at the first street corner he came to? For this was the haphazard way in which Bismarck sometimes used to appoint his colleagues in the Prussian cabinet, and a very good way, too, considering that all these colleagues had to do was to carry out the policy of their imperious patron.

Bismarck felt himself to be in a hole when Camphausen, his finance minister, refused to do this and resigned. The Prince rang for his "reporting counselor," Herr von Tiedemann.

"Tiedemann," said he, "I want another finance minister. Go and get me one."

Tiedemann stood dumfounded and the Prince at once flared up.

"What's the good of my having a reporting counselor," he growled, "if he can't even get me a minister? Go and find one by this evening."

Off went Tiedemann to his club, to plunge his head between his desperate knees and think.

"Tiedemann," cried Herr Hobrecht, the Burgomaster of Berlin, who happened to be at the club, "what's the matter with you? You look worried."

"And no wonder," quoth Tiedemann, "for I'm looking for some one I can't find."

After a little while he returned in despair to the chancellor and found him about to undress.

"Stephan" (the postmaster-general) "has refused," said the Prince in great annoyance.

"What's to be done?"

Tiedemann said he had just seen Hobrecht and thought he would do as a successor to Camp-hausen.

"All right," said the chancellor. "Go at once and see what he says."

This time Tiedemann hurried to Hobrecht's house, but had to wait long before he came.

"Are you willing," he asked, "to become minister of finance?"

"If I think to-morrow in hot cockles," quoth Hobrecht, "as I think to-night in drink, I will say 'yes.'"

"A practical man, you see," commented Bismarck on hearing this remark, and sending for Hobrecht he at once appointed him to the vacant office.

But, after all, there was some little justification for these methods of Bismarck in the selection of his ministers, seeing that he ever proved himself so much the superior of the best of them in power of head-work.

For example: Herr von Friedeberg, the Jewish minister of Prussian justice, was sitting at lunch one day with the chancellor at Varzin—his "Pomeranian Tusculum"—when a counselor entered to report on the progress of the negotiations for the renewal of the Austro-German treaty of commerce. Seven or eight points were in question. Bismarck did not allow the matter to interfere with his lunch and went on dictating his decisions.

"As regards No. 1, yes, I am willing. No. 2, no—I won't hear of it. The Hungarians must yield. No. 3 must be left for later settlement," etc.

"It all came out," said the counselor, "like a bullet from a gun."

"What a man that is!" remarked Friedeberg.

"For six mortal hours we ministers in Berlin sat debating these points, and here they are all settled in six minutes."

Another case in point may be quoted. When the preliminary treaty of peace (called of San Stefano) which was forced by Russia upon Turkey in 1878 threatened to bring about a new war between England and Russia, Count Schouvaloff, Russian ambassador in London, resolved to hurry to St. Petersburg to implore the Czar to obviate such a catastrophe by asking Bismarck to summon a European congress at Berlin. The Czar consented, and then the Count in turn hurried to Varzin, where he had a short talk with the Prince. The latter then went into the ante-room where his son, Count Herbert, and a counselor were waiting, and dictated to them, without a moment's hesitation, an invitation to the powers, together with a most lucid summary of the questions to be submitted to their consideration. All

the great powers at once accepted, England only desiring the change of one word, to which the Prince readily consented. The congress was held; war was averted; and Lord Beaconsfield proudly returned to London as the bearer of "peace with honor."

At the close of the congress Bismarck remarked to Lord Salisbury: "I have conducted this conference sometimes like a gentleman and sometimes like a sergeant-major;" and indeed this was an exact way of describing how the chancellor had performed his functions of "honest broker" and peace-maker, deferring to some powers and dragging others.

Some time after the congress a deputy at one of the chancellor's parliamentary *soirées*, or beer-and-baccy evenings, asked him which of the European plenipotentiaries who had attended the historic congress he regarded as the first diplomat.

"Ah, that I cannot tell you," answered the Prince with a smile, as if thinking he himself might possibly be entitled to claim that honor. "But certainly the second was Lord Beaconsfield."

For the British premier, Jew and adventurer though he was, Bismarck conceived a very deep respect.

The furniture and decorations of Friedrichsruhe include many interesting souvenirs of the great events connected with the unification of Germany—the little card-table on which was signed the preliminary peace between France and Germany at Versailles; several birthday and other presents from the old Emperor, including a beautiful model of the great national monument on the Niederwald, with the inscription, "The coping-stone of your policy," etc.; a statuette of the Great Elector; a battle picture of Mars-la-Tour, in which the Prince's two sons took valiant part; a bust of Moltke; family portraits, prints of Frederick the Great, a likeness of M. Thiers, and a chalk drawing of Lord Beaconsfield.

Another portrait in a place of great honor at Friedrichsruhe is that of the American historian of the Dutch republic, John Lothrop Motley, who studied with Bismarck at Goettingen and kept up his intimacy with him to the end of his life. The ex-chancellor was always very partial to Americans, and in the Reichstag I have repeatedly heard him refer with pride to the fact that he first pointed out, at a banquet given in Berlin by Mrs. Bancroft in honor of President Grant's assumption of Presidential power, that it was Frederick the Great who had been the first sovereign in Europe to recognize the independence of the United States.

He was also fond of recalling that after the Civil

War in America Captain Semmes, on behalf of the South, offered him the private services of some of its most distinguished naval officers, with five thousand men and the requisite vessels, in order to help Prussia in her impending conflict with Austria, but that he was obliged to decline the offer in consequence of the central Government at Washington frowning on the project.

Of Mr. Bancroft Bismarck had a very high opinion. "Mr. Bancroft," said the Prince to a visitor at Friedrichsruhe not very long ago, "seemed to me the ideal of an American diplomat. His scientific composure impressed me all the more favorably by contrast with one of his predecessors."

Bismarck always showed a decided partiality for Americans, and it was a New York journalist who was the first whom he admitted to the honor of interviewing him after his fall from power (in 1890). For the previous twelve years he had not received a single representative of the press. A correspondent of the *London Times* was the last journalist by whom, in 1878, during the congress of Berlin, Bismarck had consented to be interviewed, and after that until his fall from power he had kept the whole tribe of what he called "quill cattle" at a contemptuous distance. But there is nothing like misfortune for making a man, especially a statesman, claim kindred with all his fellows, and soon after the Prince's dismissal from office Friedrichsruhe became a kind of modern Delphi, or latter-day prophet's Mecca, to the pilgrims of the press. From either hemisphere to Hamburg trooped the inquisitive knights of the pen, and the mansion-house of Friedrichsruhe was forthwith turned into a sort of journalistic monastery, where, as in the Middle Ages, all wayfaring brothers of the quill might count upon food, a night's lodging, and confidential converse with the prince prior. An American journalist having led the way, the recording angels of the press at once rushed in where this New York interviewer had been first allowed to tread.

Though intensely devoted to his fallen master, Lothar Bucher, his private secretary, whom the Prince once characterized as a "perfect pearl of a man" (for his particular purposes), disapproved of much the ex-chancellor did and said, especially at the numerous interviews he began to give to the journalists of all nations. Both he and the (now also deceased) Princess tried hard to dissuade the Prince from indulging in such bitter diatribes against the Emperor, but in vain; and they had the mortification of hearing the fallen chancellor refer to his "*neue Herr*," or new master, among other things, as a "rich heir," "a young dog frisking about in the sun," "a young

fox-hound that barks at everything, smells at everything, touches everything, and ends by causing complete disorder in the room in which he is." It was on one of these occasions when the venturesome Bucher had been hinting that it would be more politic of the Prince to hold his tongue that the latter replied:

"My dear Bucher, you don't understand these things. If any one hits me I shall also hit him back again."

The "conflict time" in Prussian history is known as to period from 1862, when Bismarck first seized the helm of affairs, till 1866, during which he waged so bitter and dangerous a struggle with the lower Chamber, apart from his wars with Denmark and Austria. But a still more bitter and even perilous "conflict time" for him was the period of eight years which had elapsed since his expulsion from office, and when he once or twice made it look as if he might himself incur a state persecution similar to that which at his instance ended in the ruin of his rival, Count Harry Arnim. Bismarck's history of that time is little more than the history of his quarrels and reconciliations with the Emperor, or rather of the Emperor's quarrels and reconciliations with him; for the heart of Prince Bismarck was just the same toward his majesty then as in the days when he enjoyed his "first-class funeral" at his majesty's charges. For the last eight years Friedrichsruhe has been the source of an intermittent stream of personal and political criticism, bearing on its bosom chips, and even blocks, of state secrets—which furnished marvelously fine "copy" to the press of Europe.

Sorrows of all kinds crowded on the Prince in his declining years—the treachery and defection of former friends, the ingratitude of his "new master," his quarrels with the Emperor, the loss of his wife, failing health, and the infirmities of his eighty-four years. But in the midst of all his troubles perhaps his greatest source of satisfaction was the thought that he would leave two grandsons, one by each of his sons, who will continue his illustrious race in the direct line.

It is astonishing how well the Prince continued to look in spite of his great age and his excruciating ailments. His hands, though disfigured by some gouty nodules, were still slender and white with fine nails, though he never allowed casts of them to be taken. Nor did he ever really sit properly to any artist, for, as he lately remarked: "I am no *poseur*. And as to statues," he added, "I am not at all susceptible to that kind of flattery. If, for instance, I were in Cologne, I should be extremely embarrassed as to how I should look in passing the monument which has

already been erected to me there. This is what happens to me at Kissingen [where there is another Bismarck statue] It disturbs me in my walks when I stand, as it were, beside myself."

None of Bismarck's portraits, with the exception, perhaps, of the one painted by the English artist, Mr. W. B. Richmond, seems to me to reproduce his most striking characteristic—the fresh, florid, healthy hue of his complexion. Lenbach gives the chancellor a dark, blotchy kind of countenance of which I never could see the truth, though he has caught in a most wonderful manner the expression of his eyes, and for this he was indebted to a peculiar accident. "We were engaged in conversation," said the Prince, "and I happened to look upward at a passing flight of birds. Suddenly Lenbach, who was with me, exclaimed: 'Hold hard! That will do capitally. Keep quite still,' and so at once made his sketch;" which is regarded as betraying more of the inner soul of the man than any of the portraits of the Iron Chancellor.

Bismarck was never more interesting than when he exchanged his *rôle* as arbiter of nations for that of an interpreter of nature; and the greatest treat he could give a visitor was to take him for a walk among his woods and fields and comment upon all their phenomena. "Look!" he said one day to a visitor. "Do you see those partridges getting up? There they go and there they alight again. They want to make us believe that they are going further in the same direction. But it won't do. They're only deceiving us, and presently they will take the very opposite way."

In the course of another sylvan walk the Prince passed a stork's nest, where two male birds seemed to be having an altercation in the presence of a female one. "Ah," said the chancellor to his companion, who was following the incident with close attention, "I see that you are fond of French novels, otherwise you would not take such a deep interest in the divorce affair that's going on up yonder."

On another occasion the Prince's walk led him to a stream where a swan was watching the movements of a foal. "Do you see," he said to his companion, "how the bird draws itself up? It knows that we are watching it and wants to show itself off to the best advantage—clearly a female. Animals have a language of their own, you know. It is only the conceit of man that makes him fancy he has the monopoly of speech."

A little further on he pointed to two stately pine trees in front and remarked: "There, up in mid-air between those trees, I should like to find my rest, where the sunlight and the fresh

air can still get at one. It is horrible to think of being shut down and suffocated in a band-box."

At one time Bismarck said: "I always feel best when in greased boots—away from civilization. . . . My spirits are always highest where I can hear nothing but the woodpecker."

The Prince was a most acute sufferer from neuralgic pains in the face, and sometimes he was obliged to seek relief by pressing the points of his fingers for several minutes on his cheek bones. It was then difficult for him to open his lips, and he jokingly said: "This is quite natural, for in my life I have sinned most with my mouth in eating, drinking, and talking."

When the state of his health was broached, Bismarck often told a story about an old country doctor to whom his father once complained of a violent toothache. "Be thankful at your age of seventy-five," replied the blunt practitioner, "that you are still here to have any toothache at all." In spite of his great age—four-score and three—Bismarck never, I believe, had to place himself in the hands of a dentist. At any rate, his teeth were wonderfully well preserved for all his Gargantuan feats of eating, drinking, and smoking, though in trying to bite through the hind leg of a hare he once broke a tooth.

On reading once in the papers a sentimental report about his "state of depression" he remarked: "My depression is solely my great age. Wait till you are eighty-four and see how you feel, especially if you have spent almost half a century in struggles and anxieties. My whole life has been spent playing high with other people's money. I never could see with certainty beforehand whether my plans would succeed. I could sail my ship on the stream of events, but not steer it. A general, after fighting a battle, can on the very same day tell whether he has won a victory or suffered a defeat beyond all doubt. But this was never possible with the statesman who could not book a balance with certainty." Even after the peace of Frankfurt this had not been quite possible for him.

When Bismarck once complained to the old Emperor about the woeful falling off in his physical powers, his majesty broke in: "Tut! Look at me. I am a much older man than you are, Bismarck, and yet I am still able to ride."

"Ah, yes," rejoined the chancellor, "but then your majesty must remember that a rider always lasts longer than his horse."

The chancellor was always quick at witty repartee of this kind. Once, for instance, some one asked him whether it was really true, as rumor had it, that he was going to visit Germany's field of colonial enterprise in southwest Africa.

"Yes," he replied, "but only on the back of the camel that brought this piece of news."

When, during the siege of Paris, Bismarck mentioned six milliards as the amount of the war indemnity, Jules Favre held up his hands in blank amazement, saying that if any one at the birth of Christ had begun to count such a sum he would not yet have completed the work.

"Well," rejoined Bismarck, "that is precisely why I have summoned to my side some one who began to count even before the birth of Christ."

This was Baron Bleichröder, a Hebrew banker of Berlin, of whose race Bismarck once remarked: "The Jews have still no true home, but are a sort of universal Europeans, or cosmopolitan nomads. Their fatherland is Zion." On another occasion he observed: "The press Jews do all they can to make an anti-Semite of me."

How quick his repartee, because how consummate his knowledge of human nature. "If," he once said, "you want anything of a great man, never appeal to him as a specialist. I never said to Mannteuffel that he was a great general or a great statesman. I told him he was the best rider in Berlin, and then he gave me all I wanted."

But sometimes even Bismarck found his match at repartee. At his first consultation with Dr. Schweninger, who afterward became his body physician, and indeed a member of his family, the Prince was said to have lost his temper and to have growled, "Don't ask so many questions;" to which Schweninger replied: "Then please consult a veterinary surgeon. He asks no questions!" Schweninger was actually the hundred and first doctor who had tried his skill on Bismarck, who said: "The difference between Schweninger and my former doctors lies in this: that I treated them, while Schweninger treats me." Perhaps this is why Bismarck was always so fond of girding at his body Æsculapius at the dinner-table. Looking at Schweninger in presence of some guests he once said: "There is always something of the priest in doctors, for they are fond of doing themselves what they deny to others."

Brilliant at repartee, the Prince could also turn an epigram with the best. For example: In the

album of a lady of title Count Moltke had written the words, "Falsehood passes away, but truth endures;" and immediately underneath this reflection Bismarck wrote:

"Believe I do that, b'yond the grave,
Truth always will her banners wave;
But with the falsehoods of this life
E'en Moltke must wage bootless strife."

Now, what could have been more beautiful in the way of a simile than the Prince's comparison of the Edison phonograph, when first shown to him at Friedrichsruhe, to the story in Baron Münchhausen where "a trumpet tone suddenly became congealed into the horn and afterward began again to thaw into sound"?

Trumpet tone? Was it also Bismarck who so wittily referred to the Emperor William II. (*to none*) as the "*Trompeter von Säkungen*" (or *Sektungen*, as some one wrote it, "*Sekt*" being the German for champagne), the monarch so excessively addicted to the blowing of his own trumpet over the walnuts and the wine? I know not, but the ex-chancellor has said much harder things than this of the impetuous young sovereign who drove him away from Berlin—"like a dog"—though he nevertheless refused to live with closed lips "like a dumb dog or a hibernating bear," even at the risk of exposing himself to a state prosecution such as that by which he himself wreaked his vengeance on Count Arnim for the betrayal of state secrets. A state prosecution, or even expulsion from the Germany of his own creating! Would not that have been the anticlimax to his unparalleled career? But the thought of it, at least in a jesting moment, occurred to the ex-chancellor as the possible outcome of his quarrels with the present Emperor. When one of these quarrels had reached its acutest and most perilous point, the Prince, at Kissingen, met a New York lawyer (Mr. F. W. Holls), who strongly urged the ex-chancellor to visit America, where he was sure of the very warmest reception. Such a journey, returned the Prince, had been his ideal up to ten years ago; but now the *vis inertiae* with him was too great, and only in the event of his being expelled from Germany—this he said with a smile—could he now think of crossing the Atlantic.



THE GREATNESS OF BISMARCK.

BY W. T. STEAD.

HOW great Bismarck was we can as yet but dimly understand. For this generation has never turned its face eastward across the Atlantic without seeing the stalwart form of Prince Bismarck on the German horizon. Emperors have come and gone, but for nearly forty years Bismarck has towered aloft the greatest in the empire which he had made so great. Whether in office or in retreat, the Iron Chancellor dwarfed all his contemporaries. The watchful eyes that gleamed beneath his shaggy brows, like round-mouthed cannon at the embrasure of a massive keep, were never closed, nor have we for one moment since 1861 ceased to hear the steady footfall of Bismarck, sentinel first of Prussia, then of Germany, for he continued to do sentry duty on his own account to the very end; and now that he too has gone into the silent land, Germany without its Bismarck is as Switzerland without its Alps.

Even in his retirement at Friedrichsruhe, in retreat and almost in disgrace, he was the most potent voice in Germany. The *Kaiser*, who at first ignored him, found it expedient to make up to the famous chancellor, the only subject who, standing in his boots, overtopped the Emperor when standing tiptoe on the steps of the imperial throne. His country-seat became the pilgrim center of the fatherland, and the Hamburg paper which was understood to receive occasional inspiration from Friedrichsruhe was more quoted throughout the world than all the other German newspapers put together. The death of Mr. Gladstone left Bismarck sole and supreme, the Colossus of the Old World, the last survivor of the Titans of the century.

Mr. Gladstone, his only rival, never concealed his dislike and distrust of Prince Bismarck. "A very big man, no doubt," he once exclaimed, "but very unscrupulous." It was a homely summing up, but it expressed with unusual simplicity the popular estimate of his character. He was big, in every way one of the biggest men of his time. Great, Mr. Gladstone did not call him, because greatness in his estimation implied a moral element chiefly conspicuous for its absence in the politics of Prince Bismarck. But he was as big as he was unscrupulous.

The Italian Chevalier Nigri described him more elaborately than Mr. Gladstone as "a kind of embodied Shakespeare, a continent of human-

ity, embracing every variety of mind and mood." This early Goth with the culture of our time is the most interesting and the most incomprehensible figure in modern history. "No wonder that Emilio Castelar, the supreme rhetorician of Europe, himself the embodiment of all the antitheses to the great German empire-maker, said that "the species of men to which Bismarck belongs is fading out and becoming extinct." Time brings not back the mastodon, and another Bismarck is not to be expected in the twentieth century.

These tributes of foreigners hardly keep us to the right realization of the secret of Bismarck's character. We shall find a more helpful clew in the pregnant phrase by the University of Giessen in the document conferring upon him the degree of Doctor of Divinity. Therein he is addressed as "the great unique man who never wearies, never loses courage, and fears no one but God." That is Prince Bismarck as he looms gigantic before the German world. He was great, he was unique; a weariless worker who never feared the face of man. The initial quality of greatness was born with him. Born with him also was that tireless energy, that marvelous initial force which never failed, which made him the power-house of the German race, and his brain the whirling dynamo whose fiery pulsations drove the car of empire along its iron way. But the university authorities who conferred the degree in divinity upon the chancellor of Germany touched with unerring finger the element in this man which more than any other contributed to make him the hero of the fatherland. That element, strange though it may seem in view of his somewhat cynical mood and this lack of scrupulosity which distinguished his policy, was his religion.

Bismarck may or may not have been a man without a scruple; he certainly was not a man without a very living faith in a living God. He took as little stock in "streams of tendency" as Mr. Gladstone himself. Oliver Cromwell indeed was not more firmly convinced of the reality of a divine Providence than this intellectual giant of the skeptical nineteenth century.

This was in him a lifelong characteristic. When he was a boy Bismarck's parents made a great point of inculcating truth on his youthful mind. When young Otto was fifteen it was

Schleiermacher who prepared him for confirmation. Old Bismarck wrote to the famous preacher and professor, begging him in his instructions to lay special stress on the virtues of sincerity and truth. Schleiermacher confirmed Bismarck, and gave him as his motto for the guidance of his future life an altered version of Ephesians vi. 7—"What thou doest do as to the Lord and not to men."

When he was in the heyday of his fame, in 1887, he talked much to Sir W. B. Richmond about religion and prayer. "I remember," he said, "at fourteen thinking prayer needless, for it struck me then that God knew better than I. I think much the same now, except that the usefulness of prayer is in that it implies submission to a stronger power. I am conscious of that power, which is neither arbitrary nor capricious. Of a future life I do not doubt. The present is too sad and incomplete to answer to our highest selves. It is evidently a struggle, then only in vain if it is to end here; ultimate perfection I believe in."

Dr. Stuckenbruck, writing last year on Prince Bismarck's religious views in the *Homiletic Review*, says:

Practical Christianity he interpreted to mean the love of one's neighbor as self. The weak are the wards of the state in a peculiar sense. He thought it the duty of the state to insure laborers against accident, sickness, and old age, and for that purpose had the elaborate insurance laws enacted. His plea was that this was due to laborers and that it was a requirement of Christianity. The charge was made that he was a state socialist; instead of repelling it, he welcomed the charge. In advocating the insurance laws he pronounced Christianity the basis of the national life and the ground of the proposed laws: "I publicly declare that my faith in the moral character of our revealed religion determines my career. . . . I, the minister of this state, am a Christian, and I am resolved so to act as to be able to justify myself before God."

The belief in immortality was among the most prominent articles of his creed. "I believe it from the bottom of my heart," was one of his emphatic statements to indicate that he believed in a life beyond the grave. For that reason, he said, this life does not have the same meaning for him as for those who believe that death ends all. To him the end in this world is but the transition to another. Indeed, he could not realize the feelings of such as have hope only for this world.

Nor was he in the least disposed to shrink from professing his faith before men. When Mr. Gladstone died, Lord Salisbury described him in his eulogium in the House of Lords as a "most eminent Christian." Followers of the meek and lowly Nazarene would possibly be slow to recognize the man of blood and iron as a disciple of the Christ who was crucified. But Bismarck himself had no misgivings as to his

place among the believers. Nor was his a death-bed repentance. He did not postpone his avowal of faith in the unseen until things seen were becoming dimly visible through the mists of death. In the supreme moment of his career, on the eve of the war which gave Prussia the headship of Germany, in the midst of the war that made Germany the master of Europe, he avowed with proud humility that to him all that was vital in this life sprang from his faith in the life to come.

Captain Mahan, in his appreciation of Mr. Gladstone's genius, made the profound observation, which has also been made by Mr. Gladstone himself, that "whatever of unbelief may be possible to an intellect absorbed in purely intellectual pursuits, theoretical skepticism will not, as a rule, be found in men of action, whether in civil or military affairs." This was eminently exemplified in the case of Bismarck, a man of action both in civil and military affairs, if ever man was. He based his political creed upon this religious belief. "I firmly believe," he once declared, "in a life after death, and that is why I am a royalist. By nature I am disposed to be a republican. Deprive me of that faith and you rob me of my fatherland." Bismarck, the man of this world who had on the whole achieved the most conspicuous success of all men of this generation, conquered the world by despising it, as much as any hermit of the Thebaid or mystic of the Middle Ages. Through all his table-talk, his familiar letters, and his public speeches sounds the constant refrain: "We should not depend upon this world and come to regard it as our home." Here we have no continuing city: we seek one that is to come, eternal in the heavens; and although Bismarck did not use the dialect of the apostle, he was continually expressing the same thought in phrases of his own coining. "I live a life of great activity," he declared on one occasion, "and occupy a lucrative post, but all this could offer me no inducement to live one day longer did I not believe in God and in a better future."

"For me," he once declared in the Reichstag, there is only one compass, one solitary polar star by which I steer—*salus publica*." And, as a wary mariner, he has never hesitated to tack. He once explained his opportunist theory of politics by the analogy of a hunter—and a veritable Nimrod he was all his days. He said: "From early life I have been a huntsman and a fisherman, and the waiting for the right moment is the rule which I have introduced into politics. Politics are not logic, are not an exact science, but the ability to select the most reasonable, the least dangerous course in every changing moment of the situation."

Nevertheless, despite all his opportunist ways, he kept the testimony of a good conscience—of a sort, and stuck to his post to the last. It was not with his own good-will that he was compelled to hand over the duty of steering the ship of state to the *Kaiser*, William II. This faith of his in his providential mission, however little foundation others may believe it to possess, unquestionably gave steadiness to his purpose and a ruthless edge to his resolution. If, as he once phrased it, he did "not despair that God in his mercy would not take away from me the staff of humble faith with which I seek my way amid the doubts and dangers of my position," it is to be feared that those who stood in his way found that "staff of humble faith" used about their shoulders as if it were the quarter-staff of Friar Tuck. For Prince Bismarck was a Christian of the church militant, a Christian crossed with a Berserker, whose dominant note resembled the war-songs of Valhalla rather than the seraphic melody of the Sermon on the Mount. M. Thiers declared that he was a barbarian of the type of Attila or Genseric. He was a Prussian Junker, but half-baptized, a disciple of Thor of the Thunder Hammer, rather than of the Pale Galilean.

He was no churchman, despite his religious convictions. Perhaps it would be more correct to say that he put the national idea in the place of the ecclesiastic, and made patriotism his religion. Therein he resembled another great man—Cecil Rhodes, the Colossus of Africa, who just before he left London said to me in parting: "Do you want to know my idea? I will give it you in a nutshell. In place of salvation put empire, and there you have it." Some few years ago Bismarck said: "In Germany we have no national church, but might not the idea of the nation be the sanctuary round which all parties should gather?" He served his country as Loyola served the Church. His sense of the service he owed to Germany was supreme. "He who reproaches me for being a statesman devoid of conscience does me a wrong." And he explained how he reconciled his unscrupulosity in politics with the good conscience which he undoubtedly enjoyed. "I follow out a plan with a perfectly calm conscience which I consider useful to my country and to Germany. As to means to this end, I have used those within my reach for want of others."

In justice it must be admitted that Bismarck never shrank from imperiling his own life in the attempt to attain his end. During the first part of his career as minister-president, when he set about increasing the Prussian army, which he had decided was the only weapon by which German unity could be achieved, he was con-

stantly reminded of the fate of Strafford. "Death on the scaffold," he haughtily replied, "is under certain circumstances as honorable as death on the battlefield." "What matter if they hang me," he told his royal master on another occasion, "provided the rope by which I am hung binds this new Germany firmly to your throne?"

There was in him a fine strain of loyalty to his king and as sublime an indifference to personal considerations so long as he could attain his end. Of inconsistency in varying his means the better to attain his object he took no account. When he dived down with the groom to the bottom, and when he pulled him to the surface and dragged him ashore, his end was the same. So it was that he fought with and allied himself to all parties and nations in turn, and alternately levied war against and made compacts with the Pope.

He was a man who had the most sovereign scorn for the principles of democracy. "There has grown up of late," he told Mr. Smalley, "a notion that the world can be governed from below. That cannot be." The business of a government to his thinking was to govern, and the first duty of a government was energy. "The firmness, indeed, the fierceness, of the ruling power is a guarantee of peace both at home and abroad." Fierce he was and energetic, especially in dealing with the socialists, who to him were but vermin—human rats to be trampled out of existence without ruth. Yet as a statesman who had to navigate the ship of state amid the gusts of democratic passion, he did not hesitate to trim his sails to the wind on occasion. "The mob," he said succinctly, "is a sovereign that needs to be flattered as much as any sultan." No man had a greater disdain for newspapers, "mere printing ink on paper," but no modern statesman took so much pains to tune the press. The reptile fund was used without stint to control the utterances of the newspapers both at home and abroad, for, as he naïvely remarked: "Public opinion is one of the forces on which the statesman relies. If it is now corrupted is he not to purify it?" Bismarck sought not merely to purify it, but to guide it, to convert it into an agency for generating an opinion favorable to his own policy. He was not above using the King against Parliament, neither did he shrink from using the press against both King and Parliament when it seemed necessary for the success of the Bismarckian policy.

Of his relations with journalists when he wished to nobble the press and use it as an instrument for his own purposes, we have had since his death two remarkable reminiscences from correspondents who interviewed him. The first in order of

time is Mr. Beatty-Kingston's account of how he interviewed Count Bismarck in 1867. He says :

I found his excellency seated behind a large writing-table facing the doorway. He wore the undress uniform of his cuirassier regiment (Magdeburg, No. 7), without decorations and thrown open from throat to mid-chest. As I entered he rose and held out his right hand in token of welcome, saying: "I am glad to see you. Pray observe that I receive you quite informally, at an altogether unofficial hour, and absolutely *tête-à-tête*, just as though you were a friendly diplomat looking me up in my den for a chat and a cigar. You smoke, of course." Here he handed me a box half full of the potent "col-orados" which bore his name on their tiny girdles of red, black, and white. "Lord Augustus tells me that I can rely on your discretion, and I know that the newspaper you represent is well disposed toward Prussia and myself, so ask me what you please. If I can answer your questions consistently with the reservations imposed upon me by my official position I will, and you can make my replies known to your readers; if I can't, I shall tell you so in plain words, or, in answering, shall ask you to keep what I say to yourself, only using it for the guidance of your editorial colleagues in London. I hear from Loftus that you speak German like a German born; but I am very fond of English, and if you don't mind we will converse in that language. It will be capital practice for me, and I am really glad of the opportunity. Now sit down and let us talk."

All this and what followed on the part of my genial host, being spoken in perfect English and with inimitable *bonhomie*, put me entirely at my ease. I am glad to remember that I put no question to Count Bismarck that he positively declined to answer. Much that he told me in the course of more than an hour's continuous conversation was published in the *Daily Telegraph* of September 28, 1867—at least as much as was confidentially communicated by me to Mr. (now Sir) Edward Lawson in a private letter containing momentous disclosures imparted to me by Count Bismarck under the express understanding that they should not appear in print as emanating directly from himself. I was but a young journalist in 1867, and I may frankly confess now, as a veteran of the craft, that his amazing outspokenness held me spell-bound at intervals during that memorable interview. He drew for me, in graphic outline, a word-sketch of the trap he had contrived for the ignominious discomfiture of the "irredeemable fools" who were egging on Napoleon the Little, "an intelligent though much overrated man," to a course of action which could not but result "in ruin to the second empire and disaster to the French nation." He alluded in terms of withering contempt to the Emperor's most trusted advisers, Gramont and Benedetti, "especially Benedetti," then accredited to the Prussian court, whom Bismarck described to me as "all but an idiot," adding: "Mark my words—those stupid fellows will get their master into a terrific scrape some day!" He foreshadowed the Austro-German alliance, then undreamed of in Vienna and Berlin alike, and destined not to be taken into serious consideration by the venerable William I. until the autumn of 1878, eleven years later than the date of my first interview with Bismarck. He foretold, in a general way, the calamities which were bound to befall Russia should she insist upon "airing her Eastern proclivities" without regard for the interests of her neighbors. In short,

he opened up to my dazzled and bewildered eyes long vistas of contingencies and conjectures which I had hitherto never deemed imaginable; and when I took leave of him I felt humbly grateful, as one who had been privileged to hold brief communion with the master-spirit of the age.

M. de Blowitz thus describes his famous interview in 1878, when Prince Bismarck sent for him during the Berlin congress to square the *Times* over the Batoum question. M. de Blowitz says :

This man whom fame immeasurably extolled is one of the few whom I then found equal to and above their reputation. He struck me with profound admiration by the terrible simplicity of the means employed by him for carrying on diplomacy after his own fashion. Dinner was immediately served, and even before we had seated ourselves, turning to me, he said: "I am glad to see you, and I hope that, with the help of the *Times*, we shall be able to smooth over this Batoum question which threatens to disturb the work of the congress." Once seated at table and placing me on his right, he gave me the never-to-be-forgotten spectacle of the fascination which a man can exercise when bent on winning over anybody to whom he attaches some interest or importance. This assumed quite the proportions of an art, and I did not even attempt to resist it. He told me simply what he thought should be made known to England and Europe. He explained to me that the English plenipotentiaries had to prepare the country for the concessions imposed upon it by their desire for peace, and he asked, with admirably feigned modesty, in what shape I thought proper to give the reflections which he had just communicated. Then, satisfied with my answer, he dropped Batoum as a settled question and set himself to charm and seduce his auditor.

From Sir W. Richmond's letters from Friedrichsruhe, written, be it remembered, in 1887, the year before the present *Kaiser* came to the throne, we learn that Bismarck gave the artist the following forecast of the next war :

I see him as a man wholly devoted to peace, with the most clear-headed ideas of combination. Russia and France, he says, will sooner or later attack Germany, and "though," he said, "I could wish to retire, I must serve my old King to the end." The least, he said, England could do would be to send her fleet to the Mediterranean, and so support Italy, whose alliance we are sure of. "Within ten days from now," he went on, "we can place three millions of men in the field: one million on the Russian frontier, one million on the French, and a million reserves;" besides, he said, we can raise and have arms and clothes for four millions and a half of soldiers. His great grandfather was killed in the French wars under Frederick. His grandfather fought in 1792, his father in 1815. And now, he said, I have fought the French since 1870.

He has a contempt for the French beyond measure. "You are lucky to have the sea between you and them. Their vanity would lead them to fight the world if they could. France will never settle down. She loves change and the excitement of making new governments. I want peace for Germany. To have peace we

must be prepared for war." His hatred to France is inveterate.

But, he said, our tactics will be different this time. We shall wait for attack, for the fortifications erected by the French preclude the possibility of an immediate advance, an advance we made successfully in 1870. We shall wait for them and attack them in the field. And then if God gives us a chance we will do the same again as we did in 1870. Indeed, he said, "I believe that unless God himself commands the French army we *must* be victorious."

The next war will mean either the extinction of Germany from the face of Europe or the extinction of France.

Of Bismarck's personal appearance there have been many descriptions. That of the artist who painted him is not the least interesting. Sir W. Richmond wrote :

Bismarck is quite unlike the man I thought of—very gentle, fair as a Saxon—he is a Saxon—high-bred in manner, very courteous, a lovely voice, and charming. I was instantly at home with him. He reminds me of Darwin in manners, and the simple manner of the house is the same as I remember at "Down."

He was one of the few great men of the world who did not owe much to his mother. He told Sir W. Richmond that his life during childhood was wretched. His mother was harsh, ambitious, and cruel. "She spoiled my character," he said. Of his father he spoke with enthusiasm as a great and good man.

Bismarck as a statesman, Bismarck as an author, Bismarck as an orator, and Bismarck as a man—on each of these much might be written. For his life was full of interests, his mind was many-sided, and all he did and thought was characteristic of the man.

"I am sitting again in the House of Phrases," he wrote impatiently in his earlier days, when he was doomed to spend much time listening to parliamentary eloquence. But no man in all Europe was so deft a phrase-maker as himself. His famous saying about blood and iron has passed into the word-lore of Europe. So have his "honest broker," "*Do ut des*," "*Beati possidentes*," and "We shall not go to Canossa." Only less famous, and even more terrible, was his remark that when France and Germany again went to war they would never stop fighting till they had bled each other as white as veal. Only occasionally did he try the more heroic vein, but when he did it was with a master's hand. His phrase describing "the god of battles shaking the iron dice of destiny" is but one of many such which reveal the imagination of a poet which illumined the vision of the statesman.

It was said of Bismarck by Sir Robert Morier that "he had made Germany great, but the German he had made little," and there was undoubtedly a truth in the bitter jibe. The individual German was dwarfed both by the magnitude of the giant and the dimensions of the work of his hands. Nevertheless, Bismarck, with all his limitations—and they were many and grievous—was one of the makers of the modern world. He was a mighty artificer in the Vulcan smithy of the nations, and his work, which he forged as with the hammer-stroke of Thor, is one of the most imposing monuments which this nineteenth century will leave to its successor.

There were in this huge human bundle the most diverse elements of patience and of passion, of self-indulgence and self-restraint, of exquisite tenderness and a fine sentimentality side by side with the grim ruthlessness of a wild boar.

The self-possession which enabled him with consummate effrontery calmly to read a newspaper while a revolutionary assembly in 1848 attempted to drown his voice with their abusive outcries failed him somewhat in later life. When he fell from power he talked for a year just as Napoleon talked at St. Helena, but he recovered his composure before long, and his final years were not wanting in dignity. "Fortunately for me," he explained, "when I was very young I learned to repeat the Lord's Prayer, and truly I mean it when I say, 'Thy will be done;' and this I still say, and so nothing ever really troubles me."

As a speaker Bismarck was like Cromwell, with occasional inspirations as of the first Napoleon. His sentences, it has been said, ran together like quicksilver on glass, but now and then he would display in the tribune a passion and vehemence and an eloquence of conviction which swept all before him.

His most Napoleonic outburst was in that splendid scene when he appeared in the balcony to the thousands who were cheering the news of the Prussian victories. A thunderstorm burst over Berlin, and his sentences were lost in the crashing peal. Bismarck paused a moment, then as the last reverberation died away he exclaimed with uplifted hand: "The heavens fire a salute!"

All these things and many other such will be lovingly remembered in Germany for many a long year to come. And not in Germany only. For the stamp of that masterful character, for good or for ill, is branded deep on the mind of the whole civilized world.

COST AND FINANCES OF THE SPANISH WAR.

BY CHARLES A. CONANT.

THE same energy and adaptation of means to ends which has marked the exploits of the army on the land and the navy on the sea has marked the financial administration of the war with Spain. For the first time in their history, except perhaps in the case of the Mexican War, the United States conducted the finances of war with the same credit as the military operations. This was conspicuously not the case in the War of 1812 and in the early years of the Civil War, to say nothing of the poverty and dubious devices of the Continental Congress during the Revolution, before the Union of the States was cemented under the Constitution. In the War of 1812, in the language of Mr. Dallas when he took charge of the Treasury, the means for making payments consisted largely "of the fragment of an authority to borrow money when nobody was disposed to lend, and to issue treasury notes which none but necessitous creditors or contractors in distress . . . seemed willing to accept." Congress seemed paralyzed by divisions and incapacity, and the comprehensive plans of Dallas for restoring public credit usually died in committee or perished in deadlocks between the two houses.

The resources of the country were adequate at the beginning of the Civil War, but the mistake was made of underestimating its seriousness and cost. There is no need here to review the management of that contest. Every financier remembers how Secretary Chase rejected the advice of the New York Clearing House banks, how he compelled the suspension of specie payments much earlier than was necessary by forcing the demand notes upon the public, how gold went to a premium of 240 per cent., and how fourteen years of angry political controversy took place before the successful resumption of specie payments in 1879. It is not surprising that on the eve of another war the business community hesitated in enterprises upon which it was about to embark with the memory of these unfortunate experiments before it. But the country has learned by experience. Congress, without distinction of political parties, responded promptly to the appeal of President McKinley, and the unanimous vote of the appropriation of \$50,000,000 "for the national defense" was the first striking demonstration to Spain of the unity of the American people and the great resources upon which they were able to draw.

PROVIDING "THE SINEWS OF WAR."

News of the blowing up of the battleship *Maine* had no sooner reached Washington than President McKinley, through the War and Navy Departments, began preparations for armed conflict if it should be necessary. It was not by any means assumed that the Spanish Government was responsible for the disaster, but it was felt, as the President afterward expressed it in his message to Congress, that the event was "a patent and impressive proof of a state of things in Cuba that is intolerable." Whether it should be necessary to demand indemnity from Spain or whether it should become the duty of the American people to intervene in behalf of humanity, it was felt that the United States should be prepared for contingencies. Contracts were at once let for ammunition and other army and navy supplies, which were so deficient at the beginning that hardly a fortress or a ship was equipped for a day's battle. The first expenditures were made as quietly as possible from appropriations already available or in the confidence that they would be reimbursed by Congress. The growing magnitude of these appropriations and the increasing pressure of public opinion for action led to a conference at the White House on Monday, March 7, at which it was determined to pass through Congress a bill appropriating \$50,000,000 for the national defense. The leaders of both parties in both houses of Congress were consulted, and there was absolute unity of opinion that the appropriation was justified by the condition of our relations with Spain. The bill passed the House on March 8 and the Senate on March 9 by the practically unanimous vote of members of both houses.

The new appropriation was promptly allotted to the various bureaus of the War and Navy Departments and a portion was devoted to the purchase of new ships. Two fine cruisers just completed in England for the Brazilian Government, five vessels of the Morgan Line (including one which had been sold to Brazil), and a great number of efficient yachts and small vessels were promptly added to the navy by the energy of Secretary Long and Assistant Secretary Roosevelt. The appropriation of \$50,000,000 served the necessary purposes of putting the regular army and navy upon a war footing and strengthening the harbor defenses. No other

important appropriation actually became a law until after the beginning of the war, but estimates were submitted to the House Committee on Appropriations, and millions of dollars were incorporated into deficiency bills from time to time at the requests of the heads of the War and Navy Departments. The schedule submitted just before the adjournment of Congress by Chairman Cannon, of the House Committee on Appropriations, showing the amounts which had been made available for war purposes, was as follows :

Appropriations made during the second session of the Fifty-fifth Congress to meet expenses incident to the war with Spain.

For the national defense, act March 9, 1898..	\$50,117,000.00
Army and navy deficiencies, act May 4, 1898..	34,825,725.71
Naval appropriation act, May 4, 1898—amount of increase over preceding naval appropriation act.....	23,095,549.49
Fortification appropriation act, May 7, 1898—amount of increase over act as passed by House.....	5,232,582.00
Naval auxiliary act, May 20, 1898.....	3,000,000.00
Additional clerical force, War Department, auditors' offices, etc., act May 31, 1898.....	227,976.45
Life-Saving Service, act June 7, 1898.....	70,000.00
Army and navy deficiencies, act June 8, 1898.....	18,015,000.00
Appropriations in act to provide ways and means to meet war expenditures, June 18, 1898.....	600,000.00
Army, navy, and other war expenses for six months, beginning July 1, 1898, in general deficiency act.....	226,604,261.46
Expenses of bringing home remains of soldiers.....	200,000.00
Total.....	\$361,788,095.11

When Congress adjourned on July 8 the last of these big appropriations had been made. Secretary Gage appeared before the Senate Committee on Finance on May 3 and was closely questioned as to the necessity of increased revenue and appropriations for the fiscal year which ended on June 30, 1898, and for the year which then began. Secretary Alger on behalf of the War Department and Secretary Long on behalf of the Navy also appeared before the committee and filed letters in a day or two, stating the amounts required for their departments. Secretary Alger asked for \$150,923,527 for conducting the war for the six months ending December 31, 1898, upon a basis of 125,000 volunteers. Secretary Long asked for \$75,556,250, including \$20,000,000 for emergencies such as the replacement of lost ships and the care of the dead and wounded. The cordiality of the response of Congress is indicated by the fact that these two estimates were covered almost dollar for dollar, without the slightest diminution, by the sum of \$226,604,261 provided for six months of war in the general deficiency act.

It remained for Congress to supply the means for meeting these great expenditures. There was more room for difference of opinion here as

to the methods to be adopted for raising revenue, and some differences appeared. But the recommendations of Secretary Gage were followed in the main and received the support of a number of members of the opposition party as well as all of his own party. The study of the halting policy and financial paralysis of the wars of 1812 and 1861 convinced him of the soundness of the views of nearly every economic student—that it is better to make too much preparation for war than too little. One of the essential weaknesses of national policy in both these earlier wars was the attempt to obtain resources too largely by loans without appeal to the resources of taxation. Secretary Gage and the party leaders were convinced that the surest manner of maintaining the public credit unimpaired was to meet a considerable portion of the expenses of the war by taxation. The creation by such a means of a steady current of money into the Treasury it was felt would increase the ease of placing loans because of the confidence in the national solvency which it would inspire. The Treasury was already in a strong position. The available balance afforded ample means for conducting operations while legitimate discussion of new measures of taxation was going on. Governor Dingley, of Maine, the scholarly and conscientious chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, introduced in the House on Saturday, April 23, a bill for raising revenue and authorizing loans, which had been prepared by himself and his Republican associates on the committee. This bill passed the House with some modifications on Friday, April 29, and was promptly taken up by the Senate Committee on Finance. The close division of parties in that body and the greater freedom of debate than that allowed in the House delayed the passage of the bill there until June 3. The Treasury was still in such a strong position that it was possible to take reasonable time in conference, and the bill did not become law until June 14. With its passage the Treasury was equipped with financial resources more than adequate for carrying on war by land and sea in the most effective manner until the meeting of the next session of Congress.

THE ACTUAL COST OF THE CONTEST.

The actual cost of the war with Spain does not seem likely to absorb all the resources which are within the reach of the Treasury for the purpose. We have seen that Congress authorized the expenditure of \$361,000,000 for carrying on operations until January next. While there was a general belief that the war would not last longer than this, appropriations were made for this period only, because Congress would be in session again in December and ready to provide

additional resources if they were needed. Only a portion of these liberal grants by Congress has been thus far expended. Assistant Secretary Howell, of the Treasury Department, in a statement made soon after June 30, computed the expenditures on account of the war during March, April, May, and June at \$56,000,000. July added about \$34,000,000 to this sum, and the first eighteen days of August added about \$14,000,000 more. The average afforded by the first part of August indicates that the war expenditures for the month will be nearly \$25,000,000. This amount is arrived at by deducting from the whole expenditure on account of the War and Navy Departments the usual average expenditure for the peace establishment. The following table shows the warrants drawn for army and navy expenditures from March 1 to August 18, the expenditures for the same purposes during the same period of 1897, and the difference between the two, which affords a fair indication of the warrants drawn directly for war purposes :

FOR THE ARMY.

Month.	Warrants Drawn in 1898.	Warrants Drawn in 1897.	Excess in 1898.
March	\$5,159,571	\$3,046,108	\$2,113,463
April	6,223,814	4,237,020	1,986,794
May	17,063,595	4,214,955	12,848,640
June	19,723,804	2,836,016	16,887,788
July	34,774,153	10,736,758	24,037,395
August 1-18.....	14,315,000	2,732,000	11,583,000
Totals.....	\$97,299,867	\$27,952,853	\$69,337,015

FOR THE NAVY.

March	\$5,241,443	\$2,694,885	\$2,546,558
April	12,556,933	2,744,079	9,812,853
May	9,063,577	2,537,576	6,526,001
June	9,506,021	3,533,922	5,972,099
July	8,514,279	2,998,809	5,515,470
August 1-18.....	4,490,000	1,738,000	2,752,000
Totals.....	\$49,402,252	\$16,277,221	\$33,125,031
Aggregates.	\$146,692,189	\$44,230,073	\$102,462,116

NOTE.—The warrants drawn for the War Department in July, 1897, were abnormally large because the sum of \$6,047,330 was drawn for river and harbor improvements. The amount thus drawn in July, 1898, was less than \$2,000,000, so that the real excess of expenditures on account of the military service is \$4,000,000 greater than appears in the table. The drafts for river and harbor improvements are always large in July, because disbursing officers then inaugurate their accounts for the new fiscal year with ample balances.

These figures show what has been actually drawn by the War and Navy Departments up to August 18. They do not show the entire amount of expenses incurred nor the detailed objects of expenditure. These will not be entirely classified and made public until the meeting of Congress in December. The accounts are far behind in many cases, because of the occupation of officers

in the field and the delays in transmitting pay-rolls and reports. A considerable quantity of American gold has been sent to the Philippines for the payment of the troops there, but the pay-rolls for July will not come back to the War Office until September. The War Department disbursed in May \$24,378 for pay of the volunteers and \$1,534,420 for pay of the regulars. The disbursements for June were \$1,257,847 for the volunteers and \$1,429,864 for the regulars, making a total for the month of \$2,687,711. These payments were for services rendered during the preceding month, so that the latest available figures cover only the volunteer forces who had been mustered in during May. Many of them had served only a part of the month, so that the disbursements are far from representing the monthly average pay-rolls of the war. It is probable that the July returns, representing the force in the field during June, will show payments to the volunteers several times as large as the returns for June.

The emergency appropriation of \$50,000,000 was promptly allotted by the President, after consultation in the Cabinet, to the leading bureaus of the War and Navy Departments. The allotments made to the War Department up to August 15 were \$19,811,647, of which the largest items were \$9,885,247 for the Ordnance Bureau, \$5,660,000 for the Engineer Bureau, and \$3,777,500 for the Quartermaster's Bureau. Of these allotments \$10,549,755 remained unexpended on August 15, the largest unexpended item, \$6,777,101, standing to the credit of the Ordnance Bureau. This is the bureau which manufactures heavy artillery, side arms, revolvers, and magazine rifles for the army, and the success of the Chief of the Bureau, Gen. D. W. Flagler, in accomplishing so much with less than a third of his allotment is a high tribute to his executive ability. The manufacture of arms and other provisions for the service came out of the regular appropriations after June 1, but the allotments from the emergency appropriation and the deficiency items appearing in the statement of Mr. Cannon covered most of the expenses during the old fiscal year.

The navy is in some respects a more economical service than the army, and the large expenditures which were charged against it in April were chiefly for the purchase of new vessels. These vessels cost the Department in the aggregate nearly \$25,000,000, and the first demand upon the \$50,000,000 appropriation was in the form of a draft for \$145,995 upon the United States Assistant Treasurer at New York to be paid to Seligman Brothers, for deposit with the Rothschilds of London on account of Armstrong & Co., the English builders of the

two cruisers intended for the government of Brazil. The payments for the vessels purchased are not always made in cash at once; the installments are spread over the naval payments for the entire period of the war. The pay-roll of the navy in July was \$512,936, or less than a fifth of the pay of the army even when it had only been partly recruited in May. Another interesting item of the July navy accounts is \$608,330 for various items, including the care and transportation of the prisoners taken from the Spanish fleet off Santiago and the erection of their barracks at Annapolis and Portsmouth. These expenditures were taken from a small balance of the \$50,000,000 emergency fund.

CONTINGENT EXPENSES OF THE WAR.

The cost of the war is not limited by the figures of actual expenditure which have been given. Millions of dollars of expenses have been incurred by the War and Navy Departments for which the work has not been completed and for which warrants have not been drawn in payment. There is no doubt that these unpaid debts alone would have kept the war expenditures pretty near their maxim through August and September, even if the volunteer army had been mustered out of service when the peace protocol was signed on August 12 and the navy reduced to a peace footing. But neither of these events will occur. The volunteer army will be kept in the field for some weeks, if not until after the conclusion of the treaty of peace at Paris, and a considerable portion of it will be required for garrison service for many months to come in the chief places of Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines. These continuous demands are likely to keep the average expenditures well up to what they were during July at least until the end of October. The creation of new debts by the use of ammunition and supplies will be somewhat reduced, but as payments for such services follow some time behind the purchase and use of the materials, the drafts upon the Treasury will not decline materially for some weeks to come.

The maintenance of garrisons in the indefinite future, after the conditions of peace have been permanently fixed, may not be chargeable directly as a part of the cost of the war, but will be one of its necessary consequences. It will be interesting to consider the probable amount of both actual war expenses and garrison expenses up to the close of the present fiscal year on June 30, 1899. It will then have been determined whether the Philippine Islands are to remain in the permanent possession of the United States, and it will be time to charge garrison service in our new dependencies and the increase of the

navy to the permanent cost of the new foreign policy which may then have been adopted. If the direct war expenditures were \$91,000,000 at the close of July and will be \$25,000,000 more at the close of August, it is probable that they will have increased by \$45,000,000 more during the two months of September and October. This will make the direct cost of the war—lasting for less than four months, but involving heavy expenditures for more than six months—\$161,000,000.

The charges for garrison service for the eight months from the close of October to the close of June cannot yet be stated with precision, because the President has not determined how large a garrison will be required in any of the former Spanish colonies. It is a reasonable estimate, however, that 25,000 men at least will be required in each of the three leading colonies—perhaps a few less in the peaceful island of Porto Rico and a few more in Cuba or the Philippines. Nearly all of this force will be in excess of the former strength of the regular army, which will be returned to its frontier and coast stations. A part of the service will be performed by the regular army because of the increase of its membership from 25,000 to 61,000 men, but the net increase of force above the old peace establishment will probably be 75,000 men and may be greater. The navy will also be considerably increased over the peace footing of a year ago and will call for larger expenditures for officers, men, coal, and incidental equipment. It is hardly probable that these expenses, including those for the civil government of the colonies, can be kept much within \$15,000,000 per month. For eight months this would add \$120,000,000 to the amount already charged to the direct cost of the war, and would make its incidental cost up to June 30, 1899, \$281,000,000. It may be cut a little below this, but in any case will hardly fall below \$250,000,000.

THE BIG POPULAR LOAN.

The provision finally made by Congress in regard to a loan for carrying on the war was that the Secretary of the Treasury might borrow from time to time \$400,000,000 in 3-per-cent. bonds, "redeemable in coin at the pleasure of the United States after ten years from the date of their issue and payable twenty years from such date." The provision which was the subject of the greatest controversy was that regarding the popular character of the loan. This provision as finally enacted was as follows:

Provided, that the bonds authorized by this section shall be first offered at par as a popular loan under such regulations, prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury, as will give opportunity to the citizens of the

United States to participate in the subscriptions to such loan, and in allotting said bonds the several subscriptions of individuals shall be first accepted, and the subscriptions for the lowest amounts shall be first allotted.

Secretary Gage and the financial interests of the country had not been idle even before the revenue bill was reported to the House. The Secretary communicated to Governor Dingley and other Republican leaders his views of the necessities of the Treasury and the class of bonds which could be most successfully floated. His views, with such minor modifications as usually result from conference, were adopted by the committee. Many offers had been received from banking houses to purchase and place the bonds if they were issued in large blocks, and the prices at which they have been quoted since their allotment justify the offers which were made to pay a premium for 3-per-cent. bonds. There was a strong feeling in Congress, however, in favor of arousing the interest of the masses of the people in the loan, even at a small loss to the Treasury, so that thousands of small property-owners might become partners in the fortunes of the Government, as is the case in France. This view prevailed in the form in which the proposition finally became a law. The small bidders were preferred under the law to the full amount of their subscriptions, and their entire subscriptions were to be accepted, even if the larger subscribers received nothing. When these terms were made clear to the public there was a popular response which far exceeded the hopes even of the most sanguine promoters of the new legislation. The loan of \$100,000,000 placed by President Cleveland in the spring of 1896 was considered a great success. The number of subscriptions of a *bona fide* character was 4,640 and the amount subscribed was \$568,269,850. This covering of the loan nearly six times over was destined to be surpassed by the great popular loan of 1898.

Secretary Gage turned over to Assistant Secretary Vanderlip, whose executive ability had already been tried and not found wanting in many delicate operations, the management of the details of the placement of the loan. Mr. Vanderlip was formerly a newspaper man and had a newspaper man's understanding of the necessity of clearness and publicity in promoting the success of such a measure. Circulars and posters were dispatched to every Presidential post-office in the country and to all the national banks, most of which had voluntarily offered their services to the Government in the distribution of the loan. It was not the fault of the Treasury Department if every citizen of the Union was not informed,

through official agencies and through the press, that the Government was willing to receive his aid in prosecuting the war with Spain, even in amounts as small as twenty dollars. The method of subscription was simplified as much as possible by the issue of bonds at par, without requiring the reckoning of premiums and accrued interest, and by the distribution of blanks to be filled out by subscribers. The success of the popular features of the loan became so apparent that many syndicates which would have bid for large amounts if they had believed in the possibility of obtaining the bonds withheld their bids, with the assurance to Secretary Gage that they were ready to relieve the Treasury of any portion of the loan which was not covered by the popular subscriptions. Such assurances were not necessary. When the time for receiving subscriptions expired on July 14, thirty days after the law took effect, the names of more than 300,000 people had been filed at the Treasury Department as subscribers for the bonds, and the amount they expressed their willingness to take was \$1,385,000. Subscriptions for two or three times this amount would undoubtedly have been made if it had not become so apparent that the larger subscriptions would fail to secure any of the bonds.

Within a few days after the announcement of the subscriptions, titles to the new bonds (although they had not yet been issued) sold at a premium of about 5 per cent., placing the credit of the United States upon a par with that of the most solid nations of the Old World. Preference was given to subscribers for bonds of \$20, \$100, and \$500. The number of such subscriptions was 231,000 and their amount was close to \$100,000,000. The remaining half of the loan was allotted among about 60,000 subscribers for amounts less than \$4,500. The proceeds of the loan came so rapidly into the Treasury that there was fear for a moment of stringency in the money market, caused by the accumulation of money faster than it could be spent; but the great clerical labor connected with handling nearly 300,000 separate subscriptions delayed in a measure the notices to subscribers of the acceptance of their offers and retarded the stream of gold which they were so ready to pour into the coffers of the Government.

THE OPERATION OF THE REVENUE LAW.

The scope of the new taxes levied by the revenue act of June 13, 1898, has already been set forth in an able manner in a previous number of the AMERICAN MONTHLY REVIEW OF REVIEWS. The new law has restored, after many years, the system of Federal stamp taxes upon

bank checks, commercial papers, stock-exchange transactions, legal documents, and proprietary medicines. Stamp taxes of special interest are those upon telegraphic dispatches, telephonic messages, express packages, and palace-car tickets. The taxes took effect on July 1, only seventeen days after the passage of the law, and every resource of the Internal Revenue Bureau was strained to prepare the necessary stamps and to make the hundreds of interpretations necessary for such comprehensive legislation. The amount of friction and irritation resulting and the amount of odium aroused by the new law have been surprisingly small in view of the haste with which it was put in operation.

The success of the new taxes in raising revenue has thus far surpassed the most ardent expectations of their supporters. It is too early to predict with precision the amount of revenue which will be derived from the new law if it remains in operation for a year. The total internal revenue receipts from July 1 to August 17, the entire period within which the new law has been in operation, were \$40,279,105. A portion of these receipts were derived from the internal revenue laws which were in force before the new law. The internal revenue receipts for the same period in 1897 were \$25,708,352, but the receipts were abnormally swelled in that year by the anticipation of changes then proposed by the Dingley law. Comparison of the internal revenue receipts for more normal years indicates that nearly half of the receipts for the present year since July 1 are derived from the new law, and that it has thus far yielded a revenue of about \$13,000,000 per month. This yield may be reduced in the future because of anticipatory purchases of adhesive stamps under the law during the first weeks of its operation, but it is probable, on the other hand, that it was not fully observed during the first weeks and that the average collections thus far obtained will not be greatly reduced. If this proves to be the fact, the proceeds of the new law will be from \$140,000,000 to \$150,000,000 for a complete year.

The returns from the different sources of taxation will be classified as far as possible by the Bureau of Internal Revenue when the Secretary of the Treasury submits his annual report to Congress, and it will then be possible to separate almost exactly the proceeds of the new law from those of the old law. It would be a great advantage if the proceeds of the separate stamp taxes upon bank checks, stock-exchange transactions, telegraphic dispatches, express packages, and several other subjects of taxation could be separately determined. This separation could be obtained by requiring different types of stamps

for each separate subject of taxation. The subject of making such a separation is under consideration at the Treasury Department and may be adopted at the beginning of a new quarter on October 1 or the beginning of a new year on January 1. It involves some difficulties of administration and might cause some confusion to the public in purchasing stamps, and these disadvantages may decide the Treasury not to undertake the classification. Such a classification would have value for many statistical purposes, and would be especially useful to Congress in determining which of the new taxes was most productive and least objectionable in making modifications of the law with a view to the reduction of the revenue.

The people of the United States entered upon the war with Spain without counting its cost and without measuring the territorial benefits which it was to bring to them. They have been the first victors of recent wars to ask no indemnity in money from their prostrate foe. Money has come to be recognized more and more in modern times as "the nerve of war." Without it armies cannot be equipped nor battleships built nor victories won. The struggle between France and Germany in 1870, though it was no longer than our war with Spain, cost each country nearly \$1,000,000,000. Germany set the example in recent time of levying the cost upon the defeated party by imposing upon France the great indemnity of 5,000,000,000 francs (\$1,000,000,000), and has ever since kept 120,000,000 marks (\$30,000,000) as a war treasure in the fortress of Spandau. Japan followed this example in requiring of China the payment of an indemnity of about \$175,000,000, and even Turkey was sufficiently apace with modern financiering to exact from Greece the price of the hardy interference of the little kingdom on behalf of Crete.

The Spanish Government has been very desirous that the Cuban debt, incurred for the development of Cuba or for the suppression of insurrection there, should be treated as a charge upon the island. The United States have flatly refused to assume any portion of this debt, and this may be considered as an offset in a measure to the payment of an indemnity. The amount of the debt, according to the computations of the London *Economist* of July 30, has been increased to about \$550,000,000 by the expenditures of the last three years. This burden will fall upon unhappy Spain, and her government has already announced that the interest will hereafter be paid in depreciated Spanish money instead of in gold, which has heretofore been paid where the debt has been held abroad. Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines have been greatly overtaxed—

not so much by the actual amount covered into the treasury of the government as by the defective methods of administration which have left so large a share of the collections sticking in private pockets. The taxes will hereafter be collected by officials governed by the Anglo-Saxon code of public morality and by the rigid system of accounting inaugurated by Hamilton at the foundation of our Government. It is probable that when the military occupation is replaced by a civil government, the new dependencies will be able to pay their own governing expenses and will not constitute a serious burden upon the Treasury of the United States. The revenue of Cuba has usually ranged about \$25,000,000, and in some years considerably above that figure. If this amount has reached the treasury the collections from the taxpayers must have been much greater, and there is no reason why a reasonable amount should not be collected under authority of the United States without the inequalities and extortion which have in some cases attended the rule of Spanish officers.

THE FUTURE OF THE TREASURY.

The United States Treasury comes out of the war so strongly fortified with gold and currency that Secretary Gage is being criticised in some quarters for issuing half of the \$400,000,000 which he was authorized to issue in bonds instead of limiting the first loan to a quarter of the authorized amount. If he has erred in this respect, it has been on the side of safety and the maintenance of the public credit. The cash balance of the Treasury has been a liberal one ever since the last loan of Mr. Cleveland in the spring of 1896 for the maintenance of the gold reserve. The proceeds of that loan were \$111,166,232, and raised the cash balance at the close of March, 1896, to \$271,641,748. The recurring deficits in the Treasury reduced this amount at the close of February, 1897, to \$212,837,256, but the results of the deficit were afterward partially offset by the sale of the government interest in the Pacific Railway. The cash balance stood at the close of February, 1898, including receipts from the Pacific railways, at \$225,564,204. This may be taken as the starting-point of war expenditures. Secretary Gage, in his testimony before the Finance Committee on May 3, 1898, computed that after making certain necessary deductions for demand obligations there was an actually available balance of \$179,832,472. This, however, included the gold reserve, which he was unwilling to see materially impaired, and did not make allowance for the appropriation of \$50,000,000 for the national defense, of which only \$13,540,658 had then been paid out.

Taking the balance according to the usual form of treasury statement, it may be stated in round figures at the close of February as \$225,000,000. The proceeds of the loan, which will all be paid into the Treasury, will be \$200,000,000. The proceeds of the new revenue law, if it is not modified within the fiscal year ending on June 30 next, will add \$140,000,000 to the resources of the Government. These items will make a total of \$565,000,000 against which to set the war expenses. These resources would have been ample and would have left the Treasury with a balance of \$200,000,000 if the war had lasted six months at the cost estimated by Mr. Cannon. In view of the estimates of the cost of the war under actual conditions and the estimated expenses for garrisons in our new dependencies which have already been given, making a total of \$250,000,000 to \$281,000,000, it is evident that the Treasury will have a balance at the close of the fiscal year which can hardly be less than \$275,000,000 and may be as high as \$325,000,000. Of the cash now in the Treasury nearly \$200,000,000 is comprised in the government gold reserve, and there is no reason to look for any material reduction of this amount. The happy providence which brought gold pouring into the country in the three years after the resumption of specie payments in 1879, by reason of the failure of the European crops, has been repeated during the last two years, and a balance of trade unparalleled in commercial history has been created in favor of the United States. This balance upon its face, without making allowance for our obligations to Europe for interest and freight charges, was \$615,324,791 for the year which ended on June 30 last, and the volume of exports of American merchandise was about twice the volume of imports of merchandise.

Under conditions like these, almost destroying the possibility of gold exports for a long time to come, the United States are in the strongest position in their history for putting their financial house in order for the future. Important legislation will be required to bring the currency systems of the new dependencies into harmony with the system of the United States, and the new relations upon which the country has entered as a competitor for the trade of the world are likely to stimulate the demand for changes in the currency system at home which will give it increased elasticity, dower the banking system with the capacity for extension into foreign countries and for competition with the great British, French, and German banks, and place it upon such a stable basis that foreign capital will not hesitate to aid our own in the development of the new territories of the American empire.

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH.

HOW THE CREW OF A WARSHIP LIVES.

THERE is in the September number of *Scribner's* an excellent brief description by Mr. W. J. Henderson of "A Warship Community," which tells how the housekeeping of the officers and crew is conducted on one of the United States' great battleships. The servants are almost invariably Japanese, though there are sometimes Chinamen among them. These Japs are excellent servants and do not confine their usefulness to the work they do in piping times of peace. Belonging to that part of the ship's company known as "idlers"—that is, those who do not do duty as seamen—they are transferred in a fight to the powder division, and toil lustily away down in the gloomy chambers below the water-line, getting out ammunition from the magazines and putting it on the boists which carry it up to the guns. Mr. Henderson says they are cool and courageous fellows.

"The 'wardroom mess' is the title of the social organization of the officers, and its *deus ex machina* is the caterer. He is one chosen from among his brothers to buy the food, and woe be to him if he does not know how to provide a good mess for \$1 per day for each man. For every officer has to pay his monthly mess bill out of his salary. Uncle Sam does not make him any special allowance for edibles. Breakfast on a man-of-war is eggs, eggs, evermore eggs. You may have your eggs in any style, as long as they are eggs. Two poached eggs on toast and a cup of coffee the ward-room boy will serve to you at almost any time between 7:30 and 8:30 A.M. At 12 o'clock comes luncheon, which is usually called 'breakfast.' If ever a naval officer invites you to breakfast with him he means luncheon, and he will give you a very substantial meal. Dinner takes place at 6 or 6:30 P.M., and on a flagship is accompanied by much activity on the part of the band. Once a month the caterer presents his bill. There is also a caterer for the wine and cigar mess, which is separate from the food mess. Claret, beer, ginger ale, sherry, and soda are the chief ingredients of the wine mess. Whisky and brandy are not allowed on board, except in the medical stores."

"Now, 'Jacky,' as the sailor-man is called, does not have to provide either his own bed linen or his own food. He does not provide bed linen, because it is a luxury for which he has no use, and even if he had he would not know where to put his linen when he was not sleeping upon

it. Jacky's bed is a hammock, and it is a folding, portable bed of the most improved kind. People who swing hammocks on verandas in the summer know nothing whatever about Jacky's style of bed. His is made of an oblong piece of stout canvas, fitted with eye-holes in the ends. In the eye-holes are made fast small ropes, called 'clews,' and these are lashed at their outer ends to a ring. When Jacky's folding-bed is open for use, it hangs by these rings from hammock-hooks fitted to the beams under the decks. Jacky has a mattress and a blanket in his bed, and he has to keep them there. When he 'turns out,' as getting up is called, he rolls his hammock up on its longest axis and lashes it with a rope provided for that purpose. There must be seven turns in the lashing, with one exactly in the middle. The clews are tucked in under the lashing. Jacky is allowed about ten minutes to turn out and lash his hammock. Then he goes up on the spar deck and hands the hammock to one of the stowers, who drops it into the nettings. The 'nettings' are simply troughs in the ship's rail. A tarpaulin is hauled over the hammocks and laced down to keep the rain out, and there they stay till they are served out again at night."

THE PROBLEM OF SUBSISTENCE.

If Jacky needs a nap at other times, and he has not had much occasion for these in the past months, he has nothing better than the soft side of a steel battle-hatch or a greasy alleyway, so far as interruptions of cooks and marines and coal-passers will allow. The United States allows 30 cents a day for the rations of each man, and it is the problem of the paymaster and the cook to keep him alive and well on this allowance. It seems liberal, however, relatively at least, when compared with the merchant-service allowance of only 10 cents a day. The merchantman's cook has a simple *menu* card displaying only the composition known as "dog." "Dog" is most largely hard-tack, put to soak over night until it becomes a sort of pulp, mixed with molasses into a mush, and then fried. The man-of-war's man is saved from the necessity of eating "dog" some thirty days out of the month, but there are analogies to it which must be achieved by the cook in order to eke out on this 30 cents a day. This ship's cook is quite a potentate in his way. His official pay is from \$25 to \$35 a month, according to the size of the ship, and he gets perquisites from the messes.

The sailors are divided into a number of messes, according to the parts of the ship in which they sling their hammocks at night, and each mess has its own cook, appointed almost invariably from among those of its own number having least value as seamen. These mess cooks are under the all-seeing eye of the ship's cook, and must please that despot at all costs. The amount of each article of food, even to the salt and pepper, is fixed for each man for one day. The supplies are provided by contract, and the paymaster's yeoman with his assistant measures out the precise amount of each article allowed to the crew. This is served to the ship's cook, and then the storerooms are locked up. This operation is gone through with two or three times, perhaps, a week; sometimes only once for a week. If, therefore, the cook cannot make them last that long the crew must go hungry. There is no possible way to get any more supplies. The paymaster is under a bond of \$25,000, and if he buys more supplies than his vessel is allowed he must foot the bills himself.

THE REPORTING OF WAR NEWS.

THE September *McClure's* has an excellent article on this subject by Ray S. Baker, to show the difficulties in the way of the war editor. Mr. Baker says that as soon as the news of the *Maine* explosion had reached New York the *World* telegraphed its representatives in Key West and Havana and hired divers, and offered \$1,000 besides his expenses to its Havana man to get an investigation of the *Maine*, but when the divers arrived they were, of course, not allowed to make the descent, and so the entire expedition, which must have cost at least \$1,000, was absolutely unproductive.

THE NEWSPAPER DISPATCH-BOAT.

Following this bold but abortive effort, scores and scores of correspondents were rushed into Havana during the next few days, who filled a half hundred great newspapers with news and pictures of the wreck, but from the very first the Spanish censor made the life of the newspaper man a hard one. The correspondent was never certain that what he wrote would reach his paper. In a week's time the transmission of messages had become so uncertain that the newspapers of New York began telegraphing to the different cities along the Atlantic and Gulf coasts to secure suitable dispatch-boats for carrying their messages from Havana to Key West, in order to avoid the censor. One paper chartered a boat in New York, another secured one in Charleston, and several were hired at Florida ports, and

there was a wild rush for Havana. Then when actual war approached a more extended service became necessary, and each of several newspapers acquired a veritable fleet of vessels, three, or four, or five, to patrol the waters of the West Indies. These newspaper dispatch-boats were swift-going steamers, capable of making from twelve to fourteen knots an hour, and carrying crews of a dozen men or more, with several correspondents on each. Two dispatch-boats representing New York newspapers were private yachts, fitted with dynamos, powerful searchlights, and a hundred-and-one other conveniences. Until war had been declared the whole cargo of these vessels in their trips between Havana and Key West was a little package of copy that a man might carry in his vest pocket, and yet they were exceedingly expensive, as ship-owners exacted from \$5,000 to \$9,000 a month for the use of each boat, and the newspapers were required to bear the additional expense of fire, marine, accident, and war insurance, which the alarmed underwriters of New York had fixed at the enormous rate of 8 per cent. a month. One New York newspaper paid \$2,200 a month insurance on a single vessel, and it has five boats in service. But besides these expenses the newspapers had to buy their own coal and supplies at war-time prices and pay the salaries of the correspondents who directed the boats. One managing editor showed a salary list for a single week, including only war correspondents. It amounted to \$1,463.51, and the best-paid correspondent hailing from New York is said to have received \$10,000 a year.

"Every time a dispatch-boat made port in Havana harbor a rapacious Spanish officer swooped down upon it and collected all manner of fees—health-office fees, custom-house fees, and fees for clear water to use in the boilers, to say nothing of pilotage charges—a total of from \$70 to \$125 a day for this purpose alone. At the Key West end of the voyage there were still further charges, rendered necessary by the inevitable medical certificate and the pilot hire. Expenses are paid in cash, and the correspondents find it necessary to go loaded down with all the gold they can carry. Gold will lubricate a way out of almost any difficulty."

THE CABLE SERVICE.

Sometimes a single paper received 5,000 words a day by cable from Key West, and as the rate from Key West to New York is 5 cents a word, this made an additional expense of \$250 a day for this single item. This was in the face of the fact that after a dispatch was received it was often crowded out by more important news.

"At all points where correspondents are sending dispatches a newspaper must establish a credit in gold, identify its representative, and prepay the charges on cablegrams. Although this may seem a mere detail of the work, it frequently involves much exasperating delay and expense.

"Wherever there is a censor no dispatches in cipher are allowed. Messages may be 'briefed' by the omission of unimportant words, but they must always be in 'plain language,' whether English, French, or Spanish. These restrictions have given rise to a number of exceedingly clever codes, whereby messages may seem to say one thing when they mean quite another. The American newspaper has learned that a Spanish censor will allow a demand for money to go through when he will blue-pencil everything else. Accordingly the codes are made to center around the transmission of money. For instance, a correspondent cables the editor of his paper:

"Send \$500 quickly. Wire instructions."

"To the Spanish censor this looks like the most innocent of requests, and he is deeply interested in having money come into the country. So he lets it go. At New York it reads in quite a different way—'Battle. Vizcaya sunk. American fleet now off Porto Rico.' If the dispatch had read, 'Send \$600' or 'Send \$700,' it would have meant 'Almirante Oquendo sunk' or 'Cristobal Colon sunk;' and if it had been 'Cable directions,' instead of 'Wire instructions,' it would have meant 'American fleet disabled and retreating.' And so on through infinite variations."

WASHINGTON NEWS PUBLISHED IN THREE MINUTES.

Probably the most dramatic newspaper exploit was the announcement of the war resolution.

"A correspondent was on watch in Congress; a score of feet away a telegraph operator sat ready with his finger on the key; the wire was wide open, and in the composing-rooms of at least two New York papers a linotype operator, who was also a telegraph operator, sat at his machine ready to tick the words into type the moment they sprang from the wire. Three minutes after the declaration of war was passed the newsboys were struggling up out of the *Journal* delivery-room crying an extra announcing the news. In three minutes the correspondent had gathered and written the news—just a line or two of it—the dispatch had been sent from Washington to New York, had been set up in type, printed, and delivered on the street, ready for sale at a penny. This remarkable time record was rendered possible by a process known as 'fudging.' The type lines set by the linotype-

telegraph operator are wider at the top than at the base, so that when placed together they form the section of a small cylinder. They are firmly clamped in an ingenious little supplemental machine consisting of a cylinder and an inking-roll for red ink. This is attached to a revolving shaft at the top of one of the huge printing presses, and so arranged that when the paper comes rushing through from the regular type cylinders below, the 'fudge' prints a big red 'WAR' and a few lines of extra news in spaces left for that purpose in the right-hand columns of the edition. This is the genesis of the 'Red Extra,' and it is a typical development of modern journalism."

HOW IT FEELS TO BE SHOT BY A MAUSER.

AMONG the episodes of the Santiago campaign related in the September *Scribner's* there appear the recollections of Edward Marshall, the brave correspondent of the *New York Journal*, who was terribly wounded in the fight at Guasimas and who continued to dictate his work while suffering with what then appeared to be a mortal wound. Mr. Marshall cannot find a better way to describe the sound of the Mauser bullets which were singing around the Rough Riders in that fight than by the letters *z-z-z-z-z-z-z-z-z-z*, and says that the cracks of the rifles sounded for all the world like the explosion of a lamp in a drawing-room. "The noise of the Mauser bullet traveling through the air is not impressive enough to be really terrifying until you have seen what it does when it strikes. It is a nasty, malicious little noise, like the soul of a very petty and mean person turned into sound. Its beginning and its ending are pitched a little lower than its middle. Its beginning is gradual, but its ending is instantaneous." Mr. Marshall describes Colonel Wood, the commander of the Rough Riders, as apparently the only man not impressed by the fire which hurtled about the heads of the Rough Riders and the Cuban scouts. He says, too, that when Colonel Wood heard the sobbing curses of one of the advance guard, who had wounded himself with a defective cartridge beyond the possibility of fighting, the officer said: "Stop that swearing! I don't want to hear any cursing to-day." The order was passed down the line of men behind, and Mr. Marshall says that, incredible as it may seem, he did not hear another oath during that fight.

"I saw many men shot. Every one went down in a lump without cries, without jumping up in the air, without throwing up hands. They just went down like clods in the grass. It seemed to me that the terrible thud with which they struck the earth was more penetrating than the sound of

guns: Some were only wounded; some were dead.

THERE WERE NO COWARDS.

"Once I thought I had found a coward. A man was running wildly toward the rear. I stopped him and asked what he was running away from. He restrained himself with difficulty from braining me with his carbine. He had torn off the sole of one shoe, and the accident hampered his movements. He was running wildly about in a temperature of not less than one hundred and three degrees, searching for a dead man to take a shoe from. He was running so that he could get quickly back to where the firing was. I showed him the dead man and helped him take the shoe off. He was very grateful, and after he had once more gained protection for his foot he started on the double-quick for the firing line.

DEATH ON THE FIELD OF BATTLE.

"On the battlefield there are no delicate scientific problems of strange microbes to be solved. There is no petting, no coddling—nothing, nothing but death. The man lives, he is strong, he is vital, every muscle in him is at its fullest tension, when, suddenly, 'chug!' he is dead. That 'chug' of the bullets striking flesh is nearly always plainly audible. But bullets which are billeted, so far as I know, do not sing on their way. They go silently, grimly to their mark, and the man is lacerated and torn or dead. I did not hear the bullet shriek that killed Hamilton Fish; I did not hear the bullets shriek which struck the many others who were wounded while I was near them; I did not hear the bullet shriek which struck me.

WOUNDED, BUT STILL CONTENTED.

"This bit of steel came diagonally from the left. I was standing in the open, and from watching our men in the front had partially turned to see Roosevelt and his men on the right. The troops about me were full of tales of Roosevelt's bravery and the splendid conduct of his soldiers. But I did not see Roosevelt. 'Chug!' came the bullet, and I fell into the long grass, as much like a lump as had the other fellows whom I had seen go down. There was no pain, no surprise. The tremendous shock so dulled my sensibilities that it did not occur to me that anything extraordinary had happened—that there was the least reason to be worried. I merely lay perfectly satisfied and entirely comfortable in the long grass. It was a long time before any one came near me. The fighting passed away from me rapidly. There were only left in the

neighborhood of my little episode the dead (I could see a dead man not far away if I looked through the grass near the ground level), other wounded, and a few first-aid-for-the-injured men who were searching for us. I heard two of these men go by calling out to the wounded to make their whereabouts known, but it did not occur to me to answer them. The sun was very hot and I had some vague thoughts of sunstroke, but they were not specially interesting thoughts and I gave them up. It seemed a good notion to go to sleep, but I didn't do it.

"Finally three soldiers found me, and putting half a shelter-tent under me, carried me to the shade.

LAST OFFICES FOR THE DYING.

"There were several wounded men there before me. The first-aid men came along, learned that my wound was at the side of and had shattered the spine, and, shaking their heads gravely, gave me a weak solution of ammonia as a stimulant. I heard one of them say he would run for the surgeon. He came in a few moments, and I was surprised because he examined me first. He told me I was about to die. The news was not pleasant, but it did not interest me particularly.

"Don't you want to send any messages home?' he asked. 'If you do you'd better write 'em—be quick.'

"I decided to take his advice.

"Not far away was a young man shot through both knees. I had plainly heard the words 'His wound is mortal' passed around among the other wounded in hoarse whispers, and as I turned my head I could see them all looking at me sorrowfully, and one or two had tears in their eyes. The surgeon had done what he could for all of us and had gone away on a keen run to some other group. The young man who had been shot through both knees painfully worked his way across to me.

"I'm a stenographer at home,' he said, grasping my hand and smoothing it gently. 'Let me take your messages for you.'

"He searched my pockets, got pencil and paper, and I stupidly and slowly dictated three letters. I am sure I had no real conception of anything that had happened since the bullet struck me until, as he finished the last letter, he rolled over in a faint with upturned eyes. Then I understood my dreadful but unintentional cruelty and tried to help him. I couldn't move. For the first time I knew that I was paralyzed.

"The next I knew, Stephen Crane and Richard Harding Davis were bending over me. They found men to carry me on the tent-cloth to the field hospital."

SPANISH BRAVERY AT CANEY.

AMONG a half dozen readable accounts of war incidents in the September *Scribner's* there is a tribute to the courage of the Spaniards at Caney, written by Mr. Joseph Edgar Chamberlain, one of the excellent war correspondents who risked their lives in Cuba.

"I shall never cease to see," says Mr. Chamberlain, "when the word Caney is spoken, a line of some fifty or sixty light-blue-clad men standing in a trench, the line bent in the middle at right angles by the square turning of the ditch; at the bending of this line some blue-jacketed young officer standing, always exposed to the belt, and sometimes, as he stood up on the level ground, exposed to the feet; the men rising at the word of this officer's command for hours and hours, delivering volley after volley full in our faces; standing, as they did so, exposed to the waist, confronting three thousand men, grimly and coolly facing death, drawing their dead up out of the trench as they fell to make standing room for living men, holding thus their trench immovably from morning until evening—this is what Caney will always mean to me first of all, by virtue of an impression as vivid as the light of day and as ineffaceable as the image of death.

"I say it is a sorrow, because I should like to have my picture of the first great fight I was ever in center around some such deed of my own countrymen. But the trench-fighting of the Spaniards with their Mausers was in very fact the heart and center of that day's work; and as for that, the heroism of our men appears none the less in the light of the heroism of their antagonists.

"These figures of Spaniards in the shallow ditch were really very uncouth. Their jackets of poor, thin blue cotton were merely loose tunics, too short and coarse to have any dignity, and the trousers were baggy and ill-fitting. On their heads, as long as they wore them, the men had great straw hats, almost black with use, with brims turned up behind and down before. Sometimes the hats came off; and with my glass I watched along the trench the shaggy black heads of Castilian youths, which looked better."

Three Spaniards were captured in the San Juan blockhouse. "I was at General Shafter's headquarters when these three Spaniards were brought in. They had made a long march in the hot sun, and a friend of mine who stood by offered them water from his canteen.

"'Why should we drink,' said the non-commissioned officer who had commanded the blockhouse, 'when we are about to be killed?'

"'I think you are not to die,' said Lieutenant Noble, smiling; 'we are civilized men and you are brave ones!'"

THE COLLAPSE OF SPAIN.

"A SPANIARD" writes on "The Dynastic Crisis in Spain" in the *Fortnightly Review*. His article extends over thirty pages and is a most dismal exposition of a desperate state of things. We need not linger over the writer's exposition of the shortcomings of the Queen Regent, although half his article is devoted to explaining how many mistakes she has made and how hopelessly she has complicated the situation, already bad enough. Unfortunately, as "A Spaniard" frankly admits, it is difficult to see how anybody could have done better. He says.

"There is not one political party, not one political leader, in the country whose programme, whose antecedents, or whose intelligence offers the slightest guarantee that the kingdom would be better off if they were substituted for the lady and the child in whose names the Spanish people are now misgoverned."

OLIGARCHICALISM IN EXCELSIS.

After the assassination of Canovas General Azcarraga became prime minister, and "A Spaniard" blames the Queen very severely for suddenly demanding his resignation, but if we may judge from the following anecdote we can hardly blame her for replacing him by some one else:

"When General Azcarraga's colleague, the finance minister, was excommunicated by a bishop last year for defending the property of the state against the greed of the Church, the prime minister, a Spanish general, deferred convoking a cabinet council until he consulted his father confessor as to the propriety of having official relations with a man who was under the ecclesiastical ban, and whether he could in conscience offer him his hand. The moment the council was over and the pariah had taken his leave, a pious priest was ushered into the *salon*, for the purpose of exorcising the evil spirits who might have entered in and of rendering it pure once more."

IGNORANCE IN THE SADDLE.

Unfortunately Señor Sagasta, although less pious than Azcarraga, appears to have been even more ill-informed:

"The government, to form which her majesty created a most dangerous precedent, has proved more disastrous to our ill-starred country than any of the wars and rebellions of this century. A Spanish cabinet composed of patriotic but respectable Yankees would have been a veritable blessing in comparison. Crass ignorance, selfishness which is at once naked and unashamed, stupidity which played into the enemy's hand, and cunning which thwarted the best efforts of

our patriots marked every step taken by that ill-omened cabinet of Sagasta.

"The comic opera is the proper place for the doings of a cabinet whose president had to inquire where the Mariana Islands are situate, and whose war minister enthusiastically exclaimed, on hostilities being declared, 'I wish to God we had not even one ship!'—and this in a war which was essentially naval! The marine minister explained in Parliament, on learning of the disaster at Cavite, that gunboats and destroyers were utterly useless there, but added that a considerable number of them had just been dispatched; and when in one of the cabinet councils held later General Blanco's dispatches were read enumerating all the American ships which were blockading Havana, he exclaimed in despair: 'O my mother! what a hole we have got into!'

"I gave one example of Señor Sagasta's knowledge of geography; let me now give a sample of his familiarity with foreign politics. At the beginning of the war this eminent Spanish statesman and trusty adviser of the Queen received an enthusiastic telegram from Berlin wishing success to Spanish arms, declaring that 'all Germany' was on the side of Spain, whose cause was just, and signed 'Severin Senator, of Berlin.' Here was moral sympathy of a kind not to be sniffed at, and Señor Sagasta and his colleagues, overjoyed at the message, informed the representatives of the press at Madrid that one of the most eminent members of the German Senate had sent a telegram to the government, which, judging by the language in which it was couched, foreshadowed something more than mere platonic sympathy. The press published the announcement with delight, the people received it with childlike joy, and nobody stopped to inquire in what year the German empire had received a Senate as one of its political institutions."

It was only after the enthusiasm had spent itself that it was discovered that Severin Senator was the name of an enterprising German manufacturer who wished to do business with Spain in electric reflectors.

THE IMPOTENCE OF THE CARLISTS.

While thus saying the worst that can be said concerning the Queen, the writer does not believe that either the Carlists or the Republicans have a chance. His estimate of the impotence of the Carlists is interesting:

"The Carlists are no longer the force they once were. They do not dispose of the vast funds which kept them afloat during the third Carlist war, much of which was supplied by the Mendicant Friars in the Philippines, who to-day

are mendicants indeed. They have lost the support of the Pope, the Jesuits, and of a considerable portion of the clergy. Out of 48 Spanish bishops only 10 are Carlists, and their affection for the cause is platonic rather than active and aggressive. The army likewise holds aloof, for the good reason that the Carlists possessed an army of their own, now disbanded, but many of whose officers would, if the movement prospered, expect to be reinstated in their former positions, to the detriment of the officers of the present army."

BANKRUPTCY INEVITABLE.

His forecast as to what will happen when peace is made is lugubrious in the extreme:

"When the war will have been followed by peace and the terrible bill is presented for payment, then, and not before, will the end of a scandalous system of misgovernment, injustice, exploitation, and mendacity have touched its final term. The Cuban debt will, in all probability, have to be taken over by Spain, on the ground that it was contracted by her, not for the benefit of her colony, but for the purpose of maintaining her sovereignty there by means of fire and sword. This debt, together with that of the Philippines and our own augmented, as the latter will be by the total of the expenses of the war, will amount to a sum of £450,000,000, the annual service of which will swallow up £30,000,000. And the national revenue amounted, when our industry and our trade with the colonies were flourishing, to £30,000,000 at most. Our ordinary expenses amount to nearly as much.

"Moreover, the loss of our colonies means the absolute disappearance of all the industry and commerce which the inhabitants of those islands were forced to support. Factories, workshops, magazines—all must be closed, and thousands upon thousands of operatives turned adrift on the world, homeless and helpless.

"The greater number of 30,000 military officers will be deprived of their command and placed on the reserve list, where the pay is such that a captain, who generally has a wife and family to support, receives about 2s. 4d. a day. Agriculture, which is dying out, cannot support these legions of famishing men, women, and children, nor are soldiers the kind of people who take kindly to the humdrum life of the fields. When these multitudes have felt the pinch of hunger and see themselves thrown back on the laws of nature to keep themselves and their loved ones from dying, then the internal crisis will have begun in very truth and the tocsin of the revolution will have sounded. In that day the army will decide, by its attitude, whether Carlists or Republicans shall triumph."

THE SPANISH NAVY—NOT UP TO DATE.

THE Spanish magazines contain little that bears directly upon the war, although the United States receives a fair share of attention in respect to the morals, ignorance, ambitions, etc., of the "Yankees," as the Spanish writers now usually designate our people.

The article on "The Two Navies," by Leopoldo Pedreira, in the *Revista Contemporanea*, is the most interesting, chiefly because the subject is treated from a novel standpoint. The writer devotes about one page to the American navy and six to that of Spain. The comparison is not one of strength, but concerns patriotism and historical glory. There can be no question of patriotism, says Señor Pedreira, among the Americans: they are composed of all races, all colors—the negro, the Chinaman, the Russian, the German, and the Italian—the scum of European society thrown upon the shores of the New World. The army and navy are composed of mercenaries, not patriots; the soldiers and sailors do not shed their blood and give up their lives for the honor of their country, but sell their blood for money. With the Spaniards, of course, it is exactly the reverse. They have another country, for whose honor no sacrifice is too great; and the sailors have glorious traditions to uphold. The writer then traces the history of the Spanish navy, prefacing the sketch with a glorification of the Spanish flag that concludes with these words: "It is the scepter of the seas, the symbol of the most maritime (navigating) nation of the world; it is the banner that waved as sovereign in two hemispheres. Columbus sailed under it, Churrucá died for it, Nelson perished in front of it."

GLORIES OF THE PAST.

"The Spanish navy boasts twenty-three centuries of glory," says the writer; "the Roman navy lives again in that of Spain. Those brave men were our fathers; their deeds are ours. We share the glory of the destruction of Punic power in the Mediterranean and the other victories of the Latin navy. The men who man the ships of Spain inherit the genius that came into existence under the powerful wings of the Roman eagles!"

The foregoing will give a fair idea of the line taken by the writer. He touches briefly upon all that Spain has done in navigation and naval warfare. He is careful to mention the "destruction" of the English at Rochelle and the taking of the Duke of Pembroke "and the flower of English nobility" to Valladolid; also that Sanchez de Torar sailed up the Thames as far as London and seized some vessels in the river;

but the Great Armada is not mentioned. That is presumably included in the period of decadence under the Austrias!

The "disaster of Trafalgar" would not of itself have shaken Spanish naval power. That glorious combat was almost as disastrous for the English as for the Spaniards, seeing that Great Britain lost Nelson and its squadron was almost completely destroyed. But the two countries were under very different forms of government. The Spanish king—"stupidly absolute and absolutely stupid"—allowed things to drift, whereas the British were active.

THE FINANCIAL OUTLOOK IN SPAIN.

A WRITER in the *London Journal of Finance* for August, Mr. Ernest E. T. Irons, paints an extremely gloomy picture of Spain's financial prospects. He says:

"It is no exaggeration to say that for a long series of years Spain has been steadily drifting to financial disaster. The pace has varied, but the course has never changed. Her balance-sheets have exhibited a dismal sequence of deficits—some of them comparatively small, but many of them appalling in their amount. Only once or twice for nearly half a century has a Spanish minister of finance realized a surplus—so seldom that the events might almost be counted as lucky accidents. The debit balances are represented to-day by a floating debt so huge in its proportions that to restore the finances of the nation to a healthy basis would in itself prove a sufficiently onerous task, without the additional burden which the calamities of the past few months will entail. The ordinary budget estimates for 1898-99 were laid before the Cortes toward the close of April—after the commencement of hostilities, but while the country was still relying on the success of its arms. In view of what has happened since, these estimates will in all probability turn out so wide of the mark that they might almost as well be torn up at once as waste paper. The revenue was put at 866,015,000 pesetas and the expenditure at 865,509,000 pesetas, thus leaving an apparent surplus of 500,000 pesetas. The margin was narrow enough in all conscience, and no one can be foolish enough to imagine that both ends will be made to meet, or even to approach each other under the present circumstances."

Customs receipts, which form a large proportion of the government's total income, must now undergo a serious contraction. The Spanish people have suffered much already from the war. Prices, especially of imported articles, have risen, and consumption has fallen off.

ATTEMPTS TO RAISE REVENUE.

In the special bill introduced for the purpose of creating the new sources of revenue required to guarantee the war bonds authority is sought—

"I. To issue state *rentes* or treasury bonds guaranteed by the general resources of the nation. It has often been accounted to the credit of the Spaniard that he had a profound faith in his country's securities. That was manifested in a striking degree some years ago when two successive bear campaigns failed with ignominy, thanks to buying for Madrid. It was estimated some considerable time back that one-third of the exterior debt was held in Spain, and the proportion would appear to have gone on increasing, if reliance may be placed on the effect of the stamping operation which was required to preserve the rights of foreign holders to the payment of their interest in gold. Not far off 50 per cent. of the external debt has been converted into currency bonds. But we confess we cannot understand even a loyal Spaniard attaching any investment value to a bond 'guaranteed by the general resources of the country.' We were under the impression that what were worth mortgaging were already pledged pretty well up to the hilt.

"II. To have the option of calling upon the Bank of Spain to issue notes, the government to pay into the bank any available cash reserves. The authority for this measure appears to extend to no less a sum than 2,500,000,000 pesetas, and from the report of the commission on war credit, in which the conditions are rather more definitely described, the security consists of 'a metallic reserve deposited with the Bank of Spain.' Further, lines were actually laid down regarding the proportion of the reserve, but the provision was rendered absolutely worthless by the following addendum: 'In the case of extreme necessity the government shall not be bound by these restrictions or by those of the law of 1891.' Having regard to the position of the Bank of Spain, to which we shall refer hereafter, this proposal is fraught with infinite danger, as the future will undoubtedly show.

"III. To negotiate advances with the state monopoly companies—tobacco, matches, minerals, and the like. Sixty millions of pesetas were borrowed from the Tobacco Company only last year, and no doubt the others have been tapped when occasion has required. This is merely one item in the programme of 'get money how you can—but get it,' and it obviously hastens the day when even the milch-cows of monopoly companies will be exhausted, for there is no prospect whatever of the advances being repaid.

"IV. To enforce one year's payment of the land and industrial taxes in advance. What the oppressed taxpayers would have done had this amateur method of raising funds been enforced it is difficult to say. Apart from this consideration, the prospects for the succeeding twelve months would not have been very materially assisted by the premature appropriation of part of their receipts. Fortunately the clause was suppressed by the budget committee, which substituted a provisional surcharge of 20 per cent. on all direct and indirect taxation, with the exception of *octroi* and customs duties. As Spain has for long been groaning under heavy taxation, the best that could be said for this proposal was that it was less harsh than that which it superseded, and was infinitely better from the economic standpoint. But the second plan failed to reach the stage of royal assent. It succumbed during the debate in the Chamber—probably because the deputies foresaw that trouble with the taxpayer would inevitably ensue.

"V. To issue treasury bonds to an amount equivalent to the sum at present representing the floating debt. The bonds, apparently, are to be redeemable, and will bear such interest as the government shall resolve with the Bank of Spain. The effect of this operation would certainly be to relieve the financial houses which have been advancing funds so freely of late—if the bonds could be placed. But we are inclined to think the conundrum would soon present itself—'What is the difference between these treasury bonds and waste paper?'

It was also proposed at one time to convert the bonds of the external debt into internal stock. The commission on war credit recommended that the coupons of the foreign debt be paid in francs "only to such bondholders as can prove that they are foreigners and have been domiciled abroad for six months previous to the promulgation of this law, all the other bondholders being paid in ordinary Spanish currency."

DANGERS FACING THE BANK OF SPAIN.

Mr. Irons refers in his article to the precarious condition of the Bank of Spain, loaded as that institution has been for years with national obligations.

"The inflated note circulation has naturally been accompanied by wholesale depreciation; the notes, no longer paid in gold, would not even be paid in silver to-day but for the protective measures adopted by the government. Despite ministerial assurances, the contemplated addition to the circulation—against which will stand merely the cash reserves which the treasury can spare, all hope of maintaining the due proportion apparent—

ly being abandoned—constitutes a situation of the utmost gravity. The depreciation will most assuredly increase, and in that event both the bank and the treasury will have to brace themselves up for an acute crisis. The legitimate business of the institution has been left to run to seed, because it has been impossible to serve the nation and the commercial community at the same time, and the nation, of course, has had the first call. These are a few facts that should be borne in mind by those who, pointing to the 24-per-cent. dividend paid in respect of 1897, argue that with the assistance of so powerful an organization the country will find little difficulty in setting its house in order after the war."

In view of all the facts of the present situation Mr. Irons concludes:

"The restoration of the national credit will prove a tedious, laborious, and complicated task. More rigid adherence to the straight path of sound economics, merciless retrenchment, a rigorous weeding out of the hot-beds of official corruption, assiduous cultivation of rich sources of wealth that have been allowed to lie fallow—these should be the aim of every loyal Spaniard who hopes to see the regeneration of his country accomplished. It may be that the dark clouds which overhang the sky to-day will break in revolution—'red ruin and the breaking up of laws.' The downfall of the dynasty is even within the range of possibilities, and in that event the whole nation will be submerged in hopeless chaos. For the answer to this and many other dark problems we must wait, adopting the attitude described in the familiar Spanish phrase, '*Hasta mañana.*'"

FREE CUBA AND SUGAR.

IN the *Yale Review* for August Mr. G. Kingsley Olmsted forecasts "Some Economic Consequences of the Liberation of Cuba," his paper having reference chiefly to the question of sugar production.

This writer admits that it must take some time for the Cuban cane-fields to regain their former high state of cultivation, but he holds that Cuba's past record of prosperity in this industry, considering the economic oppression to which she has been subjected, indicates not only that an immediate recovery is possible, but that the industry will far exceed its past rate of production.

FAVORABLE PROSPECTS.

"The liberation of Cuba means more than regaining her former condition. It guarantees a steady progress toward a larger industrial and

commercial success. The effect of driving beet-sugar from our market will be an intensification of the European crisis. It will do more than any other factor to force the bounty countries to a common-sense settlement of their sugar problem. The immediate sacrifice of the agricultural and refining class, who have been living far beyond the limits of natural production, would be more than outweighed by the benefits derived by the country at large. The consumption of sugar would immediately increase. Agriculture would be established on a more enduring basis. International trade would be stimulated. Such a condition would relieve the West Indies from their depression. The indirect results are by no means the least important. How far they would extend does not lie within the scope of this article to predict.

"The political side of the liberation of Cuba is too closely connected with her economic future to be disregarded. Serious men have doubted whether the Cubans were fitted to govern themselves. They have intimated that an independent government would be a severe check to her progress. One can only surmise as to the ability of her leaders, as they are still untried. Almost any form of government would be more advantageous for the sugar industry than a return to the *régime* of oppression. The release from the severity of taxation and the opportunity for freedom of trade would more than offset the political objections. The Cuban could hardly be more politically corrupt than the Spanish official has been. Capital at least would remain in the island. The benefit of this can hardly be overestimated. The great check to improvement and to the adoption of new methods and machinery on the plantations has been the yearly outflow of capital. The Spanish colonial system was one of extraction, leaving almost nothing for the planter to build on for the future. No matter how petty a form of government may be instituted, the chance to use capital freely means steady progress for the sugar-planter.

A PROTECTORATE DEMANDED.

"It would be unfortunate if Cuba were left alone to recover from the effects of her devastation. Her best interests demand a protectorate. Good government should be enforced until she is politically and economically established. A protectorate would give a guarantee that would encourage the immediate investment of capital. Intervention has imposed this trust on the United States. The depopulation of the island by war has left still larger opportunities for investment. Under Cuban or American government Spanish capital would be largely withdrawn. The opportunity of buying valuable estates at a low figure

presents itself. That a large proportion of the sugar plantations would be under the control of British and American capital in a few years is a safe prediction. This is the great surety of Cuba's prosperity.

"The jealousy of the powers at the possibility of our annexing such a valuable sugar island has been evinced in their attitude toward the United States during the present war with Spain. France has been Spain's banker for so long that the loss of Cuba means the cutting off of her most valuable security. It is but natural that she should have supplied Spain with war funds to preserve her kingdom intact. It is altogether probable that she looked forward to Cuba being ceded to her in case of Spain's bankruptcy. Germany has had the colonial fever for some time. The possession of Cuba by the United States would be a serious check to her aspirations in the Western world. Her sugar interests will suffer severely from Cuban liberation. All the European powers view with disfavor any increase in our commerce that means a diminution in their export trade. The liberation of Cuba would close our market to their sugar and precipitate a crisis."

THE SPANISH WAR AND THE EQUILIBRIUM OF THE WORLD.

IN the August *Forum* Mr. Brooks Adams, author of "The Law of Civilization and Decay," presents certain original views of the war with Spain and its relations to the future equilibrium of races and nations.

Mr. Adams regards the war as but a link in a long chain of events representing the world's transition from an old to a new condition of equilibrium. Waterloo marked the last revolution of this kind—the movement of the economic center of the civilized world from Holland to England. In recent years the industrial movement on the continent of Europe has been eastward—from France back to Germany and Russia. From England, on the other hand, the economic center is rapidly advancing across the Atlantic. This phenomenon is illustrated by the iron trade, the basis of modern manufactures. In the middle of the last century France led in the production of pig-iron; England and Germany were nearly equal; America produced but little.

During the next hundred years England distanced France, France gained relatively on Germany, and America increased her product from one-twentieth to more than one-fifth of that of Great Britain.

After 1870 Germany made enormous gains and outstripped France. The *Industrial World* states that the manufacture of hardware in Ger-

many compared with that of France in 1875 as 4 to 3 and in 1895 as 5 to 2.

Meanwhile America's activity has been even greater. In 1840 the United States had not entered the field of international competition in the iron industry; in 1897 she undersold the English in London, and her product for 1898 promises to equal that of Great Britain and France combined.

Mr. Adams presents data to show that accumulated wealth is following in the track of industry, that French capital is flowing into Russia, to the vitalization of northern Asia, while English capital seeks American investments.

ENGLAND AND THE UNITED STATES.

Turning from the economic to the military point of view, Mr. Adams draws an impressive sketch of the altered attitude of Europe, and especially of Great Britain. He declares that the "gangrene" which Lord Salisbury once described as the disease which devoured the Balkan country is now devouring all the Latin races:

"The aggressive energy of France is, perhaps, dead. Few now believe her able, single-handed, to withstand Germany; and this feebleness draws her toward that social system which promises at no very distant day to consolidate northern Europe and Asia in a mass hostile to the interests of all external races. Such a consolidation, should it mature, must threaten not the prosperity only, but the very existence, of England. Should it prevail, her geographical position would become hopelessly eccentric, and she would also be thrown upon the United States for food. At present there are but two localities where the wants of the British people can be certainly supplied: one is the coast of the Black Sea, the other that of North America. Under such conditions, however, the Black Sea would lie in the enemy's power; while the United States could probably close the St. Lawrence as well as her own ports. The support of the United States may thus be said to be vital to England, since, without it, if attacked by a continental coalition, she would have to capitulate. Great Britain may, therefore, be not inaptly described as a fortified outpost of the Anglo-Saxon race, overlooking the eastern continent and resting upon America. Each year her isolation grows more pronounced; and as it grows, the combination against her assumes more and more the character of Napoleon's method of assault, which aimed to subdue an insular and maritime antagonist by controlling the coasts whence that antagonist drew its livelihood.

"Unconsciously, perhaps, to herself, insecurity as to her base has warped every movement of

England, and has given to her foreign policy the vacillation which has lately characterized it. This weakness has caused her to abandon Port Arthur, to permit Germany to occupy Kiao-Chou, and to look with pleasure to an alliance with this country.

"But if the United States is essential to England, England is essential to the United States, in the face of the enemies who fear and hate us, and who but for her would already have fleets upon our shores. More than this, the prosperity of England is our prosperity. England is our best, almost our only, certain market. She is the chief vent for our surplus production; and anything which cripples her purchasing power must react on us. For years past she has been losing her commanding industrial position. Her most lucrative trade to-day lies with the far East, and if she is shut out there her resources will be seriously impaired, and the money she no longer earns cannot be spent for food. Moreover, in those regions the interests of the two peoples are identical. The Russians hardly veil their purpose of reversing, by means of railroads, the current of the Chinese trade as it has flowed for ages, and of using force to discriminate against maritime nations; but those who are excluded from the Eastern trade have always lagged behind in the race for life."

OUR INTERESTS IN THE FAR EAST.

Continuing his study of the disintegration of Europe, Mr. Adams says:

"Year by year since 1870, when France discovered symptoms of advanced decay, the gangrene has eaten deeper. Last year Greece passed into the throes of dissolution; this year Italy and Austria are in hardly suppressed revolution; while Spain is being dismembered, and in her disintegration has involved the United States in war. The United States thus stands face to face with the gravest conjuncture that can confront a people. She must protect the outlets of her trade or run the risk of suffocation. Those outlets are maritime and are threatened by the same coalition which threatens England. The policy of continental Europe is not new. It is the policy of Napoleon and of Chosroes; for Russia seeks to substitute land for water communication. In a few years Peking, and probably the Yang-tse, will be connected with Moscow and Berlin by rail, and then entirely new conditions will prevail."

A French estimate of China's foreign commerce for 1894 places the interest of the United States at one-eighth that of England and at about one-eleventh of the whole; Russia's part amounted to only one-twenty-fourth; France, Germany, and Belgium combined represented one-twelfth.

AN ANGLO-AMERICAN ALLIANCE.

Having shown that England and the United States together have a stake in the far East more than six times greater than that of Russia, Germany, France, and Belgium combined, Mr. Adams sets forth some of the advantages of a combination between the United States and England as follows:

"From the retail store to the empire success in modern life lies in concentration. The active and economical organisms survive: the slow and costly perish. Just as the working of this law has produced during the last century unprecedented accumulations of capital controlled by single minds, so it has produced political agglomerations such as Germany, the British empire, and the United States. The probability is that hereafter the same causes will generate still larger coalitions directed toward certain military and economic ends. One strong stimulant thereto is the cost of armaments. For example, England and the United States combined could easily maintain a fleet which would make them supreme at sea, while as rivals they might be ruined. The acceleration of movement which is thus concentrating the strong is so rapidly crushing the weak that the moment seems at hand when two great competing systems will be left pitted against each other, and the struggle for survival will begin."

"Already America has been drawn into war over the dismemberment of one dying civilization, and it cannot escape the conflict which must be waged over the carcass of another. Even now the hostile forces are converging on the shores of the Yellow Sea—the English and the Germans to the south, Russia at Port Arthur, covering Peking, while Japan hungers for Corea, the key to the great inlet. The Philippine Islands, rich, coal-bearing, and with fine harbors, seem a predestined base for the United States in a conflict which probably is as inevitable as that with Spain. It is in vain that men talk of keeping free from entanglements. Nature is omnipotent; and nations must float with the tide. Whither the exchanges flow they must follow, and they will follow as long as their vitality endures. How and when the decisive moment may come is beyond conjecture. It may be to-morrow or it may not be for years. If Russia and Germany can shape events, it will not be until their navies and railroads are complete. But these great catastrophes escape human control. The collapse of France might convulse society in an instant. Whether agreeable to them or not, economic exigencies seem likely to constrain Englishmen and Americans to combine for their own safety."

THE PHILIPPINES—THEIR PAST AND THEIR FUTURE.

IN the *National Review* for August Mr. Frank T. Bullen relates "A Reminiscence of Manila," giving a vivid picture of what he saw in the Philippine Islands many years ago. Mr. Bullen estimates the value of the islands very highly. He says that they form a magnificent territory, favored with every form of wealth and capable of supporting fifteen times their present population. There was no energy shown anywhere excepting by the English, American, and German merchants, although the most industrious laborers are the Chinese.

Mr. Bullen expresses amazement at Spain's wasteful neglect of her own commercial and industrial opportunities:

"It is, however, when we consider the enormous wealth of the Philippine Islands, both in mineral and vegetable resources, that we are astounded at the strange fact that instead of their possession being a prop and stay to the mother country, they have long, like Cuba, been an open ulcer in the great body of the state, draining it of blood and treasure in terrible quantities and yielding nothing in return. When we look at the marvelous young giants that have sprung from our country, and within the last century have risen to such a power that they make no uncertain claim to be heard in the councils of the world, we find it difficult indeed to understand how so fair a heritage as the Philippines can have been in the possession of Spain for three centuries and now possess but a tithe of the trade controlled by one tiny outpost of our empire, Hong Kong."

AN AMERICAN PROTECTORATE.

As an Englishman Mr. Bullen is convinced that on the United States devolves the duty of presiding over the destiny of these islands:

"In summing up this necessarily slight sketch of the fair Eastern heritage now falling from the nerveless hold of Spain one conclusion cannot be avoided, even though it is bound to meet with the usual continental sneers at 'the insular arrogance of these hypocritical tradesmen.' It is that whatever the ultimate fate of the Philippines may be, there are only three nations capable of doing justice to their possibilities of prosperity. The first is Japan, who would probably succeed better than any power, for many reasons into which there is not space now to enter. The second is Great Britain, but in view of our already gigantic burden no true lover of his country would wish to see such a responsibility added thereunto. Lastly, the United States, many of whose citizens have long held commanding in-

terests in Manila, and who is certainly the best customer for Philippine products at present.

"Now, much as we may admire the plucky little island nation, we cannot possibly forget how superficial is the veneer of civilization, nor how little the humane instincts of any Asiatic peoples are to be relied on. The tragedy of Formosa remains an ineradicable object-lesson on this head. Emphatically, we are not to be counted in. Not from any craven fear of being great—one does not ask a man whether he is afraid to attend to his daily duties—but because we really do not now need the burden of redressing such centuries of wrong as the Philippines have endured.

"The great Western nation has put her hand to the plow, and we do firmly believe in her ability and intention to see this thing through in our own sterling fashion. All our hopes, all our wishes are with her in this tremendous task upon which she has entered. If ever she had any doubts as to our sympathies, she will soon find them dispelled. Not that she needs the spur to noble deeds. Her record tells its own bright story. That the future shall be even as the past and yet more abundantly fruitful in the direction of the elevation of mankind, we cannot choose but believe."

A JAPANESE VIEW OF OUR PRESENCE IN THE PHILIPPINES.

A RECENT issue of the *Tokio Far East* contains an important expression of Japanese opinion on the American occupation of the Philippines and the general question of our emergence as one of the Eastern powers.

The writer understands that the express object of our war with Spain was the rescue of Cuba from misrule and anarchy, and he does not question the sincerity of our Government in announcing this motive, but he recognizes the truth that war, once entered upon, cannot be localized; it is progressive, not only in operation, but also in consequences. Cuba will be freed from Spanish rule, but it would not be surprising if more important and far-reaching consequences should follow in other directions.

Merely as regards the operation of the war, the engagement at Manila was unexpected. Admiral Dewey's destruction of the Spanish fleet in that harbor and the occupation of Cavite were measures dictated by the necessities of naval strategy and required for defensive as much as for offensive purposes. While the United States Government may not, up to the moment of beginning the war, have contemplated the acquisition of the Philippines, yet, now that the Stars and Stripes are flying at Manila, a new issue is likely to arise in international politics.

SHOULD THE UNITED STATES RETAIN THE PHILIPPINES?

The *Far East* writer proceeds to state his reasons for advocating American retention of the Philippines:

"According to the usage of modern warfare, it is true, military or naval occupation as a phase of the operation of war does not necessarily mean the permanent acquisition of territory. In the present case, however, there are factors tending to give rise to serious complications, owing to the peculiar position of the Philippine Islands. Usually there are only two alternatives in the final disposition of a territory which has been occupied in the time of war—either to return it to the legitimate possessor or to retain it by obtaining a definite cession. But if the Americans were to evacuate the Philippines, there is no security that the islands would be smoothly turned over to Spain. In the first place, there are rebels who would take every opportunity to throw off the Spanish yoke. Those recalcitrant natives have been the cause of constant trouble to the Spaniards and made the Spanish rule in the Philippines anything but an easy task. Now that the prestige of Spain has piteously declined because of her ignominious defeat at American hands, the rebels are already on the war-path and seem to be raging over a considerable portion of the archipelago. Even left to themselves, the Philippine Islands would have been a second Cuba at no distant date. Hence, in retiring from the occupied territory the United States would be delivering it, not to Spanish rule, but to anarchy and commotion. Next, there are other powers looking toward inheritance of the Spanish possession. One of them, at any rate, has already bestirred itself in order not to let slip any opportunity that may be furnished by the present war.

"In evacuating the Philippines, therefore, the United States may be preparing the way for a European power or powers to acquire another foothold in the far East. In the face of these considerations, the Americans may well hesitate to relinquish the territory which has fallen into their hands by the chance of war. Besides, seeing that the United States' commerce with far Eastern countries is fast growing in importance, it is reasonable that she should claim to have a voice in the disposition of far Eastern affairs, and in order to make her voice heard it is obviously desirable that she should be in possession of a naval base of her own. The precariousness of a fleet with no base to rely upon in times of emergency has been proved by the experience of Admiral Dewey, whose fleet would have been

utterly helpless had the Spaniards been strong enough to stand the first attack. It is very natural, then, that the Americans should desire to take advantage of the fortune of the present war and to take permanent possession of the territory now occupied by their fleet and army.

"In establishing herself in the Philippines the United States will certainly incur a very heavy responsibility; but it is not in the nature of the American people, of juvenile light-heartedness and sanguine temperament, to shrink from any undertaking whatever. The acquisition of a territory far removed from American shores is no doubt a deviation from the traditional policy of the Union. But America seems to be destined sooner or later to step forward as an active factor in international politics. Of course it would be exceedingly advantageous and profitable to cultivate commercial relations with other nations without at the same time entering into political entanglements; only it is too advantageous and profitable to be practicable in this age of commercial rivalry, backed by armies and navies, as well as by political intrigues. Again, owing to the great revolution wrought by steam and electricity in the means of communication and transportation, it is no longer possible to adhere to the policy of confining the sphere of political activity to the American continent. America cannot be now regarded as separated from the rest of the world. If she desires to secure markets for her commodities, she cannot avoid having political relations with foreign nations, and her sphere of political activity must of necessity be coextensive with that of her commerce."

WELCOMED BY JAPAN.

No part of the article is more significant than those sentences in which the writer extends a cordial Japanese greeting to Uncle Sam:

"On the whole, the advent of the United States as a far Eastern power is to be welcomed from a Japanese point of view, because our relation with her has been and is one of particular cordiality, and her interests in this part of the globe seem to be in general harmony with ours. If platonic friendship is possible to nations, it must certainly exist between America and Japan. We have regarded and still regard the American nation in the light of leader and benefactor, and we believe it is not too much to say that the American people have reasons to be proud of the progress achieved by our countrymen. From a sentimental point of view, therefore, we may look with satisfaction upon the United States becoming a nearer neighbor to us. As to the question of policy, our object is to secure the peace of the far East on the basis of the development

of general commerce, and to check the policy of military aggression and commercial exclusiveness. On this point an essentially peaceful and commercial people like the American may be expected with reason to have common interests with us. If the Americans contribute to the attainment of the above objects, their participation in far Eastern affairs is to be much desired, and we look to the conclusion of a reciprocal tariff between the United States and Japan as the first step for promoting the growth of closer commercial relations."

Alluding to Great Britain's friendly attitude toward the United States and to British toleration of American ambitions, the Japanese writer says :

"This community of interest exists not only between Great Britain and America, but also between Japan and the two Anglo-Saxon nations. The Hispano-American war will prove a blessing to a great mass of humanity if in its consequence the coöperation of the three countries shall be secured in the far East."

Recent issues of the *Japan Daily Mail* contain numerous extracts from the native press on the subjects of the annexation of Hawaii and the probable acquisition of the Philippines by this Government. Nearly all are decidedly favorable to the United States, one paper even criticising the Japanese Government for its failure to make a sufficient demonstration of good-will toward America. The idea of a triple alliance between the United States, England, and Japan seems to be exceedingly popular among the Japanese at present. It is the opinion there that Germany has been doing what she could to embarrass our Government at Manila.

THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING BROTHERHOOD.

IN the *North American Review* for August there is a thoughtful article by Prof. Charles Waldstein on "The English-Speaking Brotherhood."

The first part of the article is devoted to a statement of objections to the term "Anglo-Saxon alliance" so frequently used of late. Professor Waldstein clearly shows that Mr. Davitt's criticism of the term on the ground that a considerable element in the American people is of Irish birth or descent holds good also of other nationalities clearly not of Anglo-Saxon origin which help to compose our nation. It is evident that whatever else the Americans of to-day may be, they cannot be accurately described as Anglo-Saxons.

"It is true, and will always remain so, that the substructure of American national life is Eng-

lish in language and in its social and political institutions. But ethnologically the American nation presents a huge and unequaled mixture of different European races."

Moreover, as applied to the English people themselves, "Anglo-Saxon" is a term of doubtful propriety, to say nothing of the Irish and Scots who constitute such important elements in the population of Great Britain.

When used as signifying the uniting element between the two peoples, the term is not only misleading, but, in Professor Waldstein's opinion, comes dangerously near to prejudices that can be awakened and played upon by demagogues in both nations.

THE EVIL OF CHAUVINISM.

Professor Waldstein further objects to the term "Anglo-Saxon," when used to qualify the amity or alliance between Great Britain and the United States, because it opens the door to "that most baneful and pernicious of modern national diseases—namely, ethnological Chauvinism." The nature of this disease is explained in the following paragraph :

"Chauvinism can in no sense be called an outcome, or even a modification, of patriotism. They are two distinct, if not opposed, ideas, the following of either of which points to characters and temperaments as different as the generous are from the covetous. Patriotism is a positive attitude of the soul ; Chauvinism is a negative tendency or passion. Patriotism is the love of and devotion to the fatherland, to the wider or the more restricted home, and to the common interests and aspirations and ideals of these. Chauvinism marks an attitude antagonistic to all persons, interests, and ideas not within this wider or narrower fatherland or home. Patriotism is love ; Chauvinism is jealousy. The loving temperament makes for expansion ; the jealous tends toward contraction and restriction. While the patriot who loves his people and his country is therefore likely to be tolerant, even generous and affectionate, toward the stranger, the Chauvinist is likely to direct the burning fire of his animosity even toward special spheres and groupings within his own country. Now, this vice of hatred and envy, which may have existed in all times and places of human history, has in our own times received a peculiar character, a special formulation, with an attempt at justification. I have tried to qualify the general Chauvinism in the form predominant in our time by the attribute 'ethnological Chauvinism.'"

On the continent of Europe the progress of Chauvinism has intensified old antagonisms and bred new ones. England thus far has escaped

the serious ravages of the disease, and in the interest of true patriotism appeals to racial prejudices should be avoided.

THE BASES OF UNITY.

Putting aside, then, all theories of common racial origin, what are the essential elements of Anglo-American unity? Professor Waldstein summarizes these elements under the following general headings:

"A common country; a common nationality; a common language; common forms of government; common culture, including customs and institutions; a common history; a common religion, in so far as religion stands for the same basis of morality; and, finally, common interests."

In the case of the people of Great Britain and of the United States, all but the first of these elements seem to be present. There may even be a sentimental basis of unity in the idea of a common fatherland, but the fact that the two peoples are essentially akin in other respects seems sufficient to justify some close form of lasting amity.

Professor Waldstein appeals to history to demonstrate the common origin and development of British and American institutions. Far more potent, however, than the ties of common descent, country, and government, he considers the bond of a common language.

We have, besides, a common history:

"Whatever the Revolutionary War may have meant and means to the people of the United States, it can only be regarded as a natural step in the British struggle for self-government and independence. Meanwhile the whole of American history before 1776 is to be found, not with red Indians, but with the people of Great Britain. And what Seeley has expressed so vigorously and clearly for the Britons, when they regard Greater Britain, that the British colonies form an integral part of Greater Britain, and that every English political view which does not include the national life of Australasia and Canada is crippled and distorted—this applies to the attitude which the Britons must hold ever to the United States. The United States have not only formed a central factor in the British history of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but they are an essential element in the growth of national life in the present, and will become still more vital in the future."

THE ELEMENT OF RELIGION.

As to religion, Professor Waldstein does not believe in the power of any established church or creed to bind communities together:

"Though a common creed may be powerful in bringing or holding together people or races

or nations in comparatively early stages of development, this cannot be maintained in the more advanced stages of modern politics.

"In Italy, for instance, one church preponderates among the population, with hardly a dissident sect that might not be considered a *negligeable* quantity. Yet it can hardly be said that this common creed was an active agent in unifying Italy in the past or in holding together the Italian monarchy of our own immediate days. Germany, on the other hand, has in our days achieved complete imperial unity; and yet in Prussia, a Protestant state, more than one-third are Roman Catholics, while in Baden and Bavaria nearly two-thirds are Roman Catholics."

Religion, however, may be regarded as a civilizing power, as creating or modifying the national conscience, as directing national aspirations and ideals. In this sense it becomes one of the most effective elements in political life. Great Britain and America have, it must be admitted, a "common foundation of popular and national ethics and religion."

COMMON INTERESTS.

Professor Waldstein reserves to the last the discussion of the topic that most writers on the question of an alliance have placed foremost—namely, national interests. Concerning the situation in the far East, he says:

"The trend of national and international life for the last hundred years has been toward the expansion of international trade into regions that formerly did not come actively into the cognizance of the European diplomat; and each state individually, or those with common interests collectively, must be prepared to guard and enforce this expansion. If the United States and any one of the British colonies disregard this paramount interest of their future and do not strengthen themselves by firm amity or alliance where such alliance is on every ground natural and imperative, they will some day find their national development and expansion checked. They will then come under the domination or tutelage of one of these great powers or a group of several of them, and the interests of such leading states will be paramount and dictate the course of national life to the one held in tutelage.

"All this, however, would be rendered impossible by a great English-speaking brotherhood. The continental powers know this, and the plan of their diplomacy must be to keep Great Britain and the United States asunder by playing them off one against the other. And for this the term 'Anglo-Saxon' must yield them an acceptable opportunity.

"We must not forget, however, that, after

all, commerce is not everything. It is but the forerunner of civilization and receives its moral justification in that fact. Britons and Americans stand in the forefront of civilization; in political, social, and economical education they stand as high as any nation, and higher than any group of nations that could be massed against them. In furthering our sphere of influence we are necessarily spreading the most advanced and highest results of man's collective efforts in the history of his civilization. An English-speaking brotherhood will, after all, only be a step and link in the general alliance of civilized peoples. Its main principles and final objects will be those to which the highest and most cultured members of the French, German, and even Russian nation would subscribe, and in so far they would morally be members of this alliance."

TERMS OF AN ANGLO-AMERICAN ALLIANCE.

IN the *United Service Magazine* for August Capt. Charles S. Clark, of the United States army, writes on the prospects of an Anglo-American alliance. He seems convinced that such an alliance must come; for, he argues, as the Napoleonic wars drove much of the world's trade under the neutral American flag, and as the Civil War drove it again under the neutral British flag, so if the British alone were at war with France and Russia, would not the world's trade find refuge under the American flag? English commercial supremacy would be doomed. The writer's three essential conditions are:

"(1) Each nation protects itself at home and assists its ally without diminishing its own strength; (2) commerce is protected in the north Atlantic and Pacific, particularly the 'bread route'; (3) England remains the sea-power in Europe, the United States the sea-power in America."

The third condition amounts to the empire and the republic dividing between them the naval command of the globe, the western hemisphere falling to the Americans and the eastern to the British. In Captain Clark's words:

OUR NAVY AND ARMY.

"The United States being pledged to the maintenance of the doctrine 'America for Americans' will be likely to insist that she shall not be compelled to share sea-power in the West with any other nation. This implies that the outposts of Great Britain in Western waters, while remaining British possessions, should be placed under the naval protection of the United States."

In five years the American navy will consist of 275 ships, 189 of which the writer would as-

sign to the Atlantic fleet and 96 to the Pacific. He thus presents the totals:

	Battleships and Commerce Destroyers.	Armored Cruisers.	Cruisers and Gunboats.	Torpedo Boats.
Alliance.....	102	88	240	379
France	50	19	56	273
Germany.....	88	5	86	125
Italy	17	5	19	160
Russia	34	11	9	230

So much for the navy. The American army will, the writer calculates, consist of 1,000,000 volunteers in the National Guard:

"To the defense of an alliance it will contribute 1,000,000 men, and behind this million and the 600,000 of England will be a white population of 123,000,000, capable of contributing 17,000,000 arms-bearing men. Is it likely that any nation or combination of nations composed of other races could prevail in the long run against us?"

STRENGTH OF THE ALLIED POWERS.

But greater than army or navy are the resources behind them. Captain Clark offers these totals:

"The territory of the proposed alliance would include 15,099,892 square miles—two hundred and ninety-two-thousandths of the whole land surface of the globe, as estimated by Ravenstein—and would include fifteen-twenty-eighths of the fertile land. The population governed would exceed 486,000,000. The wheat crop produced annually in this territory was in 1895 729,751,000 bushels—more than one-third of all the wheat production of the earth. The United States and India in 1896 produced 9,683,000 bales of cotton; all other countries 1,043,000 bales. Of the coal-fields discovered and developed we are told that 238,000 square miles are in British and American territory. The same territory naturally produces nearly two-thirds of all the steel produced—9,362,000 tons in 1895, much more now. The capital of the business banks of the British Isles and the national banks of the United States and the banks of Canada and Australia is over \$2,275,000,000, and the 'common people' of the United States and Great Britain have deposited in savings banks \$2,440,000,000."

The conclusion runs:

"With such elements of strength in the possession of the Anglo-Saxon race, its ability to defend itself against a world in arms is unquestionable, and the great day, which Gladstone foresaw, when the Anglo-Teutonic races should possess and govern the earth, bringing light and civilization, good government and liberty to all races of men, will come in God's good time."

THE TRANS-SIBERIAN RAILWAY.

A WRITER in the *United Service Magazine* for August, Lieut.-Col. C. E. de la Poet Beresford, shows that from the military point of view the completion by Russia of the great Trans-Siberian Railway will hardly realize the predictions that have been made, especially by alarmist English writers. He says:

"That this line, when completed, will fulfill a great strategical want is undeniable, but the civilian mind is perhaps somewhat inclined to run riot over the facilities for transport of troops which it will provide. To begin with, it will be for many years a single line only. With the well-laid lines of Germany and France at their disposition, the German authorities often found it more convenient in 1870-71 to move troops by road. Those who are acquainted with the permanent way of Russian railroads in Europe, where the rails repose, not on chairs, but are fixed at intervals with big nails and plates or sleepers not too securely laid, may be pardoned for looking with just a little want of confidence on that of the embryo Siberian line. . . . In Russia, and other countries also, the care bestowed upon and, above all, the money expended in the first construction of railroads is not such as to provide a permanent way capable of bearing heavy and continuous traffic. It is not possible to move large masses of troops (especially in a country possessed of but small resources), with their horses, wagons, and impedimenta of all descriptions, without running either very heavy or very numerous trains.

MILITARY AND COMMERCIAL BEARINGS.

"When it becomes a question of moving men 7,000 miles, of entraining their wagons, guns, horses, baggage, and food, and transporting all these things, as well as the men, for these vast distances, the problem is not easy of solution. Of course, with time, depots with food, rest camps for use in summer, or even in winter, will be provided; but nothing of the sort has been estimated for in the first construction of the railroad, and the money for the construction of the same does not, at present at all events, seem to be forthcoming. When people talk so glibly of Russia reënforcing her troops in the far East by thousands by means of her new railroad, they should consider all these things."

Over a distance of 7,000 miles passenger trains could not soon be run at more than 20 miles an hour. Even granting that the passenger trains would do the distance in 14 days from St. Petersburg to Port Arthur, freight trains would take 42 days. "By the date the Trans-Siberian Railway is an accomplished fact steamers will run

from London to Nagasaki in less than 52 days." The cost of transporting merchandise over such a length of rail "must always be prohibitive." British sea traffic to the East is thus not endangered. The same consideration removes the dread of Siberian competition from the American wheat-grower. In the newly opened-up lands the Chinese cultivator is likely to oust the Russian emigrant. "There are too many saints' days in the Russian calendar, and the liking for vodka is too pronounced." The colonization of the Amur Valley scarcely seems to be a success:

"In the commencement of 1895 there were, it seems, 390 individual landowners in the Amur region, holding 38,455 dessyatines. Now there are only 70 proprietors, who hold 7,678 dessyatines. These figures speak for themselves."

RUSSIA AS A WORLD POWER.

IN the *National Review* for August Mr. Arnold White speaks his mind concerning what he calls "The Russian Bogy." Mr. White thinks that Russia stands to-day where England stood two hundred or a hundred years ago. There is a good deal of corruption in the lower rank of officials, but Russian ministers, he thinks, are quite as honest as those of the French republic. Drunkenness is very frequent, but not more so than in England at the beginning of the century. Mr. White says he himself heard a young Guardsman apologize to a lady at an embassy reception, in the hearing of several guests, for not keeping an appointment, alleging as a reason the fact that he was drunk and could not come. He describes at considerable length the danger which threatens Russia from the exceeding multiplication of the Jewish population, the low death-rate among Jewish infants, and the exceptional intelligence of the Jews generally. The problem, he remarks, Russian ministers declare to be insoluble, but insoluble questions are apt to solve themselves with but little regard to the convenience of ministers.

AN ECONOMIC CRISIS.

The economic condition of Russia, he thinks, is very serious. He says:

"The denudation of forests in the Volga Valley and, in fact, throughout the whole of the center and south, has had for its effect the diminution of the rainfall and the impoverishment of the soil. Scarcity is almost continuous even in the black-soil districts, famine is always on the horizon, and every few years the specter of want enters the doorway of millions of Russian homes. Much of the soil in European Russia, vast as it is, is rapidly becoming exhausted."

The ignorance of the peasant is great, but it is slowly disappearing. Mr. White ridicules the idea that in the long run a people as ignorant as horses will succeed in holding down the educated races of the earth by a combination of brute strength and imported brains. Despite the nonsense that is talked in officers' messes, there is no reason to believe that the Russian Government, either the Czar or his advisers, contemplate any scheme so wild as that which is attributed to them by the Russophobists.

THE TRUE RUSSIAN INTERESTS.

Mr. White says that the true interests of Russia palpably lie in the direction of peace and not of war. "So far as my observation, reading, and conversation enable me to judge, there is no nation in Europe with a more vital interest in the preservation of peace during the next twenty years than Russia herself." What reason is there to believe that the Russians are not quite as acute to perceive this as Mr. White himself? Mr. White thus sums up the conclusions he has arrived at in studying the Russian problem:

"The future of Russia, so long as she keeps the peace and limits her disputes with other nations to the field of diplomacy, may possibly be prosperous and bright; but if her unwieldy empire should be plunged into the hazard of war, the ignorance and superstition of her people, the corruption and inebriety of her administrators, the absence of a master-mind in the Czar or of an educated middle class, the alienation of the Jews, and her slipshod unreadiness for vast combinations at a distance, are more likely to result in a humiliating and perhaps ridiculous collapse than in the establishment of universal dominion over the civilized world."

ENGLAND'S FUTURE IN CHINA.

AN anonymous writer in the *Contemporary Review* for August, writing on "Our Future Empire in the Far East," proclaims with joy the certainty of the establishment of British supremacy over Middle China. He says:

"The cardinal fact of the whole situation in the far East at present is that if we are to carry out the programme which we have laid down, and not draw back with shame and confusion of face and with results disastrous to the fortunes of the empire, we stand committed to a future empire in China comprising a very large fraction of China proper. Briefly, the net outcome and only logical issue of the existing situation will be that our understanding with China, unless we are prepared to see it reduced to a complete nullity, will sooner or later develop into a recognized protectorate, and another large and most impor-

tant fraction of the world will be painted red on the map and practically added to the British empire, whether we like the prospect or no. The great Yang-tse Valley will follow much the same course as Egypt. We shall go into it reluctantly to keep other powers out, and once there we shall stay there.

"Now, the huge Yang-tse-Kiang, which determines our protectorate, dominates the whole of it, and with its various lakes and tributaries constitutes an unrivaled system of waterways. The river is navigable to large and well-found steamers for a good six hundred miles from its mouth, and we shall be able to send light-draught steam launches, steel-plated and armed with machine guns, to further vast distances from the sea. This and the railroads and roads which we shall presently open up will bring the whole country within easy reach. Thereby we can hold it with a comparatively small force of trained native troops under British officers located in good central positions. Briefly, from the naval and military side, the country is eminently favorable to our occupation at a minimum of cost and trouble."

He maintains that the situation in China is favorable and reassuring for such an undertaking. The downfall of the present dynasty need not involve any great change in the provinces. There is no spirit of nationality or patriotism among the Chinese, and if to-morrow Great Britain were by proclamation to annex all the provinces in the river valley to the British empire and to offer to confirm the existing viceroys and their subordinates in their positions, most of them would forthwith accept their positions from the British crown, and simply transfer their allegiance from Peking to London. Should any display of force be necessary, a brigade of infantry and a couple of batteries of artillery supplied with blank cartridges would suffice. The system of appointment by public competitive examination would supply an instrument ready to hand for modifying the ideas of the yellow men. The British resident would only need to recommend that a manual of instruction in law and justice should be included in the programme of the public examinations in order to readjust Chinese ideas on those subjects to those which prevail in the Western world. The Yang-tse-Kiang Valley would abundantly pay for its own administration without costing the British taxpayer a penny. It is not very consoling, however, to remember that after England has realized this writer's ambitious programme and founded another India in the heart of China, she will only thereby have hastened her own doom. He says:

"But China will assuredly have her revenge. The greedy sharks will presently find that an

avenging Nemesis of retribution has been following hard after them. The tables will be turned. It will hardly be a military or naval *revanche*. It will take the form of an industrial and economic revolution, fraught with disaster to the sharks, and especially to the last-joined and more or less unwilling recruit among them—namely, Britain. Briefly, in opening up a silver-using country where wages are extraordinarily low and raw material abundant and cheap, while also sticking fast to gold monometallism, we are infallibly preparing for ourselves in the future a condition of things in which our manufactures of all kinds will be driven out of the world's markets everywhere by Eastern competition. Our mills and factories will by and by be closed and the operatives forced to emigrate by tens of thousands."

EDUCATION AT WEST POINT AND ANNAPOLIS.

IN the *Outlook* (New York) for August 6 Col. George E. Waring, Jr., describes the system of education at the United States Military Academy.

One characteristic of West Point life that always impresses visitors to the institution is the democratic spirit that prevails. To keep up with the requirements of the course every cadet must work, and hard work, here as elsewhere, is a leveler.

"Simple though the requirements for admission are, fully one-third of the candidates are excluded for inadequate preparation. Once admitted, the competition is sharp and severe, and innate mediocrity stands no chance. More than one-half of those who enter the Military Academy fail to keep up with their classes, and many drop by the wayside because of insufficient preparation, or of a lack of capacity, or of the persistency and industry needed to meet the exacting of the very severe course of study and training. Here, as elsewhere in life, 'equality' means only the equality of opportunity. Wealth, social standing, influence, and favoritism can secure no advantage. The poor youth from a remote agricultural region meets the son of the millionaire of the city on an absolutely equal footing, and they have throughout the course the same privileges and the same opportunities.

"There is a fair field and no favor, and the best man wins by his own unaided effort. Those who have money are not allowed to use it. Each candidate admitted is required to deposit his private funds with the quartermaster and commissary of the corps, to be returned to him at the end of the course. His pay is forty-five dollars per month. Of this four dollars is re-

tained for his final equipment as an officer after graduation, and a further saving is urged upon him to pay his traveling expenses during vacation. Each cadet keeps a pass or check book, and is credited in it with the amount of pay due him by law and is charged with all articles procured by him from the storeroom. He is charged with subsistence, clothing, bedding, text-books, washing, gas, brooms, buckets, brushes, policing barracks, use of dictionary, soap, printing, and such other articles as are considered necessary for him to have. A strict supervision is kept over the account of each cadet, in order that he may not expend all of the pay allowed him. More than this he cannot spend, and he handles no money; as a matter of fact, he has no pockets."

VALUE OF THE WEST POINT TRAINING.

As to the usefulness of the severe mental and physical discipline maintained at West Point, Colonel Waring holds that if the graduates were to make no other return to the country than to go back among their own people as examples of trained public servants, all the expenditure on the Academy would still be justified.

"Many may still ask, What is the use of such terrible severity, formality, and rigidity of requirement—of such education? The use must be measured by the result. The writer was a member of the board of visitors to the Military Academy some years ago, and, as its secretary, prepared the report of the board to the Secretary of War. The following answer was there given to this question:

"We have carefully watched the various examinations and exhibitions, and, not speaking of the members of the class in higher standing, but considering only those of average grade, we have seen young men who four years ago came here from country schools and from rural occupations, educated barely well enough to be admitted, far from erect in their bearing, often slouchy and delicate in *physique*, and incapable of enduring fatigue or of continued physical activity—we have seen these young men, erect, bright, clean-cut, and intelligent, standing square upon both feet for ten or fifteen minutes while giving an intelligent demonstration of abstruse scientific problems or passing examinations in other branches most creditably; going through the evolutions of dress parade as well as soldiers who have no other duty and no other training; handling a light battery in active drill evidently without fatigue and without hesitation; performing equally well in cavalry drill, at target practice with siege-guns and seacoast guns and mortars, at pontoons and spar-bridge building, and in every branch of the duty of a soldier acquitting themselves with

the skill of veterans and with the intelligence of educated men.

"Their exercise in the gymnasium and fencing-school is excellent. In the riding-school the exhibition was an astonishment to all who saw it for the first time. A near approach to perfection in such horsemanship as is indispensable to a well-trained cavalry soldier was to be expected, but the bareback riding, mounting with one hand, vaulting into the saddle and over the horse, mounting and dismounting at a gallop, taking the belt with saber and revolver from the ground when in motion, performed by the whole class present—these and other exercises, when considered in connection with all else that a cadet must learn to do with his head and with his body, were more than remarkable."

MORAL TONE OF THE MILITARY ACADEMY.

Colonel Waring shows that while the officers, the professors, and the instructors at West Point are by no means negligent in the inculcation of a high sense of honor and duty nor in punishing wrong-doing, still much is left to the cadets themselves, and it is a rule of the institution never to question a cadet's statement without clear proof that it is false.

"He is left to his own sense of shame and to the discipline of his comrades. One cannot be a liar without being found out by his fellows sooner or later. When he is found out he is sent to Coventry, with a suddenness and a persistency that open to him a new view of the obligations of cadet life. For example, during study hours the cadets are under guard in their quarters. The guard on post has the power to restrain them. When one has a need to go out he salutes the guard and says, 'It is all right, sir,' and he is allowed to pass. A newcomer may think it a smart device thus to get relief from restraint and to go for a stroll. He has only given his own interpretation to 'all right.' In the language of the guard it means only one thing, and in the code of the corps the cadet has lied to the sentinel. No fuss is made about it and no official discipline may be applied; but the atmosphere about that young man changes. It turns somber and chill; first-class men who may have had a pleasant word for him and whose favor is one of his highest ambitions salute him stiffly and look on him coldly; the clouds thicken about him; his friends find it not wise to be too conspicuously intimate with him. When he finally emerges from his isolation, he knows what it means to violate the standard set up for their own guidance by those who value the honor of their corps as the very apple of their eye. Men who are not amenable to such influences sooner

or later meet their fate at the hands of a court-martial, and the army is purged of them."

Colonel Waring estimates the cost of each cadet's education at very nearly five thousand dollars per year, or twenty thousand dollars for the course of four years—perhaps the most expensive education in the world, and, considering its public purpose, regarded by many as actually the best.

Life at Annapolis.

In the same number of the *Outlook* Mr. James Barnes writes on the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis. He says:

"The whole Academy is divided in its formation somewhat in the manner of a ship's company. There are sixteen crews grouped in four divisions composed of equal proportions of all the classes. Each crew is commanded by two cadet officers, who rank as first and second captains. Every division is composed of four crews, and is in command of a cadet lieutenant who has under him a cadet junior lieutenant and a cadet ensign. All these men are taken from the first class. The four divisions form a battalion, with its cadet lieutenant-commander, its adjutant, and an additional cadet lieutenant. And thus, before he leaves the shelter of the institution, the future officer has learned, in a measure, to control and handle men.

"Perhaps the rule governing conduct at the Academy may be summed up in a line—'severe punishments and liberal rewards.' The cardinal sins are those of breaking the written regulations in regard to smoking, visiting after hours, and inattention to drills and studies; but many breaches of what might be considered discipline are overlooked. A cadet with a black eye is never asked how he came by it, although it may well be known that he received it in maintaining his ideas of the rules of conduct that never appear in print. They are early risers at Annapolis. 'Oh, I can't get 'em up,' sings the bugle at 6 o'clock every morning, and at quarter of 7 follows roll-call before the march in to breakfast. Punctuality is the key to popularity with the officers, and woe betide the lad who is habitually late!

"The middy-cadet can never be justly called a high liver, yet he pays a fair boarding-house price for his food and acts as if he was satisfied with what he receives in return. The monthly assessment for mess bill (which includes laundry expenses also) is small. Twenty-two dollars a month covers everything; there are no extras, no favoritism, no frills or furbelows. The system of rigid inspection that prevails everywhere at the Academy extends to the mess-halls; the servants and the kitchen are inspected daily; the officer in charge presides at meals. Etiquette is

closely adhered to, and though conversation is unlimited, there is no boisterousness at table. The food is excellent and the fare varied enough to suit the palate of the most exacting."

ATHLETIC SPORTS IN JAPAN.

IN *Hānsei Zasshi* ("Reflection"), a monthly magazine edited by Japanese and published in the English language at Tokio, a brief record is made of the recent progress of athletics in Japan. The editors state that the "old Japanese" were a quiet people, more fond of indoor pastimes than of exciting sports in the open air. They had no such sports as baseball, football, or boat-racing. Within a few years, however, the taste for games of this kind has developed wonderfully, especially among the rising generation.

BASEBALL.

"About two years ago the picked nine of the Tokio High School played a baseball match against the foreign players of Yokohama and quite unexpectedly won a brilliant victory. Since that time several matches took place between the two parties, and with a single exception our boys were invariably victorious. The interest of the Japanese for outdoor sports was greatly roused by these events, and at present there is no large school in the empire which has not its own picked team. Inter-school matches are of frequent occurrence, and they are quite familiarly reported in the columns of Japanese newspapers. A monthly journal entitled the *Undo-kwai* (the *Athletic World*), devoted to athletic sports, has even been started since July of last year and is enjoying a wide circulation. To illustrate how keen the taste for outdoor sports has become in this country, we may point to a recent baseball match between the students of the Tokio and Sendai high schools. To contest the laurels with the boys of the Tokio schools, who are the champions in baseball thus far, the nine of the Sendai school came all the way from Sendai, traveling 215 miles. The match came off on the 13th instant, and although the latter were defeated by 11 points against their 9, they proved themselves quite at home with the sport. And here is an interesting item of news. In the latest number of the *Undo-kwai* it is reported that the Yale boys have challenged, through Mr. Chohei Machida, a young Japanese presumably studying at that American university, the students of the Tokio High School to a contest of baseball and foot-races and a debating competition, and that if the challenge be accepted they will send out their team this summer. So the fame of our boys' skill in baseball has even reached America. Decidedly the times have changed.

ROWING.

"While baseball has become a favorite sport of the young Japanese only within the last few years, rowing has been very popular among Tokio students long before the former has come to be adopted by them. More than ten years ago an English teacher of the University Preparatory School (the present Tokio High School), Mr. F. W. Strange, first gave lessons in rowing to his delighted pupils, and it was chiefly owing to his efforts that the university regatta came to be held annually since 1888. Other large Tokio schools followed one by one the example of the university, and nowadays in April and September regattas are almost daily held on the upper course of the Sumida. And schools are not the only institutions that hold regattas, but several large business firms of Tokio also possess sets of elegant race-boats. Of several regattas held in this month, the Tokio Imperial University regatta, which came off on the 10th, was most interesting. In the champion race the College of Engineering had been victorious for the last three consecutive years, but this year the champion flag was carried off by the crew of the College of Law."

NEW TRIALS FOR OLD FAVORITES.

IN the *Forum* for August Prof. Brander Matthews boldly demands that such "standard" works of fiction as the "Vicar of Wakefield," "Gil Blas," and "Paul and Virginia" be examined and tested as to their merits and their demerits like modern books. These works, he says, come to us with the indorsement of preceding generations; but we gave no preceding generation a power of attorney to decide what we should like in literature or to declare what we must admire. "Every generation exercises the right of private judgment for itself. Every generation is a court of appeals which never hesitates to overrule and reverse the judgments of its predecessors."

SHAM VENERATION.

Professor Matthews does not fail in appreciation of the true worth of these classics, but he delights in exposing the hollowness of much of the extravagant admiration for them that passes current among educated people:

"Much of our veneration for the classics is a sham, due in a measure to our sheep-like unwillingness to think for ourselves. Follow my leader is the game most of us play when we are called upon to declare our preferences. We put 'Tom Jones,' for example, into our lists of the 'Hundred Best Books'—lists, for the most part, as fatuous as they are absurd; but if we were hon-

est with ourselves, as I suppose we should be if the choice were actual, very few of us would pack 'Tom Jones' in the chest we express to the mythical Desolate Island. There is no doubt that 'Tom Jones' is a great novel, one of the greatest in our language, and perhaps one of the greatest in modern literature of any country. It has form and substance; it is admirably planned and beautifully written; it abounds in humor and in irony and in knowledge of human nature; it is peopled by a company of living men and women, each of them firm on his or her feet; it reveals to us a most manly character, the character of Henry Fielding himself—sturdy, honest, and sincere, clear-eyed and plain-spoken. The book is eternal in its verity and therefore in its interest, but it has the remote morality of the eighteenth century and the hardness of tone of that unlovely era; it belongs to an earlier stage in the development of fiction; it demands for its full enjoyment a certain measure of culture in its readers; and therefore it is becoming year by year more and more a novel for the few and less and less a novel for the many.

"As with 'Tom Jones' so with 'Don Quixote'—a greater book, making a wider appeal, and not bounded by the horizon of a single century. The carelessness with which Cervantes put his story together, the fortuitous adventures and the incongruous meetings—these things are of little consequence; for, as George Sand aptly put it, 'the best books are not those with the fewest faults, but those with the greatest merits.' The merits of 'Don Quixote' are great beyond dispute; but are they such as can be appreciated by that impossible entity, the average reader? Spain's chivalry has been laughed away so thoroughly that nowadays a man must needs have studied in the schools to understand the circumstances of Cervante's satire. The genuine appreciation of 'Don Quixote' and of 'Tom Jones' also calls for a preparation that few readers of fiction possess and for an effort which few of them are inclined to make.

A PLEA FOR CANDOR.

"If this is true, is it not best to admit it frankly—to say honestly that the 'Vicar of Wakefield' is a tissue of improbabilities, that *Gil Blas*, in the course of his rambles, happens upon much that is no longer entertaining, and that 'Humphrey Clinker' is not the most amusing volume now available? The penalty for not speaking the truth boldly is pretty serious. It consists in the very real danger that he who is enticed by traditional eulogy to attempt these books and others like them, and who recoils with disappointment, as many a time he must,

will thereafter distrust his judgment and will be inclined to suppose that literature is something hard, something dull, something repellent, something beyond his reach.

"When Mr. Reed defined a statesman as 'a successful politician who is dead,' he voiced a sentiment very like that which rules many of our literary guides. In their minds, nothing is literature that was not written either in a dead language or by a dead man, and everything is literature which was written by a dead man in a dead language. They praise the old books which they either read with an effort or do not read at all, and it rarely occurs to them to analyze the source of their pleasure in the new books which they read with joy. 'Huckleberry Finn,' for example, has been devoured with delight by hundreds of thousands of Americans; but the rare references to it in print are most of them doubtful and patronizing.

"Now, 'Huckleberry Finn' contains the picture of a civilization nowhere else adequately recorded in literature: it abounds in adventure and in character, in fun and in philosophy. It appears to me to be a work of extraordinary merit, and a better book of the same kind than 'Gil Blas,' richer in humor and informed by a ripper humanity. But Mark Twain's story is a book of to-day and it is American; it is not a book of yesterday and foreign; it can be enjoyed by anybody, even by a boy, and it seems to make no demand on the understanding; there is no tradition of laudation encompassing it about, and it is not sanctified by two centuries of eulogy; it is easy for us to read, since the matter is familiar and the manner also; but it is difficult for us to praise, since the critics who preceded us have not set us the example."

AN ENGLISH CRITICISM OF AMERICAN POETRY.

"RECENT American Verse" is the title of a pleasant study, by Mr. William Archer, in the August *Pull Mall Magazine*. The writer selects for review the poets whose names follow: Miss Alice Brown, Mr. Bliss Carman, Mr. Madison Cawein, Miss Caroline and Miss Alice Duer, Mr. Richard Hovey, Mr. Henry Johnson, Mr. Charles G. D. Roberts, and Mr. John B. Tabb. He introduces them with this kindly generalization:

"Of over-emphasis, flamboyancy, or spread-eagleism, they are entirely innocent. The 'barbaric yawp' of Whitman is nowhere to be heard; and still less do they imitate the exquisite artifices of Poe, the facile melody of Longfellow, or the imaginative wit of Lowell. If there is any of

the older American poets who seems here and there to have influenced one or other of them, it is Emerson. But their spirit is so eclectic, their art so obviously the product of a wide culture, that it is very hard to assign to them, or to any one of them, a definite poetic ancestry. If one must generalize, it might perhaps be said that they derive from Wordsworth, Shelley, and Browning, rather than from Keats and Tennyson; but even this very vague statement is subject to qualification. They are all pure lyrists, or at most balladists; not one of them shows the slightest bent toward epic or drama. And they are all eminently staid and respectable. There is not a trace of Byronism or early Swinburnism to be found among them. The poetry of revolt, spiritual, political, or sensual, is unrepresented in this little company. One or two of them are formally and definitely Christian, several of them are pantheistic, all are mildly Matthew Arnoldish and contemplative, rather than passionate, indignant, or in any way rebellious. Trivial exceptions apart, their *technique* is good, but always in a subdued and unobtrusive fashion. They do not attempt great verbal or metrical feats, but content themselves with writing gracefully in simple and ordinary lyric measures. Their work is almost always distinguished. We scarcely ever come across a vulgarism of diction or rhyme, and very rarely a lapse into commonness or prosaism of thought and utterance."

BRIDAL GREETINGS FROM THOMAS CARLYLE.

THE September *Atlantic Monthly* contains an unusual and valuable literary feature in some hitherto unpublished letters of Thomas Carlyle. This unexpected literary find consists of correspondence extending over many years between Thomas Carlyle and his youngest sister Jenny, who became Mrs. Hanning. Mrs. Hanning recently died, and the letters were brought to light. They exhibit a phase of Carlyle's character which is least known to his biographers. Mr. Charles T. Copeland is the editor. There will be further installments in future numbers of the *Atlantic*. We give below a letter written by Carlyle to his sister Jenny on the occasion of her wedding.

CARLYLE ON HIS SISTER'S WEDDING.

"I need not assure you, my dear little Jenny, of the interest I took in the great enterprise you had embarked on; of my wishes and prayers that it might prove for the good of both. On the whole I can say that, to my judgment, it looks all very fair and well. You know I have all along regarded Hanning as an uncommonly brisk,

glegg little fellow since the first time I saw him (hardly longer than my leg then), and prophesied handsome things of him in the world. It is very rare and very fortunate when two parties that have affected each other from childhood upward get together in indissoluble partnership at last. May it prove well for you, as I think it will. You must take the good and the ill in faithful mutual help, and, whoever or whatever fail you, never fail one another. I have no doubt Robert will shift his way with all dexterity and prudence through that cotton Babylon looking sharp about him; knowing always, too, that 'honesty is the best policy' for all manner of men. Do thou faithfully second him, my bairn; that will be the best of lots for they. I think it possible that now and then, especially when you are left alone, the look of so many foreign things may seem dispiriting to you, and the huge smoke and stour of that tumultuous Manchester (which is not unlike the uglier parts of London) produce quite other than a pleasant impression. But take courage, my woman, 'you will use, you will use,' and get hefted to the place, as all creatures do. There are many good people in that vast weaving-shop, many good things among the innumerable bad. Keep snug within your own doors. Keep your own heart snug; by and by you will see what is worth venturing out for. Have nothing to do with the foolish, with the vain and ill-conducted. Attach yourself to the well-living and sensible; to every one from whom you find there is real benefit derivable. Thus by degrees a desirable little circle will form itself around you; you will feel that Manchester is a home, as all places under the heavenly sun there may become for one."

"CHOOSE THE BETTER PART."

"Understand always, my dear sister, that I love you well, and am very glad to see and hear that you conduct yourself as you ought. To you also, my little lassie, it is of infinite importance how you behave: were you to get a kingdom, or twenty kingdoms, it were but a pitiful trifle compared with this, whether you walked as God command you and did your duty to God and to all men. You have a whole life before you, to make much of or to make little of: see you choose the better part, my dear little sister, and make yourself and all of us pleased with you. I will add no more; but commend you from the heart (as we should all do one another) to God's keeping. May he ever bless you! I am too late and must not wait another minute. We have this instant had a long letter from Mrs. Welsh, full of kindness to our mother and all of you. The cheese, etc., is faithfully commemorated as a 'noble' one: Mary is also made kind mention

of. You did all very right on that occasion. Mrs. Welsh says she must come down to Scots-brig and see you all. What will you think of that? Her father, in the meantime, is very ill, and gives her incessant labor and anxiety."

THE MENACE OF THE GRAVEYARD.

"GRAVEYARDS as a Menace to the Commonwealth" is the subject of an article by Mr. Louis Windmüller in the *North American Review* for August.

Many facts are cited to sustain the writer's argument for cremation as a substitute for our present burial customs:

"Innumerable proofs, furnished by scientific men of all ages, recently by the French doctor, Pasteur, show that earth retains, instead of destroying, the germs of disease contained in a body, and that in some degree it will vitiate its surroundings.

"Since Hannibal's army was decimated by effluvia from an ancient graveyard he unwittingly demolished, history has repeated itself. The cholera in London in 1854 was ascribed to the upturning of earth where victims of a previous plague had been buried.

DANGERS OF BURIAL.

"The French Academy of Medicine located the origin of diseases of the lungs and the throat in putrid emanations from the Parisian cemetery *Père la Chaise*. Of the older churchyards of Paris, once honeycombed with graves, that of the Innocents is remarkable. Established on the present site of the market called *Halles Centrales*, it bred pestilence for centuries without hindrance. Finally it became notorious as a nuisance, so that it had to be abolished. Innumerable skeletons were unceremoniously carted to the Catacombs on April 7, 1786. Lyon Playfair asserts that Roman fever originates not in the Pontine Marshes, but in decaying bodies of the millions buried in the Eternal City. Dr. Domingo Freire found in cemeteries of Rio de Janeiro myriads of microbes in corpses, identical with those in persons stricken with yellow fever, a year after burial.

"Drainage from cemeteries in Philadelphia has polluted water of the Fairmount reservoir. The centennial dysentery of 1876 has been attributed to this cause. A continued prevalence of typhoid fever in this sparsely inhabited city must be ascribed to the same cause.

"Mortality by yellow fever was twice as large in portions of New Orleans where large cemeteries are located than elsewhere.

"In Cuba this plague rages almost continually.

Bodies of the victims of disease and Spanish cruelty, estimated to number 200,000, are inadequately protected against high temperature and moisture; their emanations are a menace to our soldiers more terrible than Spanish guns. American officers should be delegated to destroy these bodies before they do harm.

CREMATION.

"The Austrian Government permits the destruction of those who have fallen on the field of battle by the erection of pyres, a practice which ought to be made obligatory on the military authorities of all civilized nations. Over 100,000 bodies of Napoleon's army of invasion were cremated in 1812 by Russians. More men died before Sebastopol by inhaling miasma of putrified bodies than were killed by the enemy. Some 40,000 corpses poisoned the air after the battle of Sedan, until inhabitants of adjacent Belgian villages prevailed on their government to appoint in 1871 an officer to relieve the distress. By saturating them with naphtha he succeeded in burning 300 bodies an hour until all were consumed. Long experience in the East Indies has shown that danger increases with moist heat. Neither burial nor disinfectants can sufficiently protect the health of our army."

"A commission recently appointed to investigate sanitary conditions of all graveyards in Denmark was obliged to condemn 605 out of a total number of 650. German authorities have forbidden the use of water from any well situated within 300 yards of a grave. Experience has shown that cemeteries should, by law, be banished far outside the limits of any city; that no grave should be opened before complete decomposition of the body; and that therefore only one body should be permitted in one grave. Graves not less than 10 feet deep should be located in dry, porous soil only."

Mr. Windmüller holds that while such precaution would lessen the danger, the only method that can absolutely destroy disease germs is cremation:

"Objection to cremation by members of the medical and legal professions on the assumption that poison cannot be detected in ashes has been generally abandoned. In suspicious cases intestines might be preserved before the rest of the corpse is consigned to the furnace; but, in any case, fire would scarcely consume a mineral poison. On the other hand, when mineral poison is found in the stomach of a disinterred body which had been embalmed, it cannot be considered a conclusive proof of crime, because the fluid injected into such bodies usually contains arsenic. Henry Thompson, an English authority,

claims that out of 500,000 burials, barely five have occurred which required disinterment for the purpose of any investigation."

HAVE PLANTS BRAIN-POWER?

MR. ARTHUR SMITH contributes to *Gentleman's* for August a very suggestive paper on "The Brain-Power of Plants." For such power he argues that they have. One of his first points is that plants sleep and need sleep. But sleep is the rest not of the merely physical, but of the nervous organism. And if plants are not allowed to sleep they suffer from the symptoms of insomnia:

"Electric light has been used to stimulate the growth of plants, and, coupled with other means of forcing, a continual period of growth secured, thereby obtaining earlier maturity than would have been the case under ordinary circumstances. In most cases plants treated in this way were prevented from sleeping, the result in the case of perennials being to greatly weaken their constitution, the following year's growth being poor and scanty, and in some cases they were scarcely alive."

Carnivorous plants possess the faculty of digestion:

"The animal digestion can only be carried on by the brain-force acting by means of a nerve upon the gastric glands. We may therefore concede that it is the action of the same power in the plant that produces the same effect. The motor is absent, but the motion is there."

Plants low in the scale of organization are subject to the influence of anæsthetics:

"Then there are the unicellular plants, the desmids and diatoms, which dart about hither and thither in the water. It is noteworthy that all these movements can be arrested by the application of chloroform or a weak solution of opium or other soporific."

What but brain-power, asks the writer, guides the shoot of the germinating seed upward and the root downward?

"This cannot be caused by gravitation, although Darwin once thought so, as the force of gravity would have the same effect on the shoot as on the root. There can only be one reason, and that is the existence of a directing force or brain-power. There is no structure in plants more wonderful than the tip of the root. The course pursued by the root in penetrating the ground is determined by the tip. Darwin wrote: 'It is hardly an exaggeration to say that the tip of the radicle, endowed as it is with such diverse kinds of sensitiveness, acts like the brain of animals.'"

These are some of the arguments which the writer thus sums up:

"It is unnecessary to adduce further illustrations in proof of the fact that brain-power can and does exist apart from a visible brain. When we see the irritability of the sensitive plant, transmitted from one part to another, exhausted by repeated artificial excitant, and renewed after a period of repose, it is difficult to dissociate it from animality. Still less can we witness certain organs taking determinate positions and directions, surmounting intervening obstacles, moving spontaneously, or study the manner in which they are affected by stimulants, narcotics, and poisons, and yet declare these phenomena to be caused by a different power which produces similar actions and effects in animals."

THE REAL DON QUIXOTE.

A PROPOS of the new edition of "Don Quixote," *Blackwood's* reviewer says:

"An Irish bishop once declared that 'Gulliver's Travels' was 'full of improbable lies and that he hardly believed a word of it.' A similar lack of humor has plagued Cervantes. The common folly has been to expound 'Don Quixote' as a romance with a key, and to leave neither personage nor episode unexplained. The knight himself has been the rueful victim of a hundred base interpretations, and doubtless his torturers have further monstrosities in store for him. The Duke of Medina Sidonia, Charles V., the Duke of Lerma—these are some of the heroes for whom *Don Quixote* has been bidden to masquerade, and no less a critic than Landor saw in the book 'the most dexterous attack ever penned against the worship of the Virgin.' But Cervantes was at once too simple and too great for the performance of such tricks as are imputed to him. His book had a twofold purpose: to satirize the extravagance of knight-errantry and to portray two men—*Don Quixote* and his squire—whom he had vividly realized and fashioned absolutely. When his hand is upon them it never falters; it is incapable of failure. As the knight is drawn in the first chapter, so he remains 'until, amid the wailful complaints and blubbing tears of the bystanders, he yielded up the ghost.' He is misguided sometimes and always a gentleman."

"The interludes fall into their place and help the action; but it is when the stage is cleared and *Don Quixote* is left alone with his squire that the genius of their creator is most brilliantly displayed. *Sancho's* peasant humor is the most admirable foil to the confused and intricate subtlety of his master, while his faith in the legendary island is almost as loyal and touching as *Don*

Quixote's belief in the glorious duty of knights-errant. And the strange truth is that in this book of laughter there are tears also; there are passages for all moods and all temperaments, which should insure eternal gratitude and respect for the country which gave Cervantes birth. For whatever be the destiny of Spain, her sons have accomplished such tasks as make her fame as secure as the fame of Greece. They have been the knights-errant of literature and of art; they have proved that chivalry of thought and manner are fairer ornaments to a nation than pig-iron or pickled pork. Wherever paint is set upon canvas, there is acknowledged the grave and polished supremacy of Velasquez; wherever romance is cherished and the sound of laughter is heard, there the Knight of the Rueful Countenance is a noble example."

BISMARCK'S CHARACTER.

THE September *Atlantic* shows remarkable activity in printing a brilliant sketch of the life and character of Bismarck, from the pen of William Roscoe Thayer. Inasmuch as the great German's death was on July 30, such a publishing feat seems to enlist the *Atlantic* with the foremost of timely magazines. Mr. Thayer says:

"Though Bismarck has been worsted in his contest with religious and social ideas, his great achievement remains. He had placed Germany at the head of Europe and Prussia at the head of Germany. Will the German empire created by him last? Who can say? The historian has no business with prophecy, but he may point out the existence in the German empire to-day of conditions that have hitherto menaced the safety of nations. The common danger seems the strongest bond of union among the German states. Defeat by Russia on the east or by France on the west would mean disaster for South Germans not less than for the Prussians; and this peril is formidable enough to cause the Bavarians, for instance, to fight side by side with the Prussians. But there can be no homogeneous internal government, no compact nation, so long as twenty or more dynasties, each coequal in dignity, though not in power, flourish simultaneously. Historically speaking, Germany has never passed through that stage of development in which one dynasty swallows up its rivals, as was the experience of England, France, and Spain, and even of polyglot Austria.

"Again, Germany embraces three unwilling

members—Alsace-Lorraine, Schleswig, and Prussian Poland—any of which may serve as a provocation for war and must remain a constant source of racial antipathy. How grievous such political thorns may be, though small in bulk compared to the body they worry, England has learned from Ireland."

A DYNAMIC RATHER THAN MORAL MAN.

"What shall we conclude as to Bismarck himself? The magnitude of his work no man can dispute. In type, Bismarck belongs with the Charlemagnes, the Cromwells, the Napoleons; but, unlike them, he wrought to found no kingdom for himself; from first to last he was content to be the servant of the monarch whom he ruled. As a statesman he possessed in equal mixture the qualities of lion and of fox, which Machiavelli long ago declared indispensable to a prince. He had no scruples. What benefited Prussia and his king was to him moral, lawful, desirable; to them he was inflexibly loyal; for them he would suffer popular odium or incur personal danger. But whoever opposed them was to him an enemy to be overcome by persuasion, craft, or force. I discern in his conduct toward enemies no more regard for morality than in that of a Mohawk sachem toward his Huron foe. He might spare them, but from motives of policy; he might persecute them, not to gratify a thirst for cruelty, but because he deemed persecution the proper instrument in that case. His justification would be that it was right that Prussia and Germany should hold the first rank in Europe. The world, as he saw it, was a field in which nations maintain a pitiless struggle for existence, and the strongest survive; to make his nation the strongest was, he conceived, his highest duty. An army of puny-bodied saints might be beautiful to a pious imagination, but they would fare ill in an actual conflict with Pomeranian grenadiers.

"Dynamic, therefore, and not moral, were Bismarck's ideals and his methods. Bismarck saw both a definite goal and the road that led to it. He held that by blood and iron empires are welded, and that this stern means causes in the end less suffering than the indecisive compromises of the sentimentalists. Better, he would say, for ninety-nine men to be directed by the hundredth man who knows than for them to be left a prey to their own chaotic, ignorant, and inter-cine passions. Thus he is the latest representative of a type which flourished in the age when the modern ideal of popular government had not yet risen."

THE PERIODICALS REVIEWED.

HARPER'S MAGAZINE.

THE most notable illustrated article in *Harper's Magazine* for September is the opening account by Frederick G. Jackson of the Jackson-Armitage expedition to the north seas and its stay in Franz-Josef Land. The pictures of polar-bear shooting, the dead game, interior of the arctic huts, the land and water skates, and the dogs are unusually interesting.

Of the unillustrated features, Mr. James Bryce's "Thoughts on the Policy of the United States" come first. Mr. Bryce's article was written, of course, before the success of the American arms was proved, but he assumes that this is sure and examines into the profit to the United States of maintaining colonial possessions in the Pacific and southern Atlantic. He indicates rapidly and with marked impartiality the chief arguments which European observers use in deciding whether it would be to the advantage of Americans to maintain the territories which victory will place at their disposal. He seems to think that most of America's friends in England, or at least many of them, will regret the annexation of Hawaii, and that the case against the acquisition of Cuba appears even stronger, while the case against the Philippines is the strongest of all. This is evidently Mr. Bryce's own opinion. "The United States will render a far greater service to humanity by developing a high type of industrial civilization on her own continent—a civilization conspicuously free, enlightened, and pacific—than by any foreign conquests." Mr. Bryce concludes his article by a strong word for Anglo-American coöperation.

Prof. Albert Bushnell Hart sketches "The Experience of the United States in Foreign Military Expeditions," Mr. Sidney Whitman describes "The Turk at Home," and there are further chapters of Mr. George W. Smalley's reminiscences of Gladstone. An unusually readable series of papers begins with the first chapter of "Social Life in the British Army," by a British officer.

THE CENTURY.

THE September *Century* contains several essays from important men on the various aspects of America's present international outlook. Émile Ollivier, of the French Academy, and formerly Prime Minister of France, writes on "America, Spain, and France," with no uncertain assurance of French sympathy for the United States. His article is redolent with good feeling and faith in the sincerities of American motives and the good results of her interference in Spain's Western possessions. He thinks the result of America's success in this war will be favorable to civilization and humanity; that Spain once driven out of Cuba, the United States will be content either to leave the Cubans free to establish an independent and autonomous republic, or else the enfranchised island will be annexed and become a new State in the Federal Union. In either case the Cubans will be gainers. M. Ollivier compares Spain to what Poland has been since the fall of Napoleon, and he disclaims any disposition on the part of Frenchmen to think that such a country

could govern her colonies properly when she is so manifestly incapable of governing herself. Speaking for Frenchmen, then, he says: "We do not hesitate, therefore, in the name of justice and right, of humanity and liberty, to range ourselves on the side of America. That certain interested motives and unacknowledged considerations may be mingled with the generous impulses which have prompted her to take sides with Cuba is quite possible; but this impure alloy cannot blind us to the general character of the enterprise. However covetous some of her citizens may be, the United States in this instance is not a freebooter. She is a liberator, and the Eternal will be just in crowning her arms with victory."

The Hon. Carl Schurz contributes some "Thoughts on American Imperialism," in which he ranges many varied and strong arguments against the wholesale branching out into an imperialistic policy. Some of the chief of his arguments are the presence of our own race problem at home, which we have yet unsolved, the pernicious effect upon our public morals of the exercise of arbitrary rule over distant countries, and first and chiefly the too rapid evolution of a war of emancipation and humanity into a "land-grabbing operation."

Hon. Whitelaw Reid writes on "The Territory Which We Are Threatened." He likens our situation to that of England's in Egypt. As to Cuba, he thinks it may be fairly concluded that we had made ourselves responsible for Spanish rule by our insistent declaration through three-quarters of a century that no other European nation should replace her; we are now at war because we say Spanish rule is intolerable; and we are pledged to remain until the pacification is complete. Specifically Mr. Reid thinks we must hold Cuba at least for a time, until a permanent government is well established, that we must hold Porto Rico, and that we may have to hold the Philippines.

There is a thrilling account in this number of the *Century* by Mr. Edwin Emerson, Jr., of his adventures as a war correspondent, when "Alone in Porto Rico." It will be remembered that Mr. Emerson wrote an article on Porto Rico for the July REVIEW OF REVIEWS, based on his experiences in this trip.

President Daniel C. Gilman, of Johns Hopkins University, writes on "Alexis de Tocqueville and His Book on America," "Sixty Years After."

Prof. Theodore S. Woolsey, who holds the chair of international law at Yale University, has an article on "Spain and Her American Colonies;" Dr. Daniel G. Brinton opens the magazine with an article on "Popular Superstitions of Europe," with imaginative pictures of European types of ghosts by André Castaigne; and Prof. Dean C. Worcester, of the University of Michigan, describes "The Malay Pirates of the Philippines."

SCRIBNER'S MAGAZINE.

WE have quoted in another department from the articles appearing in the September *Scribner's* entitled "A Wounded Correspondent's Recollections of Guasimas," "How the Spaniards Fought at Caney," and "A Warship Community."

Edgar R. Dawson, M.E., gives an interesting account of the magnificent engineering project of the Jungfrau Railway, the first section of which was opened August 1, 1898. The Jungfrau is 13,720 feet high, and its sides are covered with glaciers and snow wherever the rocks are not too precipitous for snow and ice to lay. This curious railroad was the idea of Herr Guyer-Zeller, of Zurich, an enterprising and energetic railroad man. When it is considered that until 1856 the ascent of the Jungfrau had been made only four times, it can be better understood how daring a thing it is to think of building a railroad to the very summit. The climb is most easily made from the southern side toward the valley of the Rhone. The Jungfrau Railway proper, which is to-day in construction, begins at the little Scheidegg station of the Wengernalp Railway, and first passes on the side of the mountain and by the Eiger glacier to a rocky wall of the Eiger, where the first station is situated. So far, the engineering work has not been more remarkable than many other of the daring Alpine tramways, but from this point on the 4,500 feet or more of altitude are overcome only by the most arduous and apparently dangerous tunnels and steep grades. The railroad proper stops at a point vertically under the summit at a distance of about 240 feet, and these 240 feet will be accomplished in an elevator. The total distance from Scheidegg is $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles, of which $6\frac{1}{4}$ have been covered by means of tunnels. These, however, have so many openings for the different stations that there will not be a chance to be bored.

Mr. Richard Harding Davis opens the September number with an account of the famous Rough Riders' fight at Guasimas, and he begins his account with a denial of the first reports which had it that the men were entrapped in an ambush. It will be remembered that many criticisms were made on the conduct of Colonel Wood and Lieutenant-Colonel Roosevelt on allowing their men to rush blindly into an ambush, and one Congressman even declared that Roosevelt ought to be court-martialed. Mr. Davis asserts, however, that the leaders of the Rough Riders had the fullest knowledge of the situation of the enemy, and Maj.-Gen. Joseph Wheeler had planned exactly what the Rough Riders should do. The regiment simply carried out the carefully prepared orders of the veteran General Wheeler. For the conduct of the regiment Mr. Davis has nothing but praise. He says: "Some of the comic paragraphers who wrote of the Knickerbocker Club dudes and the college swells of the Rough Riders' organization, and of their imaginary valets and golf clubs, ought in decency, since the fight at Guasimas, to go out and hang themselves with remorse. For the same spirit that once sent these men down a white-washed field against their opponents' rush-line was the spirit that sent Church, Channing, Devereux, Ronalds, Wrenn, Cash, Dudley Dean, and a dozen others through the high hot grass at Guasimas, not shouting, as their friends the cowboys did, but each with his mouth tightly shut, with his eyes on the ball, and moving in obedience to the captain's signals." Mr. Davis' summary of the forces in this famous fight gives the strength of the Spaniards as 4,000. The Rough Riders numbered 584, of whom 8 were killed and 34 wounded, and General Young's force numbered 464, of which there were 8 killed and 18 wounded. The American troops, therefore, attacked a force more than four times their own number intrenched behind rifle-pits and bushes in a mountain pass

This excellent number of *Scribner's* contains in addition a stirring battle poem by Richard Hovey, "The Call of the Bugles;" a story by Anna A. Rogers, "Mutiny on the Flagship;" several full-page drawings by C. D. Gibson to illustrate "A New York Day;" a typical short story by Octave Thanet, entitled "The Conscience of a Business Man;" further chapters of "The Workers," by Walter A. Wyckoff, and of the serial, "The Story of the Revolution," by Henry Cabot Lodge; and the novel "Red Rock," by Thomas Nelson Page.

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY.

THE September *Atlantic Monthly* is a remarkably fine number. It is notable for several features, chief among them the letters from Thomas Carlyle to his sister Jenny, which are here published for the first time. We quote from these in another department, and also from Mr. William R. Thayer's article on Prince Bismarck.

Mr. Worthington C. Ford, the statistician, discusses the "Commercial Openings in the East and the West Indies," and is very decided in his opinion that Asiatic commerce is a delusion. He does not think that a free port in the Philippines will at all serve as an agency to increase the importance of the United States in the East. "Asia," he says, "is feeding Asiatic trade, and will continue to do so without respect to any outside agency. The West Indies, however, are a different matter, and Mr. Ford thinks that sugar, tobacco, fruit, coffee, and in fact all tropical products from the West Indies will be sold to the United States, and these islands will take considerable quantities of certain supplies from us. Flour, fish, such meats as are used, machinery, wooden staves for packing the sugar, and other articles.

In Mr. W. J. McGee's elaborate review of the scientific advance of the past fifty years he shows that in all departments, except, perhaps, chemistry, the United States has more than held its own.

Elisée Reclus writes of the far Eastern question under the striking title "Vivisection." He calls the sudden transformation of Japan into a fully equipped European power the great event of the century, one which casts into the shade all other occurrences of an epoch which has nevertheless been rich in memorable events.

Other valuable features in this number of the *Atlantic* are the first chapters of the autobiography of Prince Krapotkin, Professor Newcomb's social and astronomical reminiscences, and Prof. Woodrow Wilson's account of the life and achievements of Sir Henry Maine, under the title "A Lawyer with a Style."

MCCLURE'S MAGAZINE.

THE September *McClure's* contains an article telling "How the News of the War Is Reported," by Ray S. Baker, and we have quoted from it in another department. The most vivid and authoritative accounts of the naval fight off Santiago that we have yet seen appear in this number of *McClure's Magazine*, from the pens of George E. Graham, who was Associated Press representative on the *Brooklyn* during the fight, and W. A. M. Goode, the Associated Press man on the flagship *New York*, at the same time.

Mr. George B. Waldron writes on "The Commercial

Promise of Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines." He tells us that the new territory is equal to nine good-sized States, counting Cuba and Porto Rico in the Atlantic and the Hawaiian and Philippine groups in the Pacific, their combined area being 168,000 square miles, equaling New England, New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey. Their population is about 10,000,000, and the Philippines, with three-quarters of the entire population, and Porto Rico, with 800,000 people, alone approach our own Eastern States in density of population. Cuba prior to the war was about as well peopled as Virginia, and the Hawaiian group is as densely populated as Kansas. The first item in the commercial significance of this new territory with which we have come into connection is of course sugar. Of the total amount of sugar used in the United States, 2,500,000 tons, the Spanish possessions and Hawaii send between 20 and 25 per cent., and this will be increased over 100 per cent. when Cuba is restored to her former fertility. Next to sugar comes coffee, of which Americans consume 700,000,000 pounds per year. Until Hawaii became ours not a pound of coffee could be grown for commerce within our borders. The coffee product of Porto Rico reaches 50,000,000 pounds a year, and Cuba raised so much as 90,000,000 pounds before the island had been devastated by frequent wars. To-day almost her last coffee plantation is destroyed. The Hawaiian Islands are just beginning the raising of coffee, and within five years their exports have increased nearly forty-fold. Mr. Waldron thinks that in another five years they will be sending us at least a quarter of our imports of coffee. No less than 25,000,000 pounds of leaf tobacco is imported into the United States, and until recently Cuba supplied three-fourths of this, sending out in addition 200,000,000 cigars and 50,000,000 packages of cigarettes a year, of which 40 per cent. entered the United States. A large amount of tobacco is raised in the Philippines, and about 250,000,000 pounds of leaf tobacco and 150,000,000 cigars are exported. While little of this is sent directly to the United States, it is said that much of the "pure Havana" is supplied to the Key West factories from these East Indian Islands. Mr. Waldron thinks that with American enterprise and capital the time may easily come when the laboring man as well as the millionaire may enjoy his after-dinner Havana or Philippine. The other important products that he investigates are Manila hemp, tropical fruits, iron, and coal, of which minerals there promises to be untold riches in Cuba, and as to the American products needed by the islands, the important item of breadstuffs.

Under the promising title "When Mountains Blow Their Heads Off," Mr. Cleveland Moffett gives some extremely readable earthquake and volcano lore, which he has procured in interviews with the famous seismologist, Prof. John Milne. This famous volcano expert said in answer to Mr. Moffett's questions that there are undoubtedly volcanoes in both Europe and the United States, and probably in England, that have been quiet for a long time, but which will one day or another blow their heads off. England, said Prof. Milne, has a dozen basal wrecks of volcanoes, most in the western highlands, regarded as extinct, but an "extinct" volcano is very much like an old rusty gun—it may be loaded.

There are stories by Octave Thanet, Cy Warman, John A. Hill, and reminiscences and letters of Mary Todd Lincoln, the wife of the President.

THE COSMOPOLITAN.

IN the September *Cosmopolitan* Mr. Rupert Hughes, the late editor of *Godey's Magazine*, has a study of the modern battleship, under the title "The Roc's Egg," illustrated by some striking photographs of battleship construction. In his description of the boiler section of the ships he says that it is almost impossible that the evolution of naval construction should continue the present abomination of hand-stoking. Some automatic device must presently supplant the present hideous method.

Arthur Brisbane, writing on "The Modern Newspaper in War Time," an article in the series entitled by Mr. John Brisben Walker, the editor of the *Cosmopolitan*, "Great Problems in Organization," says that every newspaper of the first class has run far behind in its financial accounts since the outbreak of the war, notwithstanding the general opinion that the war was a godsend to the metropolitan journals. To one newspaper at least, he says, the war has made an added expense of more than \$3,000 a day, about \$1,000,000 a year, enough to eliminate the profits of the most profitable newspaper in America, which at present is undoubtedly the New York *Herald*. On the outbreak of the war Mr. Brisbane said that every man in every newspaper office announced his intention of going to the front, whether or no, from the smallest office-boy up, and the newspaper woman invented the most unheard-of devices, ranging up to schemes for entering Havana in disguise, interviewing Blanco, getting his views of the war, and the enterprise of her newspaper, and returning unscathed. But no important newspaper would allow women to risk their lives for the sake of news-getting.

Mr. T. C. Crawford, the well-known newspaper correspondent, writes on "The Equipment of Gladstone." He thinks that while it could not be said that Gladstone had unusual opportunities, yet he apparently never misused one of them. Gladstone's father left him \$500,000, and Mr. Gladstone's wife had a fortune estimated to be rather more than his own, but very much incumbered, so that it brought in scarcely any revenue. Mr. Gladstone administered this so well that the revenues soon amounted to \$100,000 a year.

There is a further chapter in the "Autobiography of Napoleon Bonaparte," and following it is the autobiography of Oscar Hammerstein, "The Romance of an Emigrant Boy." Mr. Harry Thurston Peck contributes an essay on "The Morality of Perfumes," and there are the usual departments.

MUNSEY'S MAGAZINE.

THE chief article in *Munsey's* for September is on "Our Pacific Paradise," by Kathryn Jarboe, which describes the newly annexed island group of Hawaii, its strategical importance, its wonderful natural advantages, and its possibility of development under American capital. The pictures are remarkably fine. The writer anticipates trouble for the United States in the Chinese problem. The treaty of annexation prohibits further immigration of Chinese, and it is said this will interfere with the rice industry, which has depended largely on Chinese labor.

There is a biographical note on Charles H. Allen, the successor to Colonel Roosevelt as Assistant Secretary of the Navy. Mr. Allen's last public service was as a

member of the House from the Lowell district of Massachusetts. Some pleasant anecdotes are given of him. For instance, one day he received a letter from a constituent saying that her husband was buried somewhere at Arlington, and that she longed above all things to know how his grave was marked. She was poor and a journey to Washington was out of the question. Congressman Allen took his camera in a buggy, drove out to Arlington one sweltering day in August, hunted up the grave, and photographed it. Then he developed the picture, had it framed, and sent it with a pleasant note to the waiting widow at home.

Mr. Arthur McEwen attempts to answer the question, "Why Is New York Disliked?" His general answer is that the claims of New York as the center of everything commercial, literary, artistic, and intellectual causes this envy and hatred.

THE LADIES' HOME JOURNAL.

THE September *Ladies' Home Journal* begins with an article on the little Queen Wilhelmina of Holland. Of the mother Mr. J. H. Gore, the writer, says that as a regent she has ruled wisely and well and as a mother she has been a paragon. "Knowing the character of her daughter's future subjects, she has been careful to instill those principles which they have magnified into virtues. Wilhelmina has been given a weekly allowance of spending money, for all of which she must render an account and out of which she must buy the Christmas presents for the dozen or more children of the palace officials. When the allowance does not suffice she purchases the worsted or embroidery materials and makes the gifts with her own fingers." The apparently authentic account which this article gives of the girl queen shows her to be an exceedingly well-bred and promising little woman.

Camillus Phillips tells of Louis Philippe when he taught school in Philadelphia, after he came to America in 1793, and there is an interesting page of photographs of clouds, with directions how to judge of the coming weather from each type. The stories are by Abbe Carter Goodloe, Julia Truitt Bishop, Sarah Barnwell Elliott, and John J. A. Becket.

LIPPINCOTT'S MAGAZINE.

"LIPPINCOTT'S" begins as usual with a complete novel, "The Touch of a Vanished Hand," by M. G. McClelland.

Mr. Frederic M. Bird, the editor, follows with an essay entitled "Monarchies and Republics," in which he emphasizes the fact that whatever be our formal alliance with England, she is our obvious exemplar, and apart from external coalition, "we stand together for reason and righteousness, for modern ideas against mediæval reaction, for the liberation and advancement of humanity."

Felix L. Oswald discusses "War Hysterics," M. E. W. Sherwood writes on "New York in the Seventies," and there are other light, readable essays and short stories.

THE BOOKMAN.

THE September *Bookman* says that Mr. Horace E. Scudder, who succeeded Mr. Thomas Bailey Aldrich as editor of the *Atlantic*, has been definitely superseded by Mr. Walter H. Page, who became Mr.

Scudder's assistant three years ago. Mr. Scudder has just returned from a long vacation in Europe, and has relinquished the care of the magazine that he may devote himself entirely to literary plans and to the book-publishing interests of Messrs. Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

Beatrice Harraden contributes a short sketch of Mrs. Lynn Linton, whom she calls one of those precious links which binds the literary life of the present with that of the previous generation. Mrs. Linton was most kind to young writers. "Her loving congratulations over any success were the most delightful that any one could possibly receive or conceive. She was always most generous and broad in her appreciation of other people's work and very humble about her own. And even when she did not specially admire she was always ready to help and advise. I know she waded through endless manuscripts, often correcting most minutely. She spoke so little of what she did for others that it is not generally known how kind she was and how healthy in her manner of helping. Her influence also was entirely a healthy and virile one. She had a horror of anything which approached weak morbidness and unwholesome retrospection or self-centeredness." Miss Harraden's nickname for Mrs. Linton was the Viking.

Munroe Smith has an article on "Bismarck as a Phrase-Maker," and Gelett Burgess interviews Mrs. Robert Louis Stevenson; Harry Thurston Peck treats Nietzsche as "A Mad Philosopher" in his monthly essay; and Brander Matthews makes "An Inquiry as to Rhyme."

THE CRITIC.

THE *Critic*, which completed in June its thirty-second volume as a weekly journal, now appears as an illustrated monthly magazine. Each number in future, it is promised, will present a greater number and variety of essays and special articles. The leading features of the weekly are preserved, however, literature still holding the first place.

"The Lounger's" gossip occupies quite as large a proportion of the new *Critic* as it did of the old—to the satisfaction of all readers, we are sure, and the department is well illustrated.

There is an entertaining sketch of "Mrs. Deland at Home," by Lucia Purdy. Lynn R. Meekins writes about Poe's grave in Baltimore and gives an account of the poet's burial as related by the old sexton who attended it. There are also brief articles on Mrs. Howe and the Battle Hymn of the Republic, "Sir Edward Burne-Jones," "Mr. and Mrs. Le Moyné," "M. Jean Richepin," "The Literary Agent," and "A New Story Writer," Miss Gwendoline Keats, otherwise known as "Zack."

The old department of book reviews is well maintained.

THE ARENA.

IN the September *Arena* appears "A Study from Life" of the late Henry George by Mrs. C. F. McLean. This sketch impresses us as one of the very best of the numerous attempts at George biography. It is based on the writer's personal reminiscences of an intimate acquaintance beginning as far back as George's San Francisco newspaper experiences, long before "Progress and Poverty" was written.

In the same number Mr. Frank G. Gilman writes on "Rudyard Kipling as a Poet." In his opinion Kipling

has been able to make a most forceful impression upon his readers "because of the freshness of the images by which he expresses the poetic relations between things, and because of the power with which he reveals his characters or presents a thought through a character. But Kipling is also a master in the details of his art, in the power and suggestiveness of his use of single words, in the harmony which he establishes between sound and sense. And if we study his best work closely we shall discover that his devotion to little things, although somewhat concealed, is really a large element in his art and one of the efficient causes of the fascinating power of his verse. Kipling has studied language, the material of his art, with the faithfulness and assiduity that must characterize a persistent business man in trade or an earnest scientist in the pursuit of truth; and he has wrung from language many a new secret, and by unique combinations of words has discovered in language new poetic beauty."

In discussing "Woman's Future Position in the World" Lizzie M. Holmes declares that woman has always been considered too much as woman, and not enough as a human being. "The constant reference to her sex has been neither ennobling, complimentary, nor agreeable. Either as slave, toy, pet, or queen this ceaseless thinking of her sex instead of herself has been degrading. To finally arrive at her best she simply needs consideration as a fellow-member of society."

Dr. John Clark Ridpath, the editor of the *Arena*, indulges in an alarmist article of twenty pages entitled "The Republic and the Empire." His contentions seem to be based on the assumption that the forces now engaged in promoting "imperialism" in this country are the same that organized the trusts and conspired against free silver. "There is not one of all the American nabobs who is not an imperialist." But it is just from this "nabob" class and the newspapers representing it, especially in the Eastern States, that comes most of the opposition to our retaining the Philippines. The Democratic Western farmers, on the other hand, are the men who are saying that where our flag has been raised there it should stay.

Ex-Governor Fishback, of Arkansas, writes on "The Great Question in Retrospect" (free silver); the Rev. Dr. B. F. Austin relates "Four Remarkable Psychical Experiences;" Virginia Yeaman Remnitz and Annie G. Brown discuss "The Efficacy of Prayer;" Bolton Hall analyzes the servant problem; Dr. Ridpath contributes a paper on "The Extinction of Royal Houses;" Mr. B. O. Flower reviews "Social and Economic Conditions Yesterday and To-Day;" and the pension question is discussed by A. O. Genung, George R. Scott, and the editor.

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

ELSEWHERE we have quoted from Professor Waldstein's article on "The English-Speaking Brotherhood" and from Mr. Windmüller's exposition of the dangers to the community's health arising from our burial customs, in the *North American* for August.

The Hon. T. W. Russell, M.P., secretary of the British Local Government Board, writes on "What the Unionists Have Done for Ireland." From his showing it appears that very nearly as much has been or is being done as was ever seriously intended by the English Liberals under the leadership of Mr. Gladstone. Mr.

Russell discusses the points of the Irish local government bill in detail.

In an article on "The Great Lakes and Our Commercial Supremacy" Mr. John Foord brings out the fact that while the capacity of the lake freighter has been doubled since 1885, the cost of building and running it has been reduced at a ratio of from 30 to 40 per cent. "That is to say, the 5,000-ton steamer of to-day costs only \$5 per ton to build, while the 2,500-ton steamer of 1885 cost \$7 per ton; the coal cost per trip of the 5,000-ton steamer, instead of being double that of the 2,500-ton steamer, does not average 25 per cent. more; and while 16 round trips between Lake Superior and Lake Erie ports was considered a good season's work in 1885, 22 round trips are now merely a fair season's work."

Elizabeth Bisland, in an article entitled "The Abdication of Man," sets up the thesis that the whole "woman movement" is primarily due to man's own failure to sustain the part assigned him in the old feudal relation of the sexes. Miss Bisland asserts that woman prefers this old relation and that if man were willing she would always maintain it—if the days of chivalry are past man has no one to blame but himself.

The Rev. Dr. Meades defines the mission of Zionism as the founding of a model government, a model state of society, and a model system of education. The government will be a confederation or republic; the ruler will regard himself as the viceroy of God; church and state will be separate, "each supreme in its own domain and both working for the same ends." Society will be based on the Jewish code of morality. Education will be provided for the brain, the hand, and the heart.

In an article on "Distant Possessions" Mr. Andrew Carnegie assumes that the retention of the Philippines by the United States involves (1) the establishment of a despotism over the islands; (2) the transformation of our nation into "a scattered and disjointed aggregate of widely separated and alien races;" (3) the abandonment of the task of developing our own continent for that of annexing and attempting to govern far-distant possessions that can never be integral parts of our republic.

There is an article by "A Canadian Liberal" on the joint high commission recently appointed by the governments of the United States and Great Britain to adjust differences between the United States and Canada. Ex-Senator Peffer continues his papers on the United States Senate. Mr. Edmund Gosse calls attention to the unusual activity of Shakespeare scholars in 1898. In "Notes and Comments" Mr. S. D. McCormick presents the economic view of the popular loan, the Rev. Dr. Battershall writes on "The Efficacy of Prayer in the Light of Evolution;" and Mr. Alvan F. Sanborn has a word about boys' clubs.

THE FORUM.

FROM the August number of the *Forum* we have selected Mr. Brooks Adams' paper on "The Spanish War and the Equilibrium of the World" for review and quotation elsewhere.

Mr. Edward Farrer contributes a paper on the Anglo-American commission which covers essentially the same ground, as regards questions at issue between the United States and Canada, as that covered in "A Canadian Liberal's" discussion in the *North American*. Mr. Farrer maintains that the pelagic-sealing problem

can best be settled by buying out the Canadian sealers, whose fleet now consists of only fifty-four vessels, aggregating thirty-four hundred tons.

Mr. James Schouler, the historian, writing on "New Constitutional Amendments," contends that there should be no annexation of foreign territory to the United States, nor even the admission of a new State to the Union, without a *referendum* of some sort to the people of the United States, and their consent by a majority vote to such annexation or admission.

Mr. T. J. J. See, who speaks with the authority of an expert astronomer, expresses the opinion that a giant telescope, in order to have its future insured, should be located in Peru or northern Chile, where the visible heavens are least explored, and the climate is one of the best known, from an astronomer's point of view.

The Hon. George L. Rives sets forth the need of a permanent American diplomatic service, especially under the new conditions that confront the United States as a world power. To the argument that it is essential, in our system of government, that our representatives abroad should be in full political sympathy with the executive, Mr. Rives replies by showing that even now this rule often ceases to be applied when an emergency requires the services of specially qualified men, as in the case of the appointment of Mr. Straus as our minister to Turkey, of General Merritt as Governor of the Philippines, and of Prof. John B. Moore as Assistant Secretary of State.

The Hon. John Ball Osborne, secretary of the reciprocity commission, describes the development of the reciprocity policy. Maj. J. W. Powell tells "How a Savage Tribe is Governed." Mr. S. L. Thurlow summarizes the significant facts in the defeat of the Spanish Armada of 1588. Prof. J. H. Hyslop reviews certain important mediumistic phenomena as reported by the Society for Psychical Research. The second paper on Austria-Hungary under Francis Joseph's reign in the series contributed by Albert von Schäffle appears in this number of the *Forum*.

We have quoted in another department from Prof. Brander Matthews' article on "New Trials for Old Favorites."

THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW.

IN the *Contemporary* for August Mr. J. A. Hobson writes with much conviction and more statistics upon the fallacy of supposing that conquest is essential to the extension of trade. He denies that trade follows the flag, and maintains that the result of the last twenty-five years of British imperialism conclusively proves that trade does not expand in proportion as the frontiers of the empire are extended. Mr. Hobson is strongly opposed even to the policy of the open door, for he says:

"Now, this use of the instruments of force in order to win foreign trade is a violation of the primary principles of free trade, and if the Liberal party consent to or condone it, they abrogate all rightful claim to be free-traders. The issue, in a word, is between external expansion of markets and of territory on the one hand and internal social and industrial reforms upon the other; between a militant imperialism animated by the lust for quantitative growth as a means by which the governing and possessing classes may retain their monopoly of political power and industrial supremacy, and a peaceful democracy engaged upon the development of

its national resources in order to secure for all its members the conditions of improved comfort, security, and leisure essential for a worthy national life. This is no rhetorical antithesis, but the plain and very practical issue which Cobden and his friends strove to place before the Liberal party half a century ago. The refusal to face this issue, the adoption instead of a half-hearted and inconsistent free-trade policy, has crippled the principles and grievously impaired the working efficiency of Liberalism."

THE NAZARENE AS A DEMOCRAT.

The Rev. S. Baring-Gould, writing on "Christ and the Appeal to the People," sets forth with some detail the social conditions at Christ's advent. The Pharisees had succeeded in creating a cultured caste which treated the immense majority of the population as sinners, to whom it was unlawful even to do a kindness. When Christ mixed with these sinners and identified himself with them the Pharisees felt that disfranchised democracy had found a leader:

"The Pharisees were well aware that a battle *d'outrance* was declared. They would be squeezed out of existence by the Sadducees on one side and by the rising power of the people on the other. Such was the situation. The Pharisees recognized its gravity—either they or the innovator must be destroyed. That was why they resolved on the death of Christ. It is to misinterpret the condition of affairs to represent to one's self Christ as merely a preacher of great religious truths. The truths he taught were religious, indeed, but they were explosive, ready to alter the entire social condition of Jewdom and change its political state as well. They were subversive of the entire system of the rabbis, the upsetting of the work of Ezra and his followers."

THE PROSPECTS OF AUSTRALIAN FEDERATION.

Sir Julius Vogel, discussing the results of the *plébiscite* in Australia on the subject of federation and examining the correspondence which subsequently passed between the prime ministers, does not lose heart. He says:

"Looked at as a whole, this correspondence does not encourage any hope that an early federation can be effected to include New South Wales. Even were it possible to maneuver that colony into a combination at the present time, we have already given reasons why the proceeding should be hazardous. In the endeavor to carry out great measures of public policy care should always be taken to stop short of exerting excessive pressure on unwilling participants. In this case it is evident that patience will sooner or later secure the end in view. If three or four of the colonies combine, the machinery of federation will be set in motion and the means be available to enter into definite agreements with New South Wales and Queensland."

A QUARTER OF A CENTURY IN EAST LONDON.

Canon Barnett surveys the result of the last twenty-five years' progress in East London. He says:

"A look backward over twenty-five East London years discovers the growth and decay of things good and bad. The end is better than the beginning. It may be that the love of excitement has grown and the sense of reverence decayed, but during the same time there has been a growth of order and of mutual consideration, a decay of brutality and of superstition. The change has been for good."

Among the agencies which have contributed most to the betterment of things, he puts in the first place the school board and in the second place the dockers' strike. Among other agencies he gives a high place to those whose ideal was to secure the best for all. These persons appear to have had their headquarters at Toynbee Hall.

OTHER ARTICLES.

Mr. A. L. Cotton, in an article entitled "The Kelm-scott Press and the New Printing," indulges in the dream that we are on the eve of a revival of the art of typography; "A Financial Journalist" expounds "The Art of Blackmail," which is very difficult to distinguish from the art of bribery and corruption; Mr. F. M. Hueffer writes on Sir Edward Burne-Jones; and the Dean of Canterbury has a paper upon "The Likeness of Christ."

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

THERE are fourteen articles in the August number of the *Nineteenth Century*, all of a fairly average miscellaneous nature, but none of them calling for special attention.

REMINISCENCES OF MR. GLADSTONE.

In this paper, which is entitled "Mr. Gladstone and His Party," Sir Wemyss Reid recalls the way in which Mr. Gladstone received the fatal blow dealt at his cause by the Parnell divorce case:

"The Parnell divorce case changed the whole political situation. Up to that moment the home-rule cause seemed to be advancing to an assured and early triumph. In an hour it was thrown back so far that it again became nothing more than a forlorn hope. It was my privilege to spend an hour alone with Mr. Gladstone on the very day on which he received a certain deputation of Irish Nationalist members, overwhelmed by the horror of the new situation, which found the Parnellite party in open antagonism to Mr. Parnell. It was a most critical and tragical moment in the history of the cause, in the history of Liberalism, and in the history of Mr. Gladstone. Yet never did I see him more absolutely self-controlled, more calm or composed, than he was at that moment. The business I had with him had no connection with the politics of the day, and to politics he never referred. All around him political London was bubbling over with excitement and agitation. Yet in the library at Carlton House Gardens everything was as tranquil as though it had been the home of a student to whom public affairs were a sealed book."

OXFORD UNDERGRADUATES OF 1896.

The warden of Merton College, writing on "The University of Oxford in 1896," discourses more or less discursively upon the various changes that have been brought about in the university in the course of the century. The following tribute to the character of the undergraduate is worth noting:

"Upon the whole, it may be said with confidence that Oxford undergraduates, as a class, are more virtuous, better conducted, and better informed than their predecessors in the reign of George III., though it must be added in justice that they get their virtue and their knowledge on easy terms. . . . But it may be doubted whether that strength of character and independence of intellect which is developed by hardship and stern discipline is not less common than in the olden days."

HOW TO COPE WITH LEAD-POISONING.

Miss Gertrude Tuckwell, in an article upon "Commercial Manslaughter," gives a horrible account of the murderous results of lead-poisoning in the industries of the potteries. She says:

"Special rules apportioning fairly responsibility as between employer and employed should be drafted, and the home secretary should be given additional powers enabling him to put them immediately into force, instead of, as at present, submitting them to the very employers for whose government they are created. But whatever other course is adopted, it is obvious that we must do away with the use of the raw lead. Investigation shows that by fusing the lead a practically harmless glaze can be obtained."

THE TAXATION OF GROUND VALUES.

Sir Edward Sassoon undertakes to point out the fallacy in the panacea of Henry George. He maintains that few things could be devised more disastrous for the welfare of the community at large than the single tax, or even than the imposition of further taxes upon ground values:

"To single out ground values for especial taxation would therefore tend to the diminution of investment in house property; consequently less land would be developed for the relief of congested populations in different towns, and the rents of existing ones would inevitably go up. Legislation which directly discouraged the employment of capital in the development of land would be a much greater blow to the working classes than to investors in building speculations."

THE YELLOW WOMAN JOURNALIST.

Miss Elizabeth Banks gives a vivacious and not altogether edifying account of American yellow journalism. She says that the first assignment she received was to walk up and down in a disreputable district in order to be arrested as a bad character, so that she might tell her experiences in the lock-up over night. This she refused to do, but, according to her account, women reporters are constantly told off on tasks of a similar nature. Altogether, Miss Banks' account of the lot of the woman reporter in America is by no means cheerful.

OTHER ARTICLES.

Mr. W. H. Mallock explains why he attacked Mr. Herbert Spencer, his paper in brief amounting to a statement that he selected Mr. Spencer because he was the most conspicuous exponent of the fallacy which he wished to refute. A member of the Cuban Junta describes the misdeeds of the Spaniards from the Cuban point of view. Dr. Josiah Oldfield vindicates his persistence in vegetarian diet in reply to Sir Henry Thompson. Prince Krapotkin's paper on "Recent Science" deals with the liquefaction of gases and the transmission of force by electricity.

THE FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW.

THE *Fortnightly Review* is a capital number, distinguished among many other things for the article nominating Mr. Chamberlain to the prime ministership or the Foreign Office, and the beginning of an extremely clever but very malicious serial which carries the art of lampooning to merciless lengths.

THE REAL "CYRANO DE BERGERAC."

Mr. Joseph Knight introduces a novelty into the endless series of articles upon the play which was brought out last month at the London Lyceum by attempting to depict the real Cyrano de Bergerac, who was a very different person from the *Cyrano* who was placed on the stage. Mr. Knight says:

"Whatever may have been the extravagances, the mannerisms, and the faults of Cyrano, he was a man of high intellect and not a buffoon; he was in scientific knowledge far in advance of his time, and he is to be remembered among the most fearless advocates of freedom of thought. His friends were men of capacity and eminence."

MR. HENLEY'S BYRON.

Mr. Walter Sichel, in an article entitled "The Two Byrons," devotes several pages to a merciless exposition of the shortcomings of Mr. Henley's edition of Byron. Mr. Sichel says that in Mr. Henley's edition he looked not only for a right and enlightened view of Byron himself, but also for a perfection of detail in contemporary delineation, for breadth of interpretation, and for finish. He declares that in all cases he has been woefully disappointed, in none perhaps more than the last. He then proceeds to expose the more glaring of the blemishes upon which he bases his criticism, and declares that no one will, after investigation, accuse him either of pedantry or of cavil. It is useless to follow him through all the examples which he gives of inaccuracy, slovenliness, and lack of insight. He concludes by expressing a wish that Mr. Henley had approached this enterprise with a little more care, a little more research, a keener penetration, and a deeper sense of responsibility. Mr. Sichel's estimate of Byron is stated at some length. We only quote one sentence:

"The keynote to Byron's character is predominant sincerity. It has often struck us that in his inborn isolation, his unreined rebelliousness, his warped affections, his sense of variance with his time, his blend of pride and communicativeness, his moody madness and passionate despair, his magnanimity and his sensitiveness, above all, in his native hatred of shams, he resembles Hamlet."

OTHER ARTICLES.

Mr. William Archer devotes a few pages to a very eulogistic account of a Shropshire poet, one A. E. Housman, in whose tiny book, "A Shropshire Lad," Mr. Archer declares Mr. Housman has compressed much of the essence and savor of life, his note of intense feeling uttering itself in language of unadorned, uncontorted truth. The topics of this poet are a singular pessimism, a dogged but not exultant patriotism, and a wistful cynicism. The inevitable article on Sir Edward Burne-Jones is written by Mr. William Sharp.

THE NATIONAL REVIEW.

ELSEWHERE we have quoted from Mr. Arnold White's article on "The Russian Bogy" and from Mr. Frank T. Bullen's "Reminiscence of Manila," in the *National Review* for August.

The editor, Mr. L. J. Maxse, devotes twenty pages of this number to an examination of M. Cavaignac's vindication of Captain Dreyfus. He declares in conclusion that if in the light of the German and Italian military

attachés' statements M. Cavaignac's speech represents the final decision of the Brisson cabinet on the Dreyfus question, they combine with a barbarous contempt for law a barbarous hatred of justice.

In summing up his "Second Impressions of the War" Vice-Admiral Colomb, of the British navy, says:

"According to my view, Spain's original policy should have been to send out to Cuba every torpedo boat and vessel she could lay her hands on. The whole strength of the idea of the torpedo boat is its defensive power; and it is a distinct loss to all nations that when this war closes the value of the torpedo boat and vessel must remain theoretical. But the strongest impression of all that I am left with is the mistake that a country like Spain can make in expending her money on the naval forces of attack, when it is the forces of defense that she is almost always sure to require. In this respect a very old impression is confirmed. A shipbuilding programme without a strategical bottom to it will certainly, when it comes to be tried, result in a waste of money, if it does not court a quick and easy ruin."

OTHER ARTICLES.

There are two articles upon continental subjects, one by Mr. W. H. Dawson upon the German elections and the other by the Marquis de Viti de Marco on "The Recent Insurrection in Italy." The Italian article is written by a Liberal who believes in liberty, and thinks that more liberty is the one thing that Italy requires. Mr. Dawson thinks the German elections are important, although not sensational. Their chief importance is because they have rebuked the agrarian movement and have secured peace for the mercantile interests and activities of the country for five years to come.

THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW.

THERE is little that is especially notable in the *Westminster* for August, but there are several brief articles on topics of current interest.

Mr. Ramsden Balmforth contributes an article on "The Present Political Situation in Cape Colony," in which he gives some account of the problems which the impending elections for the Legislative Assembly are expected to solve. The coming elections are the first that have been held since the Jameson raid, and will be the first effective means of testing to what extent the racial and party prejudices it awakened will influence the government of the colony. Mr. Balmforth points out that the shifting of parties has by no means the same result in Cape Colony as in England. The government of the Cape is not a party government. Even though defeated on some important question it may still continue in office, simply accepting and obeying the dictates of the House on that particular question, and it may even continue the administration of the country without a confessed majority of adherents. The index of the present situation lies in the fact that not one of the groups in Parliament is strong enough to form a government.

Mr. W. C. Copeland writes a short article on the Anglo-American alliance. He thinks that the benefits to the Americans from the war will be moral as well as material, and seems to think that there is at least as much room for moral as material improvement. Hitherto there has been a lack of broad issues and serious problems in the United States. With politics raised to

a higher level the *personnel* of representative bodies will be improved. Mr. Copeland says that any alliance with America must be founded on a system of give and take. He proposes that the United States should come within the Penny Postal Union. "H. G. K." follows this up with an even shorter article on "The Monroe Doctrine." He is by no means as optimistic as Mr. Copeland, but sees in the Monroe doctrine a snare which, by acquiescence, England has set for herself. He says:

"If the United States Government can absorb a Spanish island because it disapproves of the administration, there is nothing to prevent similar action in regard to Jamaica, whatever be the case in Canada, which is doubtless of a somewhat different kind."

Mr. J. Lionel Tayler contributes a very abstract article on "Education and the National Welfare." Mr. Tayler has not much opinion of the present system of education, which, he thinks, tends to dwarf mental power, owing to the examination terror. He believes that true education should foster the natural preferences of individuals for special branches of knowledge. Morality should not be the sole factor in education; progress should be the object in view.

Mr. R. Didden writes on "The True Secret of Mr. Gladstone's Greatness and Influence." He says: "Mr. Gladstone's great influence and popularity are due neither to his prodigious learning nor to the accidental circumstance that his theological opinions were more or less in harmony with orthodox Christianity. They are due to the noble and unselfish life which he led; to his transcendent honesty, simplicity, and probity; to his intense abhorrence of all that savored of meanness, selfishness, corruption, tyranny, and oppression; to his sympathy with the toiling millions and the practical assistance he rendered to afflicted and downtrodden peoples."

Mr. G. O. S. Pringle writes a short and unenlightening article on "Mill's Humanity." "E. M. R." contributes a vindication of Mr. Tree's interpretation of Mark Anthony, which he considers is carefully thought-out and "shines like a polished jewel in a really perfect and superb fitting." There is a very long and elaborate article on the Smithsonian Institution at Washington. Mr. Thomas Bradfield writes an appreciative criticism of Mr. Hall Caine; he thinks Mr. Caine is better when dealing with simple characters and simple scenes than when treating of the complexities of civilized life. Mr. T. M. Hopkins gives some "Political Counsel to the Working Man." Practicalness, combination, and progress are the three secrets. Mr. Angus Mackay writes "On the Interpretation of Emily Brontë," whose poetry he deals with in the most appreciative way. The last article in the number is written by Mr. Robert Ewen, who reviews the British budget for this year. Mr. Ewen thinks there is nothing in the budget to favor the working classes. He thinks there should have been a reduction in the tea duty, which would not only have given a benefit to tea-drinkers, but would have given the millions in India, Ceylon, and China the means of doing a larger trade with Great Britain.

CORNHILL.

"CORNHILL" for August is an admirable number, full of brilliant writing, valuable information, and vivacious interest. Mr. Fitchett is at his best in the anniversary sketch of Marlborough at Blenheim. He warmly rejects Southey's disparagement of

this "famous victory." It not only, argues Mr. Fitchett, destroyed the belief that the French soldiery was invincible; it "shattered absolutely and finally the attempt of Louis XIV. to establish a sort of universal empire." For Louis XIV. was a sort of advance copy of Napoleon. "To concentrate Europe in France, France in Paris, and Paris in himself, was the ideal of Louis XIV., exactly as it was of Napoleon." And it was the victory at Blenheim which "secured for the Anglo-Saxon race that opportunity of free development which has made the empire of to-day possible."

Canon Staveley tries to extenuate the Irish policy of the British Government in 1798 by a study of the humane Sir John Moore, who took part in the suppression of the rebellion. Dr. John Todhunter furnishes a delightful piece of philological gossip on "Reading a Dictionary." Mr. A. J. Butler gives some fearful glimpses of "The Retreat from Moscow, by one of the Old Guard," Sergeant Bourgogne, whose diary has only recently been published. The horrors experienced by the rank and file are luridly because simply depicted. A. L. Stevenson contributes a facetious account of a townsman's methods with a country garden.

THE EDINBURGH REVIEW.

THE *Edinburgh Review* for July opens with a long and carefully written survey of "The Internal Crisis in Austria-Hungary." The writer is by no means a pessimist, but strongly inclines to the belief that the way out for the dual empire is in a further development of duality into federalism. According to the scheme which he favors he would split the Cisleithan kingdom into three, so that Austria-Hungary would in future consist of a federation of four. To carry out such a scheme it is necessary, he admits, that there should be a great imperial statesman who would reconcile the conflicting ambitions of the various nationalities. Francis Joseph he dismisses as not equal to such a task.

"Austria would have to be broken up into the divisions into which it most naturally falls, both ethnologically and geographically—viz., Galicia and the Bukovina, the kingdom of Bohemia, including Moravia and Silesia, German Austria, including the Italian Tyrol and Trieste, and the South Slav provinces."

FAIRY TALES AS LITERATURE.

This is an essay nominally based upon Andrew Lang's parti-colored fairy books, but dealing chiefly with the Italian, French, and German varieties, the Italian *favole*, the French *contes*, and the German *Märchen*. The latter, the true *Märchen*, are the first-born among stories, and, says the reviewer, not born for death. They have an abiding mission in the cultivation and the development of the imagination of the world. Whatever value they may have as folk-lore, "the fairy tales themselves will fulfill their own mission in the abiding-place of their best beloved. They will open the nursery window upon a landscape so wide that beside it earth's widest panoramas are as a narrow cell. They will enlarge the circumference of the imagination to its utmost limit."

BRITISH POLICY IN CHINA.

The writer of the article on "British Policy in China" gives forth a somewhat uncertain sound. He is not very friendly to Russia, but he is very far from being

as rabid as most of those who support his general line. For instance, he says :

"That no one but ourselves is to forward the extension of Chinese railroads is, in truth, a specimen of protectionist prejudice very unbecoming to this country. We are contending for a fair field and no favor, and we may well rest content that if we can obtain this, British trading enterprise will more than hold its own."

NAVAL DEFENSE PAST AND PRESENT.

The writer of this article takes the career of Admiral Duncan, Earl of Camperdown, as the text upon which he preaches a sermon as to the coördination of the British army and navy in the work of national defense. He is not of the extreme school of naval alarmists, and he is content with a navy which would enable England to meet, with a probable certainty of success, the combined fleets of any two of the naval powers.

THE DINING SOCIETIES OF LONDON.

This article, while nominally a review of Cust and Colvin's "History of the Society of Dilettanti," gives a good deal of information about the great dining societies, at which the most agreeable talkers in London are periodically collected. These societies, of which the outside public hears little or nothing, are all private and exclusive in their nature. They are five in number—namely :

"The Dilettanti Society, The Club, Nobody's Club, the Literary Society, and Grillion's Club. The constitution of these various bodies is not uniform. The Literary Society and Nobody's Club have permanent presidents, who regularly preside at their dinners. Each member of The Club, on the contrary, takes his turn in presiding; the Dilettanti and Grillion's select at each of their meetings one of their members, whom they place in the chair."

The Dilettanti Society is more than one hundred and sixty years old. It was first founded by a group of young noblemen and men of wealth who had traveled in Italy; and no person to this day is admitted as a member who has not either traveled in Italy or upon some other classic ground outside. The Club was founded in 1764, and had Dr. Johnson, Burke, Goldsmith, and Sir Joshua Reynolds among its original members. During the last eighty years its members have included fifteen prime ministers, including Mr. Gladstone, Lord Salisbury, and Lord Rosebery. The Literary Society is younger than The Club, and is chiefly recruited from the law and the churches, being strong in judges and bishops. Grillion's takes its name from the fact that its original members dined for three or four years in succession at Grillion's Hotel. Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, Sir Thomas Acland, and Sir Robert Inglis were among its more prominent members in its early days. It has for many years been a tradition that the majority of successive cabinets should always sit round its table. Its membership, like that of the Literary Society, varies between thirty and forty. Nobody's Club, or the Club of Nobody's Friends, was founded in 1807 by William Stevens, who was in the hosiery business in London. It has fifty-nine members, and for eighty years its presidents have either been notable barristers or judges.

RIVAL SCHEMES OF SEWAGE.

In the article on "The Purification of Sewage and Water" a careful description is given of the different

methods of purifying sewage by bacteriological filters as opposed to purification by sewage farm. The writer thus sums up the comparative merits of the rival schemes :

"If there is plenty of land and there are favorable conditions of levels of site and of soil, broad irrigation will be the best means of sewage disposal. But where these favorable conditions do not prevail one or other form of bacteriological filter will give a clear effluent, and so prevent the pollution of the streams."

OTHER ARTICLES.

The paper on "Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art" is founded on the second edition of Professor Butcher's book on the subject, which the reviewer says offers a critical text and a translation of the highest merit, while the essays elucidate, with singular and luminous tact, opinions which are often obscure and not always consistent.

The article on "Two Centuries of French Art" has been suggested by the fact that there are this year to be found in London elements for a more comprehensive study and appreciation of French art in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries than have ever been united there before.

THE QUARTERLY REVIEW.

THE *Quarterly Review* for July is a very solid publication, scholarly, erudite, but hardly calculated to attract many readers at this season of the year.

THE BACONIAN THEORY OF SHAKESPEARE.

The writer of the article on "Shakespeare and Bacon" devotes several pages to somewhat good-humored ridicule of those persons who are convinced that Bacon wrote Shakespeare. He says :

"The Baconian creed, of course, is scouted equally by special students of Bacon, by special students of Shakespeare, and by all persons who devote themselves to sound literature."

After examining in detail some of the arguments upon which the Baconian theory is based, the reviewer concludes his article as follows :

"We do not profess to work miracles nor hope to convert a single Baconian. Our modest endeavor is to illustrate the nature and growth of belief among the 'less than half educated.' Incapable of believing in genius, they are capable of believing in the paradoxes of their untaught leaders, in the audaciously ignorant assertions or impudent suppressions of which we have offered examples."

A TRIBUTE TO AN AMERICAN SCHOLAR.

The writer of the article on "English and Scottish Ballads" takes as his text two books, both of which have been published in Boston—one, Dr. Child's five-volume edition of English and Scottish popular ballads, and the other, Mr. Francis B. Gummere's selection of "Old English Ballads." The reviewer praises very highly the work of Professor Child. He was qualified for his task as no living man is qualified; and, he adds, "profound learning, the most minute and careful study of details, and a fine literary instinct meet in it, and Professor Child's 'English and Scottish Ballads' must take rank as the final and definitive collection."

WHAT SCHLIEMANN ACHIEVED.

In the article entitled "The Spade in Prehistoric Greece," the reviewer exults in the immense achievements of Schliemann. He says:

"In this study of prehistoric Greece the labors of a single man have worked as sudden and extraordinary a change as any science has experienced. They may be said, indeed, to have created an archæology altogether new."

His discoveries at Mycenæ "revealed a world hitherto undreamed of, lying behind Greek history as all but one or two scholars saw and showing evidence of a long process of development."

As the result of what he had unearthed others set to work, and "through their efforts the revelation made by Schliemann at Hissarlik and Mycenæ soon acquired far wider relations than he or any one else contemplated in 1876; and twenty succeeding years have brought an uninterrupted series of new discoveries, too many to be detailed here, which have changed the whole face of the prehistoric problem."

The reviewer then proceeds to examine whether or not the Mycenaean civilization was identical with the civilization described in the "Iliad." He comes to the conclusion that "the result of inquiry into Homer leads to the negative conclusion, important enough so far as it goes, that the Mycenaean civilization was not Hellenic as that name was afterward understood."

SOME RESULTS OF THE WAR.

The article on the United States and Spain is chiefly important for the reflection with which it concludes:

"The effect will react upon our policy in every direction. With a friendly America, concession in Ireland and the remedy of all just grievances, even of grievances which do not seem substantial, become safe and expedient. We do not desire to disinter the carcass of home rule or to exaggerate the influence of the Irish in the United States, but to do what can be done to propitiate American opinion. In Central America will shall look

forward without uneasiness to the American control of the interoceanic canal, which is a certainty of the remoter future."

The article on "The International Ferment" touches on the same question, but the writer says nothing comparable in importance to the above extract.

COSMOPOLIS.

IN *Cosmopolis* for August Mr. W. Miller writes on "The Regeneration of Greece," taking the ground that the Greeks are by no means likely to realize their ideals so far as to become the heirs of the Turk in Macedonia and on the Bosphorus, but that it is quite possible for Greece, as she is to become a prosperous and well-administered country. He indicates as desirable reforms the improvement of the judiciary and police, the separation of the army from politics, the establishment of a permanent civil service, the proper care of the provinces, and the decentralization of the government. The initiative, he says, must devolve on the King.

In a criticism of Gabriel d'Annunzio Virginia M. Crawford says:

"We have been told that d'Annunzio is the center of a new renaissance, the herald of a new dawn, the founder of a new school in the history of Italian literature. I cannot for a moment think that he is all this. Rather he is the most brilliant flower of decadence, a beautiful poisonous growth, the product, like his own heroes, of a great nation fallen upon evil days. His writing destroys—it does not build up. It could not inspire a great cause or stimulate to high spiritual ideas."

Still, putting aside all ethical considerations, it is conceded that much is due to d'Annunzio.

"There is in his writing a subtle quality to which no extract, and above all no translation, can do justice, an exquisite fluidity which carries the reader forward in a rhythmical progression. And it is for d'Annunzio's sense of style that we forgive him all his sins of omission."

THE FRENCH AND ITALIAN REVIEWS.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES.

IT is remarkable that there is nothing in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for July about the Anglo-French agreement so painfully arrived at with reference to the long-standing questions at issue between the two countries in West Africa. In other respects the *Revue* appears to be, if anything, a little above its usual high standard.

A FRENCH VIEW OF GLADSTONE.

M. de Pressensé's article on Gladstone is written with all the great critic's charm of style, and it is not his fault that the views which he expresses lack, to a considerable extent, the merit of novelty. After a brilliant biographical sketch, M. de Pressensé concludes with an appreciation of which the following are the most interesting points:

"Better than any one among his contemporaries, Gladstone embodied the England of his time. The unity of that life appears beneath all its variations. Gladstone was a great Liberal, a Radical, the man of progress and of the people, because he remained a Con-

servative in the deep and vital sense of the word. It is because he believed with all his soul in the solidity of the social and political institutions of England that he dared to contend against abuses and to erect a splendid edifice of bold reforms. It is because he had faith in the people and in the throne, in the masses and in the classes, that he seemed sometimes to shake the very foundations of the state. . . . And now what will remain of his work? From a political point of view he apparently leaves the Liberal party in evil case and all the causes which he served compromised. . . . There will remain of this man's long life something precious which will never be lost. . . . It is not only—though I should be far from despising that—the example of a whole existence of honor and purity; it is, above all, a lesson of the highest utility for our time. Gladstone was born an opportunist, but an opportunist with a conscience. . . . He showed the whole amount of conscience that there can be in a statesman."

THE FRENCH CONGO AND THE FREE STATE.

Comte Henri de Castries has an interesting article on the French Congo and the Congo Free State apropos to

M. Pauliat's report on the whole colonial problem in France. The Count exhibits in a clear and frequently amusing manner some of the extraordinary consequences of King Leopold's double character as King of the Congo Free State and King of the Belgians. Indeed, the story goes that a wag once thoughtfully chalked up on the gate of one of his majesty's palaces for the information of the public: "Knock twice for the Congo." Full justice is done to M. de Brazza's services as the creator of the French Congo. The Count considers that in the twentieth century Belgium will become, thanks to King Leopold, a great colonial power. Count de Castries, perceiving that England is already mistress of the Nile and of the Niger, earnestly warns his countrymen of the danger of allowing England to acquire the command of the Congo, the third great waterway of Africa. He perceives that the Free State is too great an anomaly from an international point of view for its existence to be prolonged indefinitely, and he considers that even a partial break-up of this vast domain would be more to the profit of England than of France.

LEGAL TIME IN FRANCE.

It will be remembered that last February the French Chamber adopted a bill making the legal time in France and Algeria the same as Greenwich time, and M. Dastre seizes the opportunity to bring forth the stores of his learning on the whole subject from the earliest period down to the present day. This setting back of the French clock by nine minutes twenty-one seconds will, says M. Dastre, create an abnormal hour of sixty-nine minutes, but that is a trifle to what France has suffered in the past. In 1582 the French only had twenty days in the month of December. The advantage, if not of a universal time, at any rate of a universal system of time, is so obvious that one is surprised to learn that France is really the last country to hold out against it, for Spain and Portugal have only been prevented by France's resistance from adopting it.

THE FUTURE OF AUSTRIA AND EUROPE.

In the second July number M. Charles Lenoist discusses the future of Austria and of Europe. He brings into prominence the extreme difficulty for Austria-Hungary of continuing in her present state, and at the same time the necessity of having an Austria in Europe. The question of Austria-Hungary is bound up with the Eastern question, just as Europe is bound to maintain the integrity of the Ottoman Empire whatever may be the internal disturbances of Turkey. M. Benoist discusses three principal methods of dealing with the Austro-Hungarian problem: 1. To convert the dualism of the last thirty years—Austria-Hungary—into a trialism by the simple addition of Bohemia. It is to be feared that such an arrangement contains in itself no seeds of permanence. Though it would be based on certain more or less evident historic rights, it would be sure to irritate, each from their own point of view, the Poles of Galicia, the Italians of Trentin, of the Tyrol, and of K stenland, and the Slovenes of Carinthia and Carniola, while Hungary would assuredly complain bitterly. From an international point of view, also, it is clear that Austria and Hungary would be inevitably drawn toward Germany, while Bohemia would be drawn toward Russia, a process rendered natural by the geographical position of these countries. 2. Federalism. This would be no final solution, for the nationalities

would renew their internecine strife within the federal union, and the Slav elements, by sheer force of numbers, would seize the hegemony, a result which would not be attained without serious trouble with Germany. 3. Dissolution of the monarchy, and the constitution, under the presidency of Hungary, of a Balkan Confederation. This does not seem very practical either. It is impossible to imagine what would become of Austria, thus left alone in solitary weakness, while the suggested Balkan Confederation, based as it would be on a number of contradictory national ideas, would be as inimical to progress as the collision of several opposing forces is known to be in mechanics. M. Benoist thinks that the crisis in Austria-Hungary is not really a parliamentary one, but is essentially one of race, of geography, and of history. He considers that it cannot be settled so long as Europe would be profoundly affected by the slightest rearrangement, and assuredly the peace of Europe is of more value than the domestic welfare of the dual monarchy.

EDUCATION AND SOCIETY IN CANADA.

Madame Bentzon gives in an able paper her impressions of education and society in Canada. She describes the curiously Puritan rule of the old Jesuits in Canada. Mgr. de Saint-Vallier imposed a sort of monastic *r gime* on the Governor Denonville and his wife, forbade all *f tes*, and would not permit young girls to wear low-cut dresses or to dance except in presence of their mothers or other persons of their own sex. One gathers from Madame Bentzon's article that Sir Wilfrid Laurier's compromise on the Manitoba schools question was profoundly unsatisfactory to French Canadians, who regarded their right to have their own teachers in their schools as the only means of escaping "Anglification." Nevertheless, they candidly admit that the progress which has characterized English rule would have been impossible under the excessive bureaucracy of the French system.

OTHER ARTICLES.

Among other articles it may be mentioned that M. Ernest Daudet continues his study of the relations between Louis XVIII. and the Duc Decazes; and M. Weiller writes on the abolition of distances by such modern inventions as the telephone and telegraph a rather alarmist paper, in which he points out to his countrymen that almost all the great submarine cables of the world are in English or American hands, and that in the event of a war between France and England it would be impossible for the government of the former to communicate with the commanders of distant squadrons.

REVUE DE PARIS.

WE have noticed elsewhere the article on motor cars in the first July number of the *Revue de Paris*. The rest of the review does not call for much remark.

GERMAN WOMEN.

M. Schirmacher has an interesting paper on the woman movement in Germany. The twenty-six and a half millions of women form more than half of the nation, and of them 75 per cent. belong to the people, 24 per cent. to the *bourgeoisie*, and 1 per cent. to the nobility. Of the German married women, the most common type is the woman whose whole mind is wrapped up in her

household duties; she is a faithful wife and a devoted mother; books and papers do not interest her; her talk is all of babies, servants, and cooking. There are, however, a certain number, and more than is generally believed, of wives of a higher order of intelligence. They are not less good housekeepers, but at the same time they know how to be real companions to their husbands. To their children they are more than mere head nurses; they are real teachers. The type of the woman of the world, which has always existed in Germany, has become much more numerous in the last twenty-five years. She is not attractive; beneath her external charm she is dry, positive, and practical.

Married women in Germany do not, on the whole, look with favor on the woman movement. Of the three types mentioned, the first, convinced of the profound inferiority of women to men, thinks the movement wicked; the second, while not condemning it, takes no active part in it; and the third, believing in her own weapons of coquetry, considers it stupid and useless. Among the women of the nobility the woman movement finds rather more favor, but even there the weight of public opinion is hard to resist. The Countess Bülow von Dennewitz, the Countess von Linden, the Countess von Geldern, and not a few others, had to encounter the strong opposition of their families before openly declaring themselves on the side of their sex. It is among the *bourgeoisie* that the movement finds, on the whole, its most fertile soil, partly owing to the economic changes brought about by modern industrial conditions, partly because the women of this class have suffered most in the past from the prevalent view of the rights and duties of their sex. It is impossible here to trace the efforts of some enlightened women to increase the educational facilities of their sex in Germany and the measure of success which has rewarded them. The movement is not an artificial one, due to the ambition of a few women; it is the logical and inevitable result of the economic situation and of the modern spirit of individualism.

OTHER ARTICLES.

There is the inevitable study of Michelet, rendered topical by the recent celebrations in Paris; Prince B. Karageorgevitch has some picturesquely written notes of a tour in India; M. Faguet contributes an essay on Renan; and Commandant Weil describes from a document which he found at the Record Office the historic interview of March 16, 1813, between Ferdinand IV., the deposed King of Sicily, and the British general Lord William Bentinck. The account is simply the description of the interview which the Duke of Orleans (afterward Louis Philippe of France) obtained from the King on the following day, with the addition of some necessary notes.

NOUVELLE REVUE.

THOUGH there are several articles of interest, there is nothing of exceptional importance in Madame Adam's review for July.

THE ANGLO-FRENCH AGREEMENT.

The anonymous writer who deals with colonial topics is evidently much dissatisfied with the agreement arrived at between England and France in regard to West Africa. The whole article may be commended to British jingoes, for the writer asks, apparently in perfect good faith, why Frenchmen should put themselves

to so much trouble and invest so much capital in colonial enterprise if France is always to yield to England as a matter of course.

INTERVIEWING A LA FRANÇAISE.

M. de Braise contributes two interviews, with François Coppée and Henri Rochefort. The interviewer found Coppée in the green drawing-room of his residence in the Rue Oudinot. Two priests—the one a bishop with a long white beard and the other a young missionary with clean-shaven face—were saying goodbye to the great writer, who explains that the bishop is the uncle of Edmond Haraucourt and has served in Tibet. Coppée shows the interviewer round his pictures, statues, and bronzes, and talks a certain amount of literary gossip, but practically all that one gathers is that Coppée's health is not good, that he wishes the Creator had made our mucous membranes of zinc, and that he is perpetually interrupted by visitors. Henri Rochefort naturally furnished more material. He exhibited to M. de Braise his art collection, especially the interesting and valuable objects acquired during his residence in England. Rochefort uses an immense hall for the composition of his daily article, but there are no papers or books. He prefers to draw his inspiration from a Hogarth, a Claude Lorrain, a Van Ostade, two enormous Gillots, and a Goya, which hang on the walls. Rochefort was very interesting about picture-collecting in England. "With 200,000 francs in London," he said, "I could have made 4,000,000. The English do not know how to look for things nor consequently to find them; they have not got the taste of the thing. A young lord who gets married orders his agent to buy for him a gallery costing 40,000 livres, because it is the correct thing, and the gallery is bought. Then a crisis comes and he sells. He has never, never looked at it. Such and such a picture coming from the Mont-de-Piété which I got over there for 300 francs was resold for 50,000. My word, I put up the prices!"

THE NAVIGABILITY OF THE LOIRE.

M. Watbled's paper in the second July number of the *Nouvelle Revue* is a powerful plea for the restoration of its old prosperity to the Loire. He shows that in 1855 there were four lines of steamers running between Orleans and Nantes, more than 10,000 boats of all kinds were plying on the Loire between those two towns, and the commerce of the Loire approached that of the Seine between Paris and Rouen, was much larger than that of the Rhone at its mouth, and was twenty times greater than that of the Rhine. Now the tonnage has fallen to 25,000,000. M. Watbled is convinced that there need be no question of competition with the railroads, for in other parts of France the waterways and the iron roads share amicably the task of distributing the products of the country.

OTHER ARTICLES.

Among other articles must be mentioned Madame Adam's brilliantly written description of her experiences in Montenegro and M. Le Myre de Vilers' review of M. Jean Carol's book on Madagascar.

THE ITALIAN REVIEWS.

THE Italian reviews for June naturally devote considerable space to Mr. Gladstone. The *Nuova Antologia* is enabled to make public for the first time a memorandum of a visit paid by Gladstone to Pius

IX. in 1866, a copy of which was sent to and preserved by Baron Ricasoli, but which it has not hitherto been considered expedient to publish. The general impression derived from the conversation is that at that time, although Pius IX. complained bitterly of the treatment meted out to the Church by the house of Savoy, he was not opposed in principle to Italian unity, and that a working compromise between Church and state might have been arrived at with a little good-will on either side. Unfortunately, the last thirty years have greatly imbibited the antagonism between Liberals and Clericals. On another subject a noteworthy point in the conversation is that Gladstone should have remarked, even at this early date, to the Pope that England's gravest difficulties in the future would probably arise concerning Ireland, and that she would only have herself to blame for them.

The *Nuova Antologia* (July 16) prints a long and exceedingly appreciative review of Dr. Richard Garnett's "Short History of Italian Literature," praising it especially for "the calm and discriminating spirit of criticism which inspires it and for the repeated assertion that beauty of form does not suffice without robustness of thought." There is also a very readable article on "Women and Science" by the well-known Senator P. Mantegazza, containing a sketch of Maria Agnesi, an Italian mathematical prodigy of the last century who ended her days as a nun.

To an exceedingly appreciative article in the *Rassegna Nazionale* by Signor Brunialti, describing Gladstone as "the illustrious champion of every noble and sacred cause," Signor Marchini adds a couple of pages on his deep religious sense, holding him up as an example to the Italian youth of the present day, who are apt to assume that liberalism and piety are necessarily antagonistic.

The *Rassegna Nazionale* (July 16), which represents what may be called liberal Catholicism, prints a petition to Leo XIII., couched in most respectful language, imploring him to remove the veto preventing Catholics from taking part in electoral contests. The document summarizes very effectively the terrible harm to the cause of religion which has arisen through the policy of abstention. It was in process of being signed when the recent troubles in Italy appeared to render its immediate presentation impolitic.

To the *Riforma Sociale* Jacques Novikov contributes a striking, if somewhat patronizing, article on "The Future of the Papacy," founded on the double assumption that Darwinism being true, it cuts the ground from under the feet of Catholicism, and that dogmatic faith is bound in the end to disappear. M. Novikov accepts the power of the papacy as greater than that of any man or any nation in the world, and expresses a becoming concern that it should be turned to the most

practical account. He suggests that, having been the religious head in the past, the Pope should constitute himself the spiritual head of European civilization in the future. That, in a word, he should be the president of a federation of European states, the arbitrator of nations, and the maintainer of universal peace. The author seems to ignore the fact that when Europe is no longer professedly Christian there will no longer be any *raison d'être* for the survival of papal authority.

A SEVERE INDICTMENT OF MODERN ITALY.

Prof. J. S. Nitti, the editor of *La Riforma Sociale*, who is perhaps the ablest student of political and economic problems of Italy to-day, contributes a strong and thoughtful article to his review on the position of affairs. While fully realizing the gravity of the crisis through which the country is passing, he condemns emphatically a policy of panic and repression. The price of bread he states to have been the immediate cause of the recent riots, but there are other and more far-reaching reasons. Discontent is rife in every part of the country. "After thirty years of peace, we have to-day a high rate of exchange, an enormous national debt, heavy taxation, customs which crush all industry and commerce, and, what is still worse, a most cumbersome and costly administration." The professor maintains that the Chamber of Deputies is not specially to blame for this state of affairs. It is more liberal and more enlightened than the country at large, but thousands are ever struggling to obtain administrative berths, and deputies are frequently constrained to vote expensive public works merely to provide for their clamorous supporters. The state is founded on a radically unjust and undemocratic basis, and in self-defense is obliged to combat every wide aspiration toward liberty. In other countries religion and authority buttress each other; in Italy they are in constant antagonism. The state has done its utmost to eradicate the Catholic faith of the nation, and so to-day it cannot fall back upon the Church in its need. Professor Nitti points out that not only has the people been deprived of its religious ideal, but it has not even been given material prosperity. Protection has favored the north at the expense of the south, and, in spite of all Luzzatti's assurances to the contrary, the present financial year will still show a grave deficit. In spite of this severe indictment of his country, Nitti is no pessimist. He believes in united Italy and in the house of Savoy; he pleads for no persecution, whether of Catholic or socialist, and for a large retrenchment of unproductive expenditure in public works; and he urges fiscal reform, the abolition of the hated *Dazio*, a wide scheme of decentralization, and the abandonment of vain dreams of national aggrandizement.



THE NEW BOOKS.

RECENT AMERICAN PUBLICATIONS.

TRAVEL.

Yesterdays in the Philippines. By Joseph Earle Stevens. 12mo, pp. 252. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.50.

By all odds the most timely book published in the mid-summer just past is Mr. Stevens' contribution to our knowledge of the Philippine Islands. This book, it is true, would have been worth reading if Admiral Dewey had never attacked the Spanish squadron in Manila Bay, but it is doubtful whether many Americans would have taken the trouble to look at it but for the momentous events of the memorable first of May. Until this present year the Philippines have been an unknown land to nearly all of us; now we are all eager to learn what we can about them. Mr. Stevens derives his knowledge from a two-years' residence in Manila and long journeys into remote island regions. He has the distinctively American point of view, and his powers of observation were employed to good advantage. His book is never serious to the point of dullness, but on the other hand the serious phases of Philippine life and problems are not glossed over. Many of the illustrations are from photographs taken by Mr. Stevens himself.

Travels in Tartary, Thibet and China During the Years 1844-5-6. By M. Huc. Translated from the French by W. Hazlitt. 2 vols., 8vo, pp. 344-352. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company. \$2.

At this time of revival of interest in the affairs of the far East the observations of the two Jesuit missionaries Huc and Gabet, who traveled through parts of China, Thibet, and Tartary more than fifty years ago are worthy of republication. The original French and the English and German translations of these volumes have long been out of print. The present low-priced edition is due to the enterprise of the Open Court Publishing Company, of Chicago.

HISTORY.

The Nation's Navy: Our Ships and their Achievements. By Charles Morris. 12mo, pp. 333. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. \$1.50.

Mr. Morris has put into this book just the kind of information that many newspaper readers during the last four or five months have been seeking and have probably not found elsewhere so conveniently or systematically arranged. Nearly two-thirds of the volume is devoted to our new navy—the modern battle-ship, the protected cruisers, the monitors, rams, torpedo-boats, armor and armament, projectiles, mines, and, in short, the whole mechanism of our floating batteries and their destructive adjuncts. The treatment of these subjects is brought well up to date, and the condition of the navy in the war with Spain is accurately set forth.

Bowling Green. By Spencer Trask. 8vo, pp. 84. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Mr. Trask's interesting historical sketch of a well-known spot in the lower portion of Manhattan Island was prepared as one of the "Half-Moon Series" of papers relating to New York City. As republished, in appropriate cloth binding, illustrated from Kemble's drawings, it must prove irresistible to every New Yorker who has a thought for the ancient glories of his city.

The Empire and the Papacy, 918-1273. By T. F. Tout. M.A. Period II. 12mo, pp. 534. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$1.75.

This volume gives in much greater fulness than most historical text-books the main facts of Europe's transition from the Dark Ages to the Middle Ages. The author's main purpose has been to narrate the history of Germany, Italy, France, and the Eastern Empire, with so much of the affairs of Scandinavia, the Baltic lands, and the Slavonic kingdoms of the East as are directly related to general European history during this period. Several helpful maps accompany the text.

History of Modern Europe. By Ferdinand Schwill, Ph.D. With maps and genealogical tables. Crown 8vo, pp. 450. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.50.

A convenient book for college use prepared by one of the instructors in the subject at the University of Chicago. The series of nine maps inserted at the end of the volume should be especially serviceable to students.

BIOGRAPHY.

Washington after the Revolution: 1784-1799. By William Spohn Baker. 8vo, pp. 416. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. \$2.50.

In this volume Mr. Baker presents what is practically a daily record of Washington's doings from the end of the Revolutionary War to his death. This record is made up from Washington's diary, from his correspondence, and from various contemporary sources. The work is on the plan of the Washington "Itinerary" (1777-1789) also compiled by Mr. Baker.

Anti-Slavery Leaders of North Carolina. By John Spencer Bassett, Ph.D. Paper, 8vo, pp. 74. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 50 cents.

A series of five biographical sketches, the most noteworthy of which is that of Hinton Rowan Helper, author of "The Impending Crisis of the South," a book which had an extraordinary sale just before the Civil War and greatly influenced public opinion on the slavery question. Mr. Helper is still living.

William Stokes: His Life and Work (1804-1878). By William Stokes. 12mo, pp. 256. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. \$1.25.

Sir Benjamin Collins Brodie. By Timothy Holmes. 12mo, pp. 256. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. \$1.25.

It was to be expected that the "Masters of Medicine" series of biographies would be interesting to physicians, but some of the more recent volumes have been written in a way that can hardly fail to make them attractive to the general reader. The memoir of Stokes, the great Irish medical man, written by his son, and that of Brodie, the eminent Scotch surgeon, throw various side-lights on the times in which these men lived and labored. More than most followers of their profession these men had interests in other lines of activity and their memoirs tell us much that is interesting and instructive, apart from the records of two most fruitful scientific careers.

Henry of Guise, and Other Portraits. By H. C. Macdowall. 8vo, pp. 344. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$2.75.

Three interesting biographical essays on Henry of Guise. Agrippa d'Aubigné, and Catherine of Navarre, respectively.

The Life of Judge Jeffreys. By H. B. Irving. 8vo, pp. 880. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. \$4.

The popular prejudice against Macaulay's heavy villain is deep-seated, but conscientious labors like those of Mr. Irving, even though they do no more than prove that the devil is less black than he is painted, should be encouraged; they must ultimately bear fruit. In the present handsome volume Mr. Irving has given us an elaborate study (and to a certain extent a justification) of the best-hated man of his century. Three interesting portraits of Jeffreys accompany the text.

POLITICAL SCIENCE AND ECONOMICS.

Cases on American Constitutional Law. Edited by Carl Evans Boyd, Ph.D. 8vo, pp. 689. Chicago: Callaghan & Co. \$3.

In this volume the editor has brought together a number of the more notable decisions of the United States Supreme Court on points of constitutional law. The book is designed as an aid in the application of the "case system" of study, now so popular in many law schools, to the special department of constitutional interpretation. It seems admirably fitted for this purpose.

Karl Marx and the Close of his System: A Criticism. By Eugen v. Böhm-Bawerk. Translated by Alice M. Macdonald. 12mo, pp. 221. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$1.60.

This essay was written by the great Austrian economist as a tribute to Professor Kries. It has just been translated by Mrs. Macdonald, and a preface by Dr. James Bonar summarizes its most important points. As an exhaustive criticism of Marx and his theories it should not be overlooked by students of that system of economic philosophy.

Report of the Monetary Commission of the Indianapolis Convention. 8vo, pp. 621. Indianapolis: H. H. Hanna.

This volume, which has been prepared for publication by Prof. J. Laurence Laughlin, includes not only the preliminary report of the Monetary Commission, issued early in the present year, but also exhaustive treatises on metallic money, banking, and government notes, with valuable statistical matter in an appendix. For the presentation of this material in so excellent a form Professor Laughlin and his fellow members of the commission deserve the thanks of all students of the money question.

The Ohio Tax Inquisitor Law. By T. N. Carver, Ph.D. Paper, 12mo, pp. 50. (Economic Studies, Vol. III., No. 3.) New York: The Macmillan Company. 50 cents.

Professor Carver's study of the Ohio tax laws, published for the American Economic Association, covers many points of importance to other States. It should not be overlooked by members of tax commissions or other special students of taxation in this country.

German Wage Theories: a History of Their Development. By James W. Crook, Ph.D. Paper, 8vo, pp. 113. New York: Columbia University. \$1.

MISCELLANY.

The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine. Vol. LV. November, 1897, to April, 1898. 4to, pp. 960. New York: The Century Company. \$3.

The last completed volume of the *Century* contains a number of important articles on matters of current and permanent interest. "The River Trip to the Klondike" is described by John Sidney Webb and "The Rush to the Klondike over the Mountain Passes" by Edward S. Curtis. Col. Theodore Roosevelt discusses "Fights between Ironclads," with reference to their priority and significance. The famous sea-fight in 1879 between Chilean and Peruvian war-ships is

described by Claude H. Wetmore. In the series of "Heroes of Peace" there are illustrated articles on "Every-Day Heroism" and "Heroes of the Life-Saving Service" by Gustav Kobbé, and "Heroes Who Fight Fire," by Jacob A. Riis. Mrs. Sara Y. Stevenson contributes five notable papers on Maximilian, the ill-fated Emperor of Mexico. These are only a few of the interesting features of the volume. More extended comment was given in the *REVIEW* as the monthly numbers appeared.

EDUCATION.

A Brief Sketch of George Peabody, and a History of the Peabody Education Fund through Thirty Years. By J. L. M. Curry. 8vo, pp. 161. Washington: Published by the Author.

In this volume Dr. Curry gives a clear exposition of the aims and purposes of the Peabody Education Fund, with a brief account of the life and services of its founder. The thirty-years' record of the fund's administration is truly an inspiring one. It affords good grounds for encouragement regarding the South's educational future.

Founder's Day at Hampton: An Address in Memory of Samuel Chapman Armstrong. By Francis Greenwood Peabody. 16mo, pp. 31. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 50 cents.

Dr. Peabody's Founder's Day address at Hampton reminds us of the fact that General Armstrong's impulse to build up the Hampton Institute came to him from his American missionary antecedents in Hawaii, where similar work among the natives had been carried on by his father. It is interesting to note that the progress of the colored race in the South since the Civil War owes so much to a man born and reared in a far-distant land which has only now come under the American flag.

The History of the Lowell Institute. By Harriette Knight Smith. 12mo, pp. 135. Boston: Lamson, Wolfe & Co. \$1.

The Lowell Institute, of Boston, has existed for nearly sixty years, and has certainly had a most honorable record as an educational enterprise. On this foundation more than four thousand free lectures have been given by distinguished scientists, philosophers, and literary men. This little volume tells the story of the institute, or lectureship, from its beginnings and includes lists of the lecturers and of published books resulting from lectures.

The Evolution of the College Student. By William De Witt Hyde. 12mo, pp. 39. Boston: T. Y. Crowell & Co. 35 cents.

In the preface of this little book President Hyde says: "This kinetoscopic picture is presented in the hope that it may assure over-anxious parents that not every aberration of their sons is either final or fatal, persuade critics of college administration that our problem is not so simple as they seem to think, and inspire the public with the conviction, cherished by every college officer, that college students, with all their faults and follies, are the best fellows in the world, and that, notwithstanding much crude speculation about things human, and some honest skepticism concerning things divine, the great social institutions of family and industry and church and State may be safely intrusted to their true hearts and generous hands." The book is made up of a series of letters supposed to have been written by a college student to his family and sweetheart. The vital topics of college life are presented in a highly effective way.

Princeton—Old and New: Recollections of Undergraduate Life. By James W. Alexander, A.M. 12mo, pp. 109. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.25.

This book is sure to interest all Princeton men, and readers who never saw Princeton will be charmed by its pictures of college life. The illustrations, by W. R. Leigh, contribute in no small measure to this charm.

Letters on Early Education, Addressed to J. P. Greaves, Esq., by Pestalozzi. Translated from the German Manuscript. 16mo, pp. 180. Syracuse: C. W. Bardeen. \$1.

These valuable letters of Pestalozzi on infant education and the guidance of mothers have long been out of print. The English translation now reprinted was published in London in 1827. The German originals were never published and are believed to be no longer in existence.

Rousseau and Education According to Nature. By Thomas Davidson. 12mo, pp. 268. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.

Professor Davidson has analyzed Rousseau's philosophy remorselessly, but he is not blind to the service that Rousseau did as an agitator and a disturber of the existing order. The book is a capital commentary on Rousseau's life and ideals.

The Development of the Child. By Nathan Oppenheim. 12mo, pp. 296. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$1.25.

In this volume Dr. Oppenheim discusses such topics as "The Place of the Primary School in the Development of the Child," "The Place of Religion," "The Development of the Child-Criminal," "Institutional Life," and "The Profession of Maternity." These essays are all highly suggestive and in the truest sense practical.

SCHOOL AND COLLEGE TEXT-BOOKS.

Principles of English Grammar. By G. R. Carpenter. 12mo, pp. 264. New York: The Macmillan Company. 75 cents.

The New Century Speaker. Selected and adapted for use in declamation, and in the study of American oratory in the latter part of the nineteenth century. By Henry Allyn Frink. 12mo, pp. 358. Boston: Ginn & Co. \$1.

Macaulay's Essay on Addison. Edited, with Notes, by Herbert A. Smith. 12mo, pp. 146. Boston: Ginn & Co. 35 cents.

Dryden's Palamon and Arcite. Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by George E. Eliot, Jr. 12mo, pp. 134. Ginn & Co. 40 cents.

George Eliot's Silas Marner. Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by R. Adelaide Witham. 12mo, pp. 270. Boston: Ginn & Co. 60 cents.

Coleridge's The Ancient Mariner. Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by Lincoln R. Gibbs. 12mo, pp. 81. Boston: Ginn & Co. 30 cents.

Pope's Translation of Homer's Iliad. Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by William Tappan. 12mo, pp. 143. Boston: Ginn & Co. 35 cents.

Edmund Burke's Letter to a Noble Lord. Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by Albert H. Smyth. 12mo, pp. 120. Boston: Ginn & Co. 35 cents.

Milton's Paradise Lost, Books I. and II., and Lycidas. Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by Homer B. Sprague. 12mo, pp. 196. Boston: Ginn & Co. 45 cents.

Palamon and Arcite. By John Dryden. With Introduction, Critical Opinions, and Notes. 16mo, pp. 132. New York: Maynard, Merrill & Co. 24 cents.

Charles Kingsley's The Water-Babies. Edited and Abridged by Edna H. Turpin. 16mo, pp. 142. New York: Maynard, Merrill & Co. 24 cents.

Dryden's Essays on the Drama. Edited, with an Introduction and Notes, by William Strunk, Jr. 16mo, pp. 218. New York: Henry Holt & Co. 50 cents.

Selections from the Writings of Walter Savage Landor. Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by W. B. Shubrick Clymer. 12mo, pp. 300. Boston: Ginn & Co. \$1.10.

The Children's Fourth Reader. By Ellen M. Cyr. 12mo, pp. 396. Boston: Ginn & Co.

Graphic Representation of English and American Literature. By Charles W. Kent. Paper, 12mo, pp. 10. New York: Henry Holt & Co. 25 cents.

The Essentials of Argumentation. By Elias J. Mac Ewan. 12mo, pp. 430. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. \$1.12.

The Ethics of Hobbes. With Introduction by E. Hershey Sneath. 12mo, pp. 398. Boston: Ginn & Co. \$1.35.

Sixth Music Reader. By Luther Whiting Mason, James M. McLaughlin, George A. Veazie and W. W. Gilchrist. Boards, pp. 298. Boston: Ginn & Co. 60 cents.

The Mason School Music Course, Book One. By Luther Whiting Mason, Fred H. Butterfield and Osbourne McConathy. Boards, 12mo, pp. 94. Boston: Ginn & Co.

Caesar's Gallic War. Reëdited by James B. Greenough, Benjamin L. D'Ooge and M. Grant Daniell. Half leather, 12mo, pp. 676. Boston: Ginn & Co. \$1.25.

The First Book of Caesar's Gallic War. Edited, with Notes and Vocabulary, by Arthur W. Roberts. 16mo, pp. 219. Boston: Ginn & Co. 50 cents.

First Lessons in French. By Baptiste Méras and Sigmon M. Stern. 12mo, pp. 321. New York: Henry Holt & Co. \$1.

Un Peu de Tout. Being a complete school or private preparation of French. By F. Julien. 12mo, pp. 292. New York: William R. Jenkins. 75 cents.

La Fille du Député. By Georges Ohnet. With Notes by George A. D. Beck. 16mo, pp. 209. New York: Henry Holt & Co. 50 cents.

Le Roi des Montagnes. By Edmond About. With Introduction and Notes by Thomas Logie. Boards, 12mo, pp. 240. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. 45 cents.

Histoire d'un Merle Blanc. By Alfred de Musset. Edited by Agnès Cointat and H. Isabelle Williams. Boards, 16mo, pp. 50. New York: Henry Holt & Co. 30 cents.

Introduction à l'Histoire de la Littérature Anglaise. By H. Taine. Edited, with an Essay on Taine, by Irving Babbitt. Paper, 12mo, pp. 48. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. 20 cents.

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Abbreviations of Magazine Titles used in the Index.

[All the articles in the leading reviews are indexed, but only the more important articles in the other magazines.]

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|---|--|---|
| AP. American Amateur Photog-
rapher, N. Y. | DH. Deutscher Hausschatz, Re-
gensburg. | NatGM. National Geographic Maga-
zine, Washington, D. C. |
| AHR. American Historical Review,
N. Y. | DeutR. Deutsche Revue, Stuttgart. | NatM. National Magazine, Boston. |
| AJS. American Journal of Soci-
ology, Chicago. | ER. Edinburgh Review, London. | NatR. National Review, London. |
| AJT. American Journal of The-
ology, Chicago. | Ed. Education, Boston. | NEM. New England Magazine, Bos-
ton. |
| ALR. American Law Review, St.
Louis. | EdRNY. Educational Review, N. Y. | NW. New World, Boston. |
| AMonM. American Monthly Magazine,
Washington, D. C. | EngM. Engineering Magazine, N. Y. | NC. Nineteenth Century, London. |
| AMRR. American Monthly Review of
Reviews, N. Y. | EM. España Moderna, Madrid. | NAR. North American Review, N.Y. |
| AAPS. Annals of the American Acad-
emy of Pol. and Soc. Science,
Phila. | FR. Fortnightly Review, London. | NR. Nouvelle Revue, Paris. |
| APS. Appleton's Popular Science
Monthly, N. Y. | F. Forum, N. Y. | NA. Nuova Antologia, Rome. |
| ARec. Architectural Record, N. Y. | FrL. Frank Leslie's Monthly, N. Y. | OC. Open Court, Chicago. |
| A. Arena, Boston. | GM. Gentleman's Magazine, Lon-
don. | O. Outlook, N. Y. |
| AA. Art Amateur, N. Y. | G. Godey's, N. Y. | OM. Overland Monthly, San Fran-
cisco. |
| AI. Art Interchange, N. Y. | GBag. Green Bag, Boston. | PMM. Pall Mall Magazine, London. |
| AJ. Art Journal, London. | GMag. Gunton's Magazine, N. Y. | PRev. Philosophical Review, N. Y. |
| Art. Artist, London. | Harp. Harper's Magazine, N. Y. | PA. Photo-American, N. Y. |
| AM. Atlantic Monthly, Boston. | HM. Home Magazine, N. Y. | PL. Post-Lore, Boston. |
| Bad. Badminton, London. | HomR. Homileic Review, N. Y. | PSQ. Political Science Quarterly,
Boston. |
| BankL. Bankers' Magazine, London. | IJE. International Journal of
Ethics, Phila. | QJEcon. Quarterly Journal of Econom-
ics, Boston. |
| BankNY. Bankers' Magazine, N. Y. | IntS. International Studio, London. | QR. Quarterly Review, London. |
| BW. Biblical World, Chicago. | IA. Irrigation Age, Chicago. | RN. Rassegna Nazionale, Florence. |
| BU. Bibliothèque Universelle, Lau-
sanne. | JAES. Journal of the Ass'n of En-
gineering Societies, Phila. | ReS. Réforme Sociale, Paris. |
| Black. Blackwood's Magazine, Edin-
burgh. | JF. Journal of Finance, London. | RRL. Review of Reviews, London. |
| BTJ. Board of Trade Journal, Lon-
don. | JMSI. Journal of the Military Serv-
ice Institution, Governor's
Island, N. Y. H. | RKM. Review of Reviews, Mel-
bourne. |
| Bkman. Bookman, N. Y. | JPEcon. Journal of Political Economy,
Chicago. | RP. Revue de Paris, Paris. |
| CanM. Canadian Magazine, Toronto. | Kind. Kindergarten, Chicago. | RDM. Revue des Deux Mondes, Paris. |
| CFM. Cassell's Family Magazine,
London. | K. Knowledge, London. | RG. Revue Générale, Brussels. |
| CasM. Cassell's Magazine, N. Y. | LHJ. Ladies' Home Journal, Phila. | RPP. Revue Politique et Parlia-
mentaire, Paris. |
| CW. Catholic World, N. Y. | LH. Leisure Hour, London. | RSoc. Revue Socialiste, Paris. |
| CM. Century Magazine, N. Y. | Lipp. Lippincott's Magazine, Phila. | R. Rosary, Somerset, Ohio. |
| CJ. Chambers's Journal, Edin-
burgh. | LQ. London Quarterly Review,
London. | San. Sanitarian, N. Y. |
| CRev. Charities Review, N. Y. | Long. Longman's Magazine, London. | SRRev. School Review, Chicago. |
| Chaut. Chautauquan, Meadville, Pa. | McCl. McClure's Magazine, N. Y. | Scots. Scots Magazine, Perth. |
| CR. Contemporary Review, Lon-
don. | Mac. Macmillan's Magazine, Lon-
don. | Scrib. Scribner's Magazine, N. Y. |
| C. Cornhill, London. | MA. Magazine of Art, London. | SR. Sewanee Review, Sewanee,
Tenn. |
| Cosmop. Cosmopolis, London. | Men. Menorah Monthly, N. Y. | Str. Strand Magazine, London. |
| Cos. Cosmopolitan, N. Y. | Met. Metaphysical Magazine, N. Y. | USM. United Service Magazine,
London. |
| Crit. Critic, N. Y. | MRN. Methodist Review, Nashville. | WR. Westminster Review, London. |
| Dem. Demorest's Family Magazine,
N. Y. | MidM. Midland Monthly, Des Moines,
Iowa. | WM. Werner's Magazine, N. Y. |
| | MisH. Missionary Herald, Boston. | WWM. Wide World Magazine, Lon-
don. |
| | MisR. Missionary Review, N. Y. | WPM. Wilson's Photographic Maga-
zine, N. Y. |
| | Mon. Monist, Chicago. | YR. Yale Review, New Haven. |
| | M. Month, London. | YM. Young Man, London. |
| | MM. Munsey's Magazine, N. Y. | YM. Young Woman, London. |
| | Mus. Music, Chicago. | |

THE AMERICAN MONTHLY REVIEW OF REVIEWS.

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THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD.

*Peace-Making
at Paris.*

The American peace commissioners sailed from New York on board the *Campania* on Saturday, September 17, in order to meet the Spanish commissioners at Paris on or before the date specified in the protocol, which was October 1. As finally constituted, the group of five American commissioners consisted of Judge Day, who resigned his office as Secretary of State on the day before he sailed; Senator Davis, of Minnesota, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee; Senator Frye, of Maine, whose name stands second on that committee and who is also chairman of the Commerce Committee; Senator Gray, of Delaware, a prominent member of the Foreign Relations Committee, and the only Democrat on the board; and Mr. Whitelaw Reid, editor of the *New York Tribune*, formerly minister to France by President Harrison's appointment, and more recently a special representative of the United States at the celebration of the Queen's diamond jubilee. The work of these commissioners is in no sense akin to that of a board of arbitration, but is strictly diplomatic in its nature. The board will act under instructions from the administration at Washington, exercising only so much of discretion as the administration may have chosen to accord to it. Before sailing the commissioners were in close and protracted conference with Mr. McKinley, while Cabinet members were recalled from their vacations in order that the President's constitutional advisers might be consulted on every point

while the peace commissioners were still in Washington. The First Assistant Secretary of State, Professor Moore, accompanied the commission in the capacity of secretary. Mr. Moore's functions will be those of a secretary in the most important sense of the word; and by reason of his expert attainments in international law he will act as legal adviser of the commissioners. The board as constituted is entitled to the confidence of the country. Senators Davis and Gray are lawyers of eminence, ability, and remarkable attainments. Temperamentally they balance each other exceedingly well. Mr. Davis is what a few dozen persons in Boston and New York would stigmatize as an "imperialist" and a "jingo." Mr. Gray, thus far, has not been similarly labeled. It merely happens that Mr. Davis, as a Western man, knows the whole coun-

BUILDING OF THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, PARIS, IN WHICH THE AMERICAN AND SPANISH COMMISSIONERS WILL HOLD THEIR SESSIONS.

try better and reaches conclusions with more swiftness and certainty. Judge Day has had less public experience, but he has no lack of confidence in his country, and his mind works along logical lines in a clear and direct fashion. Mr. Whitelaw Reid has the adaptability and quick mind of a long journalistic career. The commissioners will, therefore, most certainly work together in harmony, and they may be expected to show good judgment at all points. It is understood that they will not be disposed to tolerate any needless quibbling or delay. The commissioners hope to finish their work within six weeks.

The Philippines as the Crucial Issue. There is no very large point of principle or policy left open by the protocol except as respects the disposal of the Philippines. As we have observed from month to month, there is no easy way

Photo by Bell.

SENATOR GEORGE GRAY, OF THE PEACE COMMISSION.

reconciled to the continued presence and oversight of the United States. An insurgent convention last month took that ground. Gen. Wesley Merritt departed several weeks ago from Manila, in order to meet the peace commissioners at Paris and give them the benefit of his observations. General Otis, meanwhile, has been in command of our troops at Manila, and seems to have shown excellent judgment in dealing with every question that has arisen. The earlier newspaper reports of serious friction between the insurgent chiefs and the American forces in the Philippines have probably given a wrong impression. The fact seems to be that the chief anxiety of the insurgents is to make sure that there shall be no compromise with the Spaniards under the terms of the Paris treaty, but that Spain shall withdraw as completely from the Philippines as from the West Indies. Certainly there is no simple solution except Spanish withdrawal. There is much reason to believe that the President, the Cabinet, and the peace commissioners found themselves irresistibly driven toward this conclusion early in September as they studied possible alternatives.

*Actual
Sentiment
in Spain*

Meanwhile, in spite of all reports of impending cabinet crises in Spain, the Sagasta ministry has held on its course. Public opinion has been surprisingly lethargic throughout the whole Spanish peninsula. For many weeks all constitutional guarantees have been suppressed, and the country has been governed by the absolute will of the ex-

"A YANKEE PROTÉGÉ THE FUTURE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PHILIPPINES AT WASHINGTON."
From *La Revista Moderna* (Madrid).

ecutive officers without any regard to the rights of individuals as set forth in the organic law of the land. The press has been subjected to the strictest censorship. In view of the manner in which the daily newspapers have been muzzled, it is somewhat surprising that the cartoonists of *Don Quixote*, a number of whose drawings we are reproducing on subsequent pages, should have been allowed the liberty they have exercised in attacking Sagasta. It is tolerably clear, from our examination of a large number of Spanish papers, that—the colonies having become so serious a burden—the Spanish people have made up their minds to lose them all without much further display of opposition. Cuba has always been the one outlying possession for which the Spaniards felt a strong attachment. Having lost Cuba, and knowing that in any case they are certain to lose Manila, they look upon the whole series of beyond-sea island possessions as virtually surrendered. The Spanish commissioners at Paris will doubtless make a great show of haggling about the Philippines; but it will only be for the sake of gaining certain other advantages of detail in the working out of the treaty. If possible, in compensation for the Philippines, they will endeavor to devolve upon Cuba or this country a part of the so-called Cuban debt, and they will also try to make saving stipulations regarding the vast property holdings of the monastic orders in the Philippines. But there remains no considerable body of public sentiment in Spain that demands the retention of sovereign rights over any portion of the Philippine Islands. The inevitable has already been accepted.

SEÑOR CASTELLAR, THE QUIESCENT REPUBLICAN LEADER OF SPAIN.

*Apathy
and
Aequiescence.*

The Cortes came together at the call of the government in due course after the signing of the peace protocol, and, with much less of turbulence and uproar than had been expected, the Chambers obeyed Sagasta's demand and voted their authorization of the cession of the colonies. The Queen Regent in turn signed the fateful bill for the alienation of national territory.

Sagasta refused to give the Cortes any documents or information in detail, and a speedy adjournment was reached. There were naturally some fierce discussions behind the closed doors, but the logic of stern facts could not be talked down, and in any case Spain was to be ably represented at Paris by trusted men. The Chambers will probably not be in session again until after the conclusion of the work of the peace commissioners at Paris. Then, Sagasta promises, everything will be set forth in full. Carlism has shown itself somewhat uneasy and menacing, and the newspaper dispatches have given the impression that

DISPUTE OVER THE SPOILS.

From *El Hijo del Ahuizote* (City of Mexico).

Don Carlos' adherents were getting ready for early action under the guidance of the pretender. But unless there should occur some powerful awakening of the lethargic masses of the people, who thus far have seemed to want nothing at all except to be allowed to live and labor in peace and quiet, there will be no Carlist uprising and no republican revolution. The latest bull-fight interests the people of Madrid far more keenly than the work of the peace commission at Paris ; and Barcelona simply longs for an end of wars and rumors of wars, in order that her interrupted commercial life may flow on in the usual channels. As for the rural districts, they are concerned with the crops and the vintage ; and they would have nothing to complain of if they could get rid of war taxes and the impressment of their sons into the detested army service. All attempts to arouse Spain to any form of vigorous protest against the Sagasta policy or the results of the war have as yet shown no sign of success.

*Germany's
Covetous-
ness* Thus the treaty of Paris, in all its principal features, must resolve itself simply into an embodiment of the demands that the United States may choose to make. Spain has neither the power nor the disposition to insist upon anything essentially different. Nor are there any foreign countries that will venture to dispute the conclusions. All European governments take it for granted that under the circumstances the United States must assume the task of administering the entire Philippine group. The only possible exception is Germany, which, though without any claim whatever to consideration in the settlement of the questions between Spain and the United States, is very eagerly in the market for colonial possessions. Germany has fondly hoped that in the general smash-up of Spain's colonies there might be a chance

to pick up a bargain. Her recent irritating behavior toward Admiral Dewey and the American navy and army in the Philippines has by no means tended to improve Germany's prospects in that quarter. There is some reason to believe, however, that the high officials at Berlin have seen a new light and that they have at length made the discovery that friendliness toward the United States and England, rather than bluster and ill-will, would best serve the legitimate aspirations of the great Teutonic nation. The simple fact is that the German population is growing very rapidly, while German manufactures and commerce are also forging ahead with every promise of a steady future growth. Germany wishes outlets for her people and her trade. In a very few years, if present tendencies remain unchanged, Germany will have twice the population of France, even though

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THE REAPER IN THE MOUNTAIN MEADOW.—FROM "NUEVO MUNDO" OF AUGUST 21.
(This picture, from a very recent Spanish paper, shows the real spirit of a people who do not want wars or uprisings, but only a chance to live in peace.)

month, acting as foreign minister in the absence of Lord Salisbury, and the German ambassador at London, acting for his government. It is understood that this agreement secures for England the full sanction by Germany of all points in the British-African programme. For example, the complete success of Sir Herbert Kitchener's expedition to Khartoum is likely to mean the permanent occupation of Egypt and the Soudan by England, and it is understood that Germany henceforth will support England as against France in all Egyptian questions. On the other hand, it is further understood that Germany has become reconciled to the English arrangement for obtaining control by purchase or lease from Portugal of Delagoa Bay. This, if true, would mean the abandonment by Germany of the support of President Kruger in his opposition to England's South African policy. British control of Delagoa Bay means the complete hemming in on all sides of the Transvaal Republic by British authority and influence.

*What Has
Germany
to Gain?*

Rumors are not so clear as to the counterbalancing advantages that Germany is to derive from the new understanding with England. Undoubtedly, however, the Germans are to receive some *quid pro quo*, and among other things it is believed that their projects for railroad-building in Asia Minor and their aspirations for increased influence in the Turkish empire (and in general toward the southeast) are henceforth to be encouraged, rather than antagonized, by Great Britain. Meanwhile, it is vaguely in the air that the reestablishment of a good understanding between England and Germany is to be attended by an endeavor to smooth relations between Germany and the United States. It must continue to be the American policy to cultivate friendly and harmonious relations with all nations, while endeavoring most of all to maintain harmony with Great Britain. As for Germany, nothing would in the long run be more advantageous than the intimate friendship of the governments at London and Washington. The German Emperor is preparing in the most elaborate way for a visit to Syria and the Holy Land, where at Jerusalem a new Lutheran church is to be dedicated late in October. Some of the newspapers have written about this proposed journey as if it were merely a sentimental affair, planned by the eccentric Emperor with a view to exhibiting himself in a new rôle. Whether or not there may be some more or less fantastic and merely spectacular phases to the proposed pilgrimage, there is also believed by the well informed to be plenty of hard business

From the Illustrated London News.

THE ANGOLO-GERMAN ALLIANCE—MR. BALFOUR AT THE FOREIGN OFFICE—A CALL FROM COUNT HATZFELDT.

(The unusual relative position is due to the indifferent health of Count Hatzfeldt.)

Germany every year sends forth a large number of emigrants, while France sends practically none. It is natural and also reasonable that the Germans should seek to provide in one way and another for the better security and the more comfortable expansion of the future hosts of the German brotherhood. England and the United States might readily enough fall in with Germany's plans and be of no little use to the German people if the right spirit were shown all around. As matters stand in the Philippines, however, it is to be feared that Germany has herself spoiled all her prospects. She has been exceedingly disagreeable in the tripartite arrangement for the management of Samoa; and the United States will not be disposed to tolerate the idea of having her for a neighbor in the Philippines.

*The New Deal
Between Ger-
many and
England.*

The German Foreign Office has at length made the discovery that the policy of nagging at England continually is not profitable. For the present, at least, that policy has been discontinued. Some kind of agreement was reached by Mr. Balfour last

whole question of the modern military system. In public, all statesmen have avowed their belief in the sincerity and lofty motives of the Czar and have highly commended his proposals. In private, nearly all the diplomats and statesmen of the European world, if more or less authentic undercurrents of report may be trusted, are taking a decidedly cynical tone.

*What Peace
Means to
Russia.*

One thing at least is absolutely certain, and that is that Russia is profoundly desirous of keeping the peace and is very far from being prepared to wage war with either Germany or England. It will be a number of years before the Trans-Siberian Railway will be nearly enough completed to be used for transporting troops and supplies to Corea, northern China, or any of those regions where there has been so much friction between British and Russian interests. It would be hopeless for the Russian soldiers to attempt to cope on the Chinese coasts with the English ships. Russia has plenty of men under arms and could recruit still vaster forces; but her resources are so undeveloped that in a great war it would be well-nigh impossible to transport or supply large Russian armies, and in such respects Germany is incomparably superior. Russia has every reason for desiring a long period of profound peace. Her statesmen have observed the progress of

**THE NEW GERMAN CHURCH IN JERUSALEM TO BE DEDICATED
IN PRESENCE OF THE KAISER ON OCTOBER 31.**

in it all. Germany has plans of considerable moment affecting the eastern Mediterranean, and her aims in those regions will not be relished by the Russians. It would behoove the Emperor, therefore, to have British countenance, and it would also be worth his while to have the moral approval of America.

*The Czar's
Manifesto.*

The crowned heads of Europe have, for one reason or another, been very prominent in the past few weeks. The German Emperor's plans and movements, which always furnish international journalists with a fair amount of weekly news and gossip, have been thrown a little into the background by the prominence which the young Russian Czar has attained. This new sovereign has kept himself so much in reserve that the outside world as yet knows very little of his personality. Since his brilliant coronation one had read very little of his doings. He astonished Europe late in August by issuing a manifesto (handed to the ambassadors at St. Petersburg on August 24 and published in the United States on August 29) on behalf of disarmament and the permanent peace of the world. Upon the practical side, his manifesto took the form of a request to the civilized governments of the earth that they should send representatives to a great conference which should consider the

**MONUMENT TO ALEXANDER II., AT MOSCOW, DEDICATED
ON AUGUST 28 IN PRESENCE OF THE CZAR.**

the United States, and realized the fact that the material greatness of this country is due to the immense development of the Mississippi Valley and the far West in the more than thirty years that have followed the Civil War. The profound object of Russia's policy is to build railroads, open mines, bring vast areas of wheat lands into cultivation, and, in short, to build up the nation upon a basis of economic progress and prosperity.

Count Muraviev. The Czar.
THE CZAR AND HIS FOREIGN MINISTER.

This being true, Russia would gladly obtain relief from the enormous pecuniary burdens imposed upon her by the maintenance of her huge armies. She needs the money for railroads and the agencies of peaceful development. But she is the victim of the prevailing military system of Europe and considers it necessary to go armed if her neighbors do the same. It has been very much the European habit of mind to regard Russia as the great menace to the world's peace, but the Russians take precisely the opposite view of their position and are very far indeed from wishing to provoke a war. Moreover, they are shrewd diplomats and have scored great points of late years. As matters stand, they have nothing to gain and very much to lose by going to war. The new Czar will keep the peace.

Militant France. The power that seemed to be the most disagreeably surprised by the Czar's proposal was the Czar's own ally, France. For more than twenty-five years the French people, at almost countless expense, have been building up their immense military machine, with the one object of using it when the opportunity should offer to undo the results of the war of 1870. They entered into the existing alliance

with Russia in order to make their general position more secure for the accomplishment of their one great national aim. But the universal peace movement at the present time, with disarmament as its chief object, would mean the permanent loss of the Rhine provinces. It is true that France does not enjoy the financial burdens of the military system, but she is not prepared to give up her cherished revenge and the recovery of Alsace-Lorraine for the mere sake of lighter taxes. There are worse things, however, than the loss of provinces and the abandonment of cherished schemes of revenge. Militarism in France has been at the expense of civil liberty. There is no national cause so great or so worthy that it should ever be prosecuted at the expense of simple justice to the humblest individual. French aspirations have depended upon the army, and thus the army has become the object of national devotion. Whatever might tend to discredit the army must be destroyed at all hazards. The public opinion of France has insisted upon holding Dreyfus guilty of the crime of selling military secrets to foreign governments because somebody had certainly been guilty; and Dreyfus, as a Jew, could be made the scapegoat with less reflection upon the army administration than any other solution of the matter. Recent events have opened up the whole Dreyfus question once more, with some prospect at last that the truth may prevail. It is a hideous tale of crime.

The Dreyfus Case Again. In the first place, then, not to complicate the story with details at every point, it is entirely true that French military secrets were sold to the governments of Germany and Italy. A regular service was maintained through the agency of the German military attaché at Paris. There is practically nothing of moment in the French War Office in the way of possible plans of campaign and orders in detail for the mobilization of troops that the War Office at Berlin does not possess in exact duplicate. All this information has been purchased from French officers by the German Government. When the facts are all known it will probably be common news, as it is now an open secret among politicians and military men in Germany, that the "heavy villain" in France was Major Esterhazy, who was paid a regular monthly stipend and who made use in his own way of others in the French army. The Germans insist that Dreyfus is absolutely innocent and so do the Italians. The new French ministry, which came in some weeks ago under the prime ministership of Brisson, with Cavaignac as minister of war, held exactly the same attitude toward the Dreyfus question as the preceding ministry. On July 7 Cavaignac,

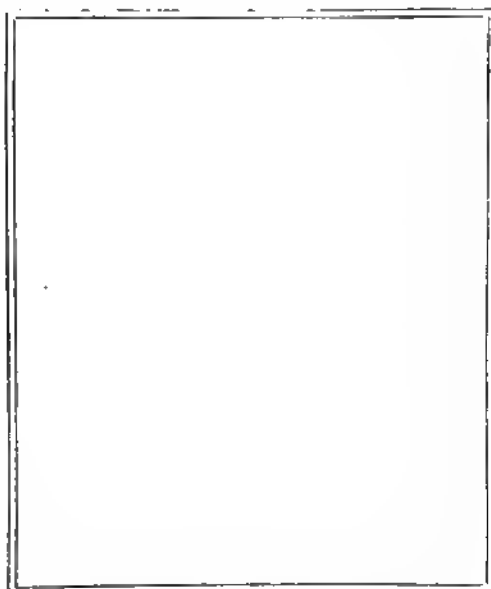
the new minister of war, made an elaborate speech in the Chamber of Deputies, in which he reviewed the entire Dreyfus subject, assured the Chamber that he was absolutely convinced of the guilt of Dreyfus, and rested his argument in particular upon a certain letter which had been written by the German military *attaché* to the

readily enough found to be what the German officer had declared it to be—namely, a palpable forgery. The authorship was quickly traced to Colonel Henry, a trusted officer of the secret intelligence bureau who had taken a leading part in the conviction of Dreyfus and in the acquittal of Esterhazy. When Cavaignac brought the matter home to him, Henry confessed that he had himself forged the letter. Whereupon he was arrested and thrown into the fort at Mont Valerian. His suicide by means of a razor was duly announced the following morning.

Consequences of Henry's Confession. Colonel Henry was a plain, straightforward officer, almost insanely devoted to the army, and apparently without personal motives for his misconduct. It is generally believed, therefore, that in forging the letter he had been the tool of other men of a more designing and corrupt character, and it is also generally believed that his suicide, or

M. CAVAIGNAC, EX-MINISTER OF WAR.

Italian military *attaché*—the French secret service having obtained possession of the letter—in which the transactions with Dreyfus were mentioned in an entirely unmistakable manner. The German officer in question, who was no longer in Paris, but now in Berlin, proceeded to inform his Emperor "on his honor as a soldier" that he had never written any such letter and that it was a clumsy forgery. The Italian officer, in turn, assured his government that he had never received any such letter and had never been concerned in any of the transactions with Dreyfus mentioned in it. Whereupon it was arranged in Berlin and in Rome that the French ambassadors should be brought into contact with these *attachés*, who had formerly been in Paris, in order to receive from them the same assurances. The French ambassadors, in turn, promptly notified their government at Paris, and Cavaignac could, under the circumstances, of course, do nothing less than subject the letter in question to a very careful expert examination. It had seemed to be genuine until its character was called into question, but when once examined critically it was



THE LATE COLONEL HENRY,
CHIEF OF SECRET INTELLIGENCE BUREAU.

murder, in his cell was with the motive of protecting others more guilty than himself. It is still stoutly maintained by the enemies of Dreyfus and the defenders of the army policy that, quite apart from this particular forged letter, the evidence against Dreyfus was ample. It is not denied, however, that it was entirely secret evidence, and that neither Dreyfus himself nor his legal counsel has ever had an opportunity to know what the testimony against him was and, much less, an opportunity to refute it.

GENERAL ZURLINDEN.

(Who was minister of war and twice military governor of Paris within a few days last month.)

Under the circumstances, the whole world has now abundant reason for reversing the ordinary rule and considering Dreyfus innocent until he is proved guilty, and for considering the whole inner clique of army men at Paris guilty until they can demonstrate their freedom from complicity in the forgeries and crimes that Colonel Henry could not have committed without accomplices. As matters stand, it is still uncertain whether or not there will be a revision of the Dreyfus case. The confession and suicide of Colonel Henry has at least affected public opinion in France to a considerable extent, so that many of the men who persecuted Zola for his righteous and magnificent championship of Dreyfus some months ago have seen the error of their ways. Premier Brisson himself, who has always been accounted a just and courageous man, is in favor of a reëxamination of the whole subject. Cavaignac stubbornly refused to agree with Brisson and left the cabinet on September 3. His successor was chosen in the person of General Zurlinden, the Military Governor of Paris. He in turn resigned on September 17 and was succeeded by General Chanoine. General Boisdeffre, chief of staff of the French army, retired promptly on the strength of Colonel Henry's confession. It will be remembered that during the Esterhazy

GENERAL RENOUARD.

(Who succeeded General Boisdeffre as chief of the general staff of the French army.)

and Zola trials General Boisdeffre had borne himself in court in the most high-handed and insolent manner, asserting the claims of the army as against the fair and orderly presentation of evidence. If all these sickening disclosures might only have the effect to abate the French passion for the army and for military glory, the humiliation would not have been in vain. A few weeks ago Esterhazy posed before the adoring populace of Paris as the champion of the army and the flower of French valor and chivalry. Now he is in London, a miserable fugitive, selling his confessions of crime to the newspapers for his daily bread.

*Assassination
of an
Empress.*

As the date was drawing near for the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the accession of Francis Joseph of Austria, the aged monarch seemed—according to reports from Vienna—to grow more and more apprehensive of impending calamity. Few contemporary rulers have suffered more of bereavement and disappointment than Francis Joseph; and since the death of his only son Rudolph some ten years ago he has ceased to expect anything but misfortune. He had no heart whatever for the impending festivities of the jubilee, and had only longed to have them safely

over. The calamity came in an unexpected quarter. On September 10 his wife, the Empress Elizabeth, who had been sojourning in Switzerland, was stabbed to death by an Italian assassin as she was about to go on board a steamboat at Geneva. The tragic affair was shocking, as are all such cruel and cowardly deeds of the miscreant anarchists of Europe; and the blow of

the sudden news must have told heavily upon the declining strength of the old Emperor. It is not necessary, however, to

a great deal more space to the stabbing of the eccentric absentee wife of the Austrian Emperor, who roamed about Europe in pursuit of her own private, unimportant whims, than to the frightful slaughter of Christians by Mohammedans in the island of Crete. If the European powers had only supported Prince George of Greece when he made his raid for the purpose of quieting Crete and annexing it to Greece, much subsequent trouble would have been avoided. For example, there would have been no Turkish campaign in Thessaly. Through all these weary months the European powers have tried to maintain a joint naval and military control of Crete without, however, sending away the Turkish troops. The recent massacre of Christians, which seems to have been carried on mainly by the Turkish soldiers themselves, had its immediate beginning in a quarrel with certain Englishmen; and it seems that before the whole affair was at

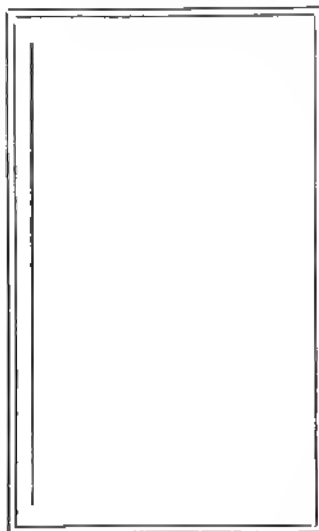


THE EMPEROR FRANCIS JOSEPH.
(From a photograph of same date as that of the Empress.)

be so hypocritical as to ignore certain perfectly well-known facts, such, for example, as that the Empress had not lived with the Emperor for years, had not figured at court, nor had in any public sense participated in Austrian affairs. She had entirely separate tastes and interests, and her eccentricities bordered very closely upon insanity. Her death did not possess any direct political significance, nor did it affect in any manner the future of the Austrian throne. The murderer had no motive, apparently, apart from the purpose of all European anarchists to make it more and more clear that it is extra-hazardous to bear the title of an emperor, empress, or anything in that line. Elizabeth possessed noble personal qualities and was especially beloved in Hungary. In her younger days she was a famous beauty. She was born in 1837 and was married at sixteen.

*Massacre
in Crete.*

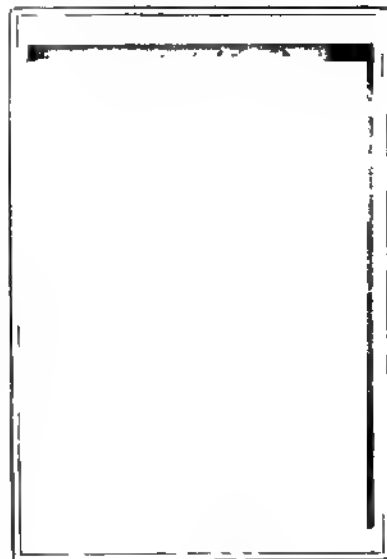
The assassination of an empress counts for more in certain circles than the massacre of a thousand peasants. So it happens that the newspapers of last month gave



THE EMPRESS ELIZABETH.
(From a photograph taken in the early 60s.)

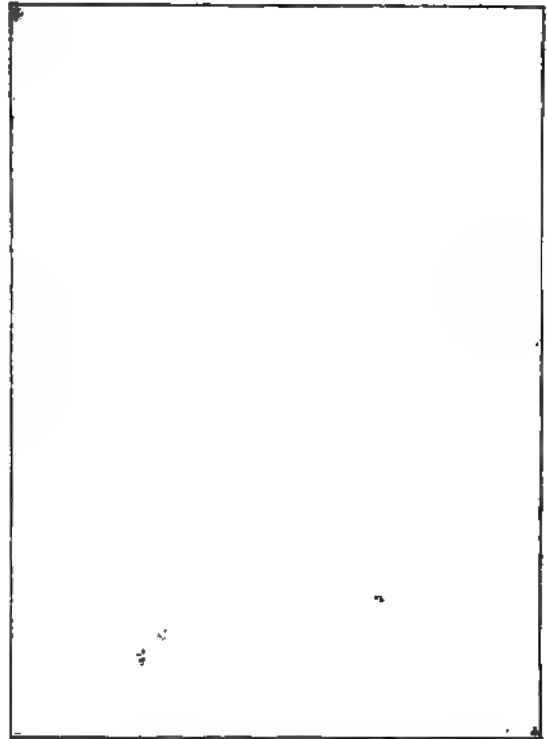
an end England lost about as many subjects by reason of this uprising in

Crete as in the battles of the memorable campaign which has just succeeded in capturing Khartoum. If Lord Salisbury had only sided courageously with the Greeks at the proper moment, this retribution would have been spared. The British admiral has now acted with much energy, and his ultimatum has led the Sultan to consent reluctantly to the disarmament of the Mohammedans in Crete. England would have the hearty approval of the United States if she should proceed to settle the Cretan question once for all.



THE EMPEROR FRANCIS JOSEPH.
(As he now appears.)

The Queen of Holland. The coronation ceremonies in Holland constituted one of the most attractive and picturesque features of last month's international news. According to the constitution of the Netherlands, the hereditary monarch ascends the throne at the age of eighteen. Queen Wilhelmina was born on the last day of August, 1880. Her father, the late King of Holland, died nearly eight years ago. Her mother, in the capacity of Queen Regent, has held the esteem of the Netherlands and has given her daughter an excellent training. Holland enjoys a very high measure of civil liberty and popular self-government, and the monarchy survives only by virtue of strict respect for the constitution of the country, genuine devotion to the promotion of the best interests of the people, and exemplary conduct in all respects. Whatever may be said of other continental nations, the Dutch people show no signs of decadence. They are excellent administrators of important colonial possessions, and it is to be hoped that their fortunate and prosperous career as a nation may suffer no blights in the future. The one thing above all to be guarded is the national independence. Germany is anxious to absorb Holland, and would be delighted to



QUEEN WILHELMINA.

(From a new photograph. See also frontispiece.)

furnish the young Queen with a husband from the ranks of the German princes. She shows a wise disinclination, however, to marry in haste. Her mother, now "Queen Dowager," who is still a young woman of forty, was a daughter of Prince George Victor of Waldeck.

The Reopening of the Soudan. The great attempt of the Anglo-Egyptian troops, under command of Sir Herbert Kitchener, to move an army from Cairo up the Nile to the capital of the revolted Soudan provinces has been crowned with complete success. The battle of Atbara on April 8, duly mentioned in the May number of the REVIEW—a battle in which many thousands of the Khalifa's men were slain—marked the beginning of the last stage of an expedition that had been on the move for about two years. The remaining march to Khartoum had simply to wait for the proper condition of the Nile from the point of view of the gunboats accompanying the expedition. Omdurman, it should be understood, is the new capital of the Soudan, built by the Mahdi after his seizure and destruction of Khartoum in 1885, at which time General Gordon was killed. Omdurman had grown to be a much larger town than Khartoum

ever was, but its buildings were far less substantial. The relative location of the places will be seen at once by reference to our map. As General Kitchener's expedition of 25,000 men, mostly native Egyptian troops, approached its final objective at Omdurman, the Khalifa's army rashly but bravely came forth to meet the enemy. Machine guns played a large part in the fearful mas-

SIR HORATIO HERBERT KITCHENER.
(The Sirdar of the Egyptian army.)

sacre of the brave Dervish fighters. The British losses were, comparatively, only a little handful of men. The first reports were to the effect that 5,000 of the Khalifa's men were left dead on the field, while subsequent reports made the number very much greater, some estimates going up almost to 20,000. The fanatical movement of the early 80s, led by the Mahdi, had resulted in the absolute closing up of one of the most promising and prosperous regions of the whole African continent, a region occupied at that time by not less than 12,000,000 people. Mahdism has desolated the Soudan; agriculture and trade have been destroyed; the population has been reduced about one-half—and the fire of fanaticism has at length burned itself out. If the result of the victory of the United States over Spain shall have resulted in the material improvement of the condition of 8,000,000 people in the Philippines and 2,000,000 or more in the West Indies, it is to be remembered that this splendidly managed expedition of General Kitchener will have brought even greater succor and blessing to the millions of human beings in the eastern Soudan. To declare, in the



MAP TO ILLUSTRATE THE ADVANCE OF GENERAL KITCHENER.

*England's
Restored
Prestige.*

It is wonderful how a bit of well-earned success sometimes clears the atmosphere, and how fair-weather friends at once come crowding about with their congratulations. It had been seriously feared in the earlier stages of General Kitchener's expedition that the French were proposing to cut across from their holdings in the western Soudan to a point on the Nile above Khartoum, at or about Fashoda, for the sake of preventing the English from going any further. The seriousness of such a proposition can only be understood when one remembers the peculiar nature of the Nile. If the French were in full possession even at so remote a point as Fashoda, they could at any time they chose so divert the water as to ruin the whole of Egypt, which owes its life to the periodical overflow and to irrigation. The French, however, have now quite disclaimed any intention to regard the Fashoda expedition as anything else except a private exploring party, and there is no disposition in any quarter to oppose the still further advance of the English. With Khartoum as a headquarters, General Kitchener will readily make his authority felt in every outlying direction. The French press has spoken in high terms of the expedition, the Germans have assumed a wholly congratulatory tone, and in short Kitchener's success gives the touch of prestige that was needed to assure once and for all the entire British programme in the African continent. It is true that Mr. Cecil Rhodes, though

GORDON'S STATUE AT TRAFALGAR SQUARE, LONDON.

(Scene on the receipt of the news of the fall of Khartoum.)

language of the German Emperor's dispatch, that the victory at Omdurman "at last avenges poor Gordon" is to take altogether the wrong tone. Englishmen can afford to be superior to the spirit of revenge in dealing with African problems. We prefer to regard General Kitchener's expedition not as a war of revenge, but as a practical manifestation of the spirit of peace and good-will toward men—a constructive task in the interests of humanity and civilization. It will not do us any harm in the United States to understand how systematic was every feature of this expedition. The care of the troops and the working out of difficult problems of supply constituted the real triumph of General Kitchener's management. In justice to ourselves, on the other hand, it must be remembered that former British expeditions have been fraught with disaster, and that the perfect organization of this latest one grew out of much sad and bitter experience. General Kitchener had a free hand in organizing the expedition, and although we are told that a great deal of social and political pressure was exerted by various people who wanted commissions or some other sort of honorable or profitable connection with the affair, all such pressure was sternly resisted and every man chosen on his strict personal merits.

THE MAHDI'S TOMB AT OMDURMAN.

ONE OF THE NEW STERN-WHEEL GUNBOATS ON THE NILE.

elected himself, has failed to secure a progressive majority in the Cape Colony Parliament. Nevertheless, the Cape Colony elections have been so heavily counterbalanced by the brilliant achievement of Sir Herbert Kitchener, and by the Anglo-German agreement about the control of Delagoa Bay, that nothing can now prevent the very rapid carrying out of Mr. Cecil Rhodes' great project of a through railroad from Cape Town to Cairo. Moreover, while the British outlook in Africa has thus been cleared up, the Chinese situation has also been greatly relieved. Lord Salisbury seems to have abandoned his plan for the maintenance of the Chinese empire on the old basis, and to have fallen in with the new status of Russia in northern China, on the agreement that Russia will recognize the relative ascendancy of Great Britain in the Yang tse-Kiang Valley. Thus China seems destined quite speedily to be cut up into spheres of influence. Li Hung Chang, who had for some time past been using his position in favor of Russia and against England, is reported to have been shorn of his official authority in token of a new deal all around. All things considered, October 1, 1898, finds the prestige and influence of the English speaking peoples greatly enhanced by virtue of the events of one brief season. Best of all, recent American and English victories benefit the whole world.

*The President
and the
Conduct of
the War.*

We present to our readers in this number of the Review three very striking articles having to do with the conduct of our national affairs. They are written with sincerity and with a manifest purpose to be fair and to keep all statements well within the bounds of truth. The first of the three, entitled "The Man at the Helm," is a characterization of President William McKinley in the light of what he has accomplished in the period of a year and a half since his inauguration. The view taken is a broad one, and the attempt is made to bring out salient things without reference to contradictory details. The President's management of our national affairs has unquestionably gained the great admiration of statesmen throughout the whole civilized world. It has also commended itself in a very remarkable de-

BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF OMDURMAN AND KHARTOUM.

(The promontory on the left is occupied by the ruins of Khartoum, and lying in the center is the island of Tutl, while on the other side of the river is the wide-spread mud-built town of Omdurman.)

gree to the people of the United States, regardless of party, who have supported the President through the past half year with a growing confidence in him and with an almost unprecedented absence of partisan rancor or cavil. The second article, entitled "Medical and Sanitary Aspects of the War," is a review of one gravely important phase of public administration, with regard to precise and detailed facts. The third article discusses the war rather from the point of view of military strategy and army organization, with some guarded but specific criticisms. Some of our readers may be disposed to find in the second and third articles the material for an argument against the strongly eulogistic tone of the first. But it does not seem to us necessary to hold President McKinley responsible for all the unhappy consequences of imperfect military administration. It is the War Department that is on trial.

Those Staff Appointments. The President certainly gave his countenance to some fearful mistakes. He permitted, for example, the appointment of a great number of inexperienced and incompetent young nobodies to important staff positions, through a system of political trading and dickerings that was enough to demoralize a far better organization of military supply departments than our own. It is a long time ago, now, since Mr. Gladstone abolished the English system of the purchase of army commissions. But the practice we have witnessed this year of giving commissions in the United States army to politicians for their beardless sons, or for the sons of constituents in the payment of political debts, is incomparably worse than the old English method of selling army commissions for spot cash. Some of these youths whose physical and other disqualifications were ignored by direct orders from those high in authority at Washington, were subsequently put in charge of the commissary supplies of large bodies of troops. A fitter place for several of them would have been in their mothers' nurseries. President McKinley's grave preoccupations gave a certain set of gentlemen an opportunity for the political devilry to which is traceable a part of the needless hardships incurred by our troops. So far as we are aware, the navy administration has been perfectly free from all such grounds of complaint. From the Secretary of the Navy down to the humblest sailor, the country has heard of nothing but honorable conduct, patriotic service, and thorough efficiency. Mr. McKinley as commander-in-chief of all the forces is certainly entitled to praise for the beautiful condition of the navy throughout, even in the same breath in which one may venture to hold him ultimately responsible for a certain

part of what has seemed to be the maladministration of army bureaus.

An Investigation Promised. President McKinley has taken the wise and safe course in telling the country that he intends to secure the fullest and most unsparing investigation of all those matters of which there has been complaint. It would be a great mistake to adopt the plan of minimizing the facts and making general excuses. The blunders at Montauk ought not to have followed the blunders of the Santiago campaign. There is not much exaggeration in summing up the whole matter by saying that certain departments of our military administration were for a time in a state little better than chaos. The splendid achievements of the navy and the valor of our soldiers in actual fighting have redeemed the general situation. But the success of the war cannot excuse any failure of the supply services to work efficiently, nor justify the forgiveness of culpable wrong. Our system itself may be fundamentally at fault. It will devolve upon Congress to put the commissary and quartermaster's services in their proper relation to camps and armies. President McKinley has recognized the justice of the almost unanimous demand for an investigation of the army administration by appointing a board of inquiry, to consist of nine men. It is to be hoped that the commission will be able to satisfy the whole country by a manifestly thorough and searching examination into all the facts. In any case, it is likely that Congress next winter will make an inquiry on its own account.

*Politics
and the
War.*

It is becoming tolerably apparent that criticisms upon the army administration will have hurt the Republican party to some extent in the pending campaign. Vermont and Maine, which retain their old-time custom of holding their elections in September instead of November, gave indication last month of a reaction that no merely local causes could explain. Both States, of course, were carried by the Republicans, but not by such majorities as would have been rolled up if the War Department had not been under the ban of popular disapproval. The political situation in the State of New York turns solely upon the prospect as we go to press that Col. Theodore Roosevelt will have received on September 27 the Republican nomination for governor. With Colonel Roosevelt in the field there can be little doubt of the success of the Republican ticket. Theodore Roosevelt's war

record is absolutely unique. He is credited by reason of his hard work as Assistant Secretary of the Navy with no little share in the glory which that arm of our fighting services has attained. In the army, on the other hand, he has gained unstinted praise and admiration for dauntless courage in the hardest kind of fighting, and for the display at every point, in relation to the men under his command and to his superior officers, of the noblest and most sterling qualities.

*The
Vetoed
Parades.*

The mustering out of his regiment of Rough Riders at Montauk was one of the historic events of the war. The whole country is well aware that the particular group of politicians who have been responsible for the scandals that have affected the army have had no love whatever for Colonel Roosevelt, and were determined to prevent his Rough Riders from parading in New York. The people of the metropolis had set their heart upon having the military parade. There was no thought on the part of the citizens of New York of advancing the political interests of Colonel Roosevelt or any

Photo by Pech Bros., New York.

COL. THEODORE ROOSEVELT, OF THE "ROUGH RIDERS."

one else. The War Department, apparently, was determined that the Rough Riders should be mustered out without being seen as an organization by anybody in the United States after their return from Santiago. General Miles had desired to gratify the people of New York by arranging for a parade of at least a part of his returning Porto Rican army. This plan also was prevented by the War Department. It happens, however, that the fame and fortunes of a man like Theodore Roosevelt are not to be affected by the miserable intrigues of political wire-pullers who are jealous of his growing popularity; nor will General Miles, in the end, fail to get exact justice from a highly discriminating public that means to know the truth of his charges against the War Department.

*Mr. Roosevelt's
Political
Status.*

It is precisely because Mr. Roosevelt has shown himself able and willing to serve the country without a thought of his own personal advancement that he can afford to let his popularity take care of itself. He has always been a member of the Republican

party, while never sacrificing his convictions to any doctrine of mere party expediency. So well known is his independence of character that no member of the Republican machine would for a moment think of endeavoring to exact any pledges from him or to impose upon him any conditions whatsoever. If made Governor of New York Mr. Roosevelt will be free to serve the State to the very best of his ability.

**Needed
Army
Reforms.**

It is not for a moment to be supposed that the unfortunate army conditions of which complaint has been made cannot be speedily remedied. Already, under the lash of the press and the force of public opinion, the situation has greatly improved. In round numbers a hundred thousand of our volunteer troops have been mustered out of the service and have gone to their homes. We must, however, for some time to come maintain what for the United States will be considered a large army. All the flood of recent criticism, even though exaggerated at points, will have been

very useful if it leads to such improvements in administration as will bring our army up to something like the standard of the navy. By this time it ought to be possible for the Government to utilize the services of men who know how to lay out camps. It ought to be possible henceforth to give all the troops proper food. There ought to be some system of accounting for the men by which the friends of a sick soldier can trace him to the particular hospital where he has been sent. It ought to be possible to transport commissary supplies without getting everything hopelessly mixed up. It is not simply for the purpose of doing better in case of some future war that we need to take our recent experiences to heart, but rather for application to immediate conditions. We shall have to maintain some troops in Porto Rico, far more in Cuba, and quite possibly still more in the Philippines than in the West Indies. Meanwhile we shall have to maintain at our military posts in this country for reserve purposes much larger bodies of soldiery than we had seen at any time since the Civil War up to the present season. It behooves us by all means, therefore, to probe all abuses and to introduce all new military reforms without delay for current uses.

**Enthusiasm
Over the
Colored
Troops.**

One of the most gratifying incidents of the Spanish war has been the enthusiasm that the colored regiments of the regular army have aroused throughout the whole country. Their fighting at Santiago was magnificent. The negro soldiers showed excellent discipline, the highest qualities of personal bravery, very superior physical endurance, unfailing good temper, and the most generous disposition toward all comrades in arms, whether white or black. Roosevelt's Rough Riders have come back singing the praises of the colored troops. There is not a dissenting voice in the chorus of praise. It has been remarked with frequency and with justice that one of the best results of the war has been the final effacing of all lingering sectional prejudices between the North and the South. General Wheeler, of Confederate fame, comes out of the Cuban campaign one of our most popular national heroes. The South is as proud of Roosevelt as the North is proud of Hobson. It is further to be remarked, however, that the laurels won by the colored troops must also have a profound effect in helping to solve the race question. Men who can fight for their country as did these colored troops ought to have their full share of gratitude and honor. If it should fall to our lot to administer the Philippines, it might well turn out that we could find a large field there in civil as well

THE RETURN OF THE SEVENTY-FIRST NEW YORK REGIMENT.

(Marching through Madison Square, New York City.)

From the *Journal* (New York).

as military work for young negro Americans of approved qualities. It is at least admitted by every one that the colored troops can stand the Cuban and the Philippine climate much better than our white troops. We may also do well to enlist many recruits from experienced material in Cuba and in the Philippines, where thousands of men who have served under Spanish or insurgent flags would be glad to wear the uniform of Uncle Sam in a territorial military police.

Evacuation Plans.

The evacuation of Porto Rico will probably have been effected in the course of the present month. The American commissioners have found the Spanish members of the Porto Rican evacuation board most sensible and business-like, and the "repatriation" of the Spanish soldiers—to use a word that one finds constantly in the Spanish press these days—will be accomplished just as fast as the necessary shipping facilities can be furnished. The evacuation of Cuba will be a much more difficult and tedious affair. The commissioners at Havana seemed to be making good progress as these lines were written late in September. It is understood that the evacuation will proceed from east to west, and that the last shipload of returning Spaniards will hardly sail from Havana sooner than next February. Just as at Santiago American troops have taken possession where Spanish troops have been sent back to their home country, so at one military post after another, working westward toward Havana, the retiring Spanish forces will be succeeded by those of the United States. The Cuban commissioners have informed their American colleagues that there will be about 100,000 soldiers yet to go back to Spain. The so-called "volunteers" will, almost to a man, remain in Cuba. An appreciable percentage of the Spanish regulars, also, have come to regard Cuba as their home, many of them having families in the island, and it is likely that these will be allowed to stay behind and ultimately to give up their Spanish allegiance. On the other hand, the great Spanish army that will have to be taken home asks the privilege of returning with all its arms and munitions of war. This condition is likely to be conceded by the Americans.

Conditions in Cuba.

It is reported that Gen. Maximo Gomez has resigned his position as commander-in-chief of the Cuban army of liberation. His name will go down in history as that of a military leader of very high order. He knew how to adapt means to ends and understood the value of the element of time. He could not fight open battles, but he could

harass the enemy while Spain's resources were melting away and sickness and destitution were playing havoc with the Spanish soldiers. It was reported during the first half of September that the Spanish troops were dying at the rate of a hundred a day. This would indicate a very widespread state of sickness and enfeeblement. Every year since the war began the rainy season has wrought deadly disaster in the Spanish camps. It was upon such facts that the veteran Gomez had deliberately counted, far more than upon any possibility of winning battles. Now that the American evacuation commissioners have become a present and realized fact in the city of Havana, the long-suppressed Cuban and American sympathies of the people of that city have begun to manifest themselves. There is much reason to think that by the time President McKinley reaches exactly the middle of his four years' term (which will be the first week of next March) there will be very little anti-American feeling discoverable from one end of Cuba to the other. There will be a great deal of very earnest discussion in the island as to the framework of Cuban government; but what the Cubans most earnestly desire will be the restoration of good order and security, with favorable conditions for the profitable resumption of agriculture and commerce. It is announced that 40,000 American troops must be sent to Cuba. They will not be needed. A better policy would be the generous relief of the needy insurgent troops and the enlistment of Cubans in a sort of military constabulary under American officers with a fair nucleus of American regulars. With good management Cuba can almost at once be made safe and law-abiding. Nobody wants any more fighting and nobody will dispute the authority of the United States. Good sense and tact will work wonders.

Party Prospects.

The future of the Democratic party is involved in much uncertainty. The anti-Bryan Democrats are making a strong and determined effort to regain the control that they lost in 1896. On the other hand, the friends of Mr. Bryan and of the Chicago platform are organizing everywhere to hold the party squarely up to the positions taken two years ago. The national chairman of the Populist party, Senator Marion Butler, of North Carolina, has found himself face to face with a formidable revolt on the part of the "middle-of-the-road" Populists—this being the name given to those who are determined henceforth to have nothing to do with fusion tickets or movements. Senator Butler's especial political faculty has seemed to lie in the direction of making fusion bargains. The straight-out Populists held

a convention in Cincinnati early in September, where they denounced Butler and the fusionists, declaring their belief that the gold-standard men were destined to regain control of the machinery of the Democratic party, and took time by the forelock in nominating candidates for President and Vice-President for the election of 1900. The choice was almost equally divided between two candidates—Mr. Wharton Barker, of Phila-

the leading opponents of the Republican party two years hence, the Democratic party having been brought under the control of the element that supported Palmer and Buckner in 1896.

*The Closing
Month of the
Omaha Fair.*

The Omaha Exposition is destined during the month of October to attract more attention from the country at large than in its earlier stages. The trans-Mississippi fair found the Spanish war a hard thing to compete with. Curiously enough, the Spaniards, who have been holding an exposition of national industries at Madrid, have seemed to be less entirely diverted from such domestic undertakings during the progress of the war than have our own people. The promised visit of President McKinley to Omaha in the course of the present month will prove a good advertisement for a truly magnificent undertaking. Among the many interesting things to be seen at the Omaha fair, the very first place, in our opinion, must be given to the great ethnological encampment of American Indians. It is hardly likely that one can ever again see so many different Indian tribes thus adequately represented. We publish elsewhere in this number a suggestive account of a ramble through the Indian encampment, with very interesting illustrations. The live-stock exhibit will be an October feature.

*The Quebec
Conference.*

The conference at Quebec began its work under very favorable and promising auspices, and after some days, in which the whole ground was gone over in a general way, an adjournment was taken until September 20. It was considered on both sides, in view of the hopeful nature of the preliminary sittings, that very substantial results would be shown in the completed work of the commissioners. We present herewith a group photograph of the distinguished gentlemen composing the conference, taken expressly for this magazine, and arranged for by Miss Agnes C. Laut, one of Canada's most accomplished journalists. We hope, when the work of the conference is entirely concluded, to present to our readers a review of it from Miss Laut's pen, expressing frankly the Canadian point of view. Meanwhile, Miss Laut sends us the following well-informed note as to what would seem to have been accomplished at the time of the adjournment—her summing up being the ablest and most intelligent statement of the matter that we have seen anywhere:

Never in the history of the United States and the Dominion of Canada was an effort to adjust international difficulties made under more favorable auspices than those attending the Quebec conference. Public opinion in one country no longer manifests hostility toward the other, nor harbors suspicions that

MR. WHARTON BARKER, POPULIST NOMINEE.

Philadelphia, and Mr. Ignatius Donnelly, of Minnesota. Mr. Barker having gained first place, Mr. Donnelly was chosen by acclamation for the second place on the ticket. Inasmuch as the middle-of-the-road Populists do not believe in the convention system, they will not consider these nominations final until they have been submitted to the action of all the voters of the party under some form of referendum. This popular test will not be made, however, until the committee on organization has worked out a plan of enrollment of party members, so that the simon-pure Populists may not be interfered with in their exercise of choice by the participation of outsiders. The straight-out Populists, while still declaring for free silver coinage, frankly declare that they do not consider that free silver is in any sense the final desideratum. They are in favor of the direct issue of legal-tender paper money by the Government. Mr. Wharton Barker takes his candidacy with entire seriousness, and holds the opinion that the Populists will be

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T. Jefferson Coolidge.
John W. Foster.
John A. Kisson.
Nelson Dingley.

George Gray.
Charles W. Fairbanks.

Lord Hecchoell (Chairman).
Sir Wilfrid Laurier.

Sir Richard Cartwright.
Sir Louis Davies.

John Charlton.
Sir James Watson.

JOINT HIGH AMERICAN-CANADIAN COMMISSION.

(The four gentlemen standing are secretaries of the commission.)

over-reaching will be attempted in negotiations; and the changed sentiment is reflected in the conciliatory policies adopted by the governments of Washington and Ottawa toward each other.

In Canada a most promising feature of the situation is the ascendancy of that party which is pledged to the establishment of better trade relations with the United States. At the last general elections the issues were clear and well defined; and the Liberals, under the leadership of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, were elected on the platform of tariff for revenue only. Thus the Dominion Government is under no obligations to protectionists for its lease of power, and the Conservatives, through the announcement of their veteran chieftain, Sir Charles Tupper, have promised to refrain from criticism and opposition tactics, which might thwart the ends of the conference. The commercial conditions prevailing in the Dominion are another favorable factor. From Atlantic to Pacific Canada is pulsating with a new prosperity. The period of pioneer hardship and experimental struggle has been passed, and the country is on the verge of an era of unparalleled development and national progress. If ever a good understanding is to be established between the two great branches of the English-speaking race on this continent, no occasion could be more opportune than the present.

Friendly relations between the United States and the Dominion would do far more to bring about a world-wide Anglo-Saxon reunion than formal compact between the American republic and the British empire; but the dazzling possibilities of the Quebec conference can only become realities by the solution of those intricate problems with which the joint commission has been wrestling. Rival interests, concerned in reciprocity, the abolition of pelagic sealing, and other subjects before the conference, have clamored loud for special consideration; but the aim has not been to satisfy importunate demands for privileges, but to effect an adjustment of difficulties by dovetailing agreements and bridging differences with fair compromise. This is a more rational procedure than the old-time jingoism, no-compromise, and hostility.

Whether all the decisions of the commissioners are ratified at Washington and Ottawa or not, the conference will have had important results. The good feeling prevailing at the sessions will be a lasting antidote to that jingoism which has stirred up so much bitterness on both sides. Arbitration has proved better than retaliatory legisla-

tion, and each country has learned what agreements are possible and what divergences must be compromised. Shorn of misrepresentations, so long obscuring the real issues, all the disputes have been simplified and reduced, in nearly every case, to the determination of a single point. The sealing matter resolves itself into an estimate of the proper sum to be paid for Canadian sealers' outfits, and the Atlantic shore quarrel into consideration of granting Nova Scotia fishermen the same privileges on the American market as have been offered to Newfoundland. Though the commissioners may be prevented from solving all the problems before them, they will have shown how each may be solved; and one wonders if the intricate interests between the United States and Canada would not justify the permanent existence of an international tribunal.

It seems peculiarly fitting that a conference having for its aim the establishment of a permanent basis for the commerce and peace of North America, and which may pave the way for a wider reunion of the English-speaking race, should meet in the old fortress on the banks of the St. Lawrence. Quebec has been the scene of two epoch-marking events in new-world history. The conquest of 1759 brought the northern half of America under Anglo-Saxon sway. The Confederation Conference of 1866 welded the isolated possessions of British North America into a homogeneous whole and created the Dominion of Canada. Results affecting the peace and progress of the whole world may follow from the International Conference of 1898. It is, at least, certain to promote friendship between the two most enlightened nations of the age.

It is to be noted that Senator Gray's acceptance of a place on the Paris peace commission made a vacancy in the Quebec conference. It was announced on the 19th that President McKinley had appointed Senator Faulkner, of West Virginia, to fill that vacancy. It was further reported that the conference would probably hold its final sessions at Washington in November.

*Some
Obituary
Notes.*

The month's obituary list contains a number of well-known names, though not many from the ranks of those in their most active period of public service. The death of the Empress of Austria, for example, was a matter of wide note solely because of the fact that she was assassinated without reason or provocation. King Malietoa, of the Samoan group, was a personage whose checkered fortunes have interested America and Europe chiefly because of the arrangement under which the United States, England, and Germany exercise a tripartite control over the islands. Sir George Gray, the veteran colonial administrator and entitled to be called the founder of the British South African empire, was eighty-six years of age and had been in retirement since his eightieth year. Count Xiquina, an eminent Spaniard, had been in the Sagasta ministry as it existed

early in the present year, but was not a member of the present cabinet. Judge Thomas A. Cooley, an eminent American jurist, law writer, and student of American history, and first chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission, had been in a state of completely shattered health for several years. The Rev. Dr. John Hall, a noted minis-

THE LATE MISS WINNIE DAVIS.

ter of New York City, had just reached the age when his complete or partial retirement was considered necessary. Some gallant British officers were killed in the fight at Omdurman, and many soldiers of the United States, some of them bearing well-known names, have in the past month succumbed to fevers. The South, in particular, will mourn the death of Miss Winnie Davis, daughter of the President of the Confederacy, who was also widely known and greatly esteemed throughout the North. The death of the venerable head of the Mormon Church in Utah, Mr. Wilfred Woodruff, brings up a fresh discussion of various matters relating to the Mormon Church and people. His successor is Elder Lorenzo Snow.

GORDON'S PALACE AT KHARTOUM.

(Over the ruins of which the Union Jack and the Egyptian Crescent were raised September 4. A memorial service was held here by the British troops on the following Sunday.)

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS.

(From August 21 to September 20, 1898.)

THE UNITED STATES AND SPAIN—ENDING OF THE WAR.

August 21.—Admiral Vallarino, General Ortega, and Señor Sanchez Delagulla are named as commissioners on the part of Spain for the evacuation of Porto Rico.

August 22.—The United States battleships *Iowa* and *Oregon* are sent to the Brooklyn Navy Yard for general repairs.

August 24.—Spanish soldiers from Santiago begin to arrive at Corunna.

August 25.—The troop transports *Rio de Janeiro* and *Pennsylvania* arrive at Manila.

August 29.—The *Olympia* and *Raleigh*, of Admiral Dewey's squadron, leave Manila for Hong Kong to be docked.

August 30.—General Merritt sails from Manila, bound for Paris, to participate in the peace conferences.

August 31.—The transport *Allegheny* arrives at Montauk Point in bad condition, 14 men having died on the way from Santiago; the vessel is described as a cattle-ship, unfit for use as a hospital transport. . . Orders are issued to release the Spanish prisoners of war held at Annapolis and Seavey's Island.

September 1.—General Shafter takes command of Camp Wikoff at Montauk Point, Long Island.

September 2.—Philippine insurgents invade the southern islands.

September 3. President McKinley visits and inspects Camp Wikoff.

September 5.—The Spanish Cortes reassembles. . . The regular troops are ordered from Camp Wikoff.

September 8. The last of the volunteer regiments leave Camp Wikoff.

September 9.—Senator Gray, of Delaware, accepts an appointment as commissioner on the part of the United States to negotiate peace with Spain; the other American commissioners are William R. Day, Senators Frye, of Maine, and Davis, of Minnesota, and Whitelaw Reid, of New York.

September 10.—President McKinley requests eminent

citizens to serve on a committee to investigate the conduct of the War Department. . . The Cuban evacuation commissioners arrive in Havana.

September 12.—The American and Spanish evacuation commissioners for Cuba and Porto Rico, respectively, hold sessions.

September 18.—The Spanish Chamber of Deputies adopts the Spanish-American peace protocol. . . General Shafter submits his report of the Santiago campaign. . . Admiral Cervera and other Spanish naval officers sail for Spain.

September 14.—The Spanish Cortes is prorogued.

September 15.—President McKinley gives full instructions to the peace commissioners representing the United States.

September 16.—About 70 ships are detached from the North Atlantic squadron.

September 17.—The peace commissioners of the United States sail from New York for Paris.

September 18.—The Spanish Government announces the appointment of Señor Montero Rios, President of the Senate, Señor Abarzuza, Señor Garnica, General Cerero, and Señor Villarrutia as commissioners to negotiate peace with the United States. . . The Spanish Supreme Council of War suspends Admiral Montojo and Major Sostoa, director of the Cadiz Arsenal.

September 19.—The War Department orders reinforcements sent to General Otis at Manila.

September 20.—The evacuation of Porto Rico by the Spanish troops is begun.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT AMERICAN.

August 23.—Missouri Republicans adopt a platform indorsing the national administration and favoring territorial expansion.

August 24.—Ohio Democrats reaffirm the Chicago platform of 1896 and favor the renomination of Bryan in 1900. . . California Republicans nominate Henry Gage for governor and adopt a platform favoring territorial expansion and the Nicaragua Canal. . . South Dakota Republicans nominate Kirk Phillips for governor and indorse the national administration.

August 26.—Representative J. W. Bailey, of Texas, is unanimously renominated for Congress by the Democrats of his district on an anti-expansion platform.

August 27.—Idaho Democrats and Silver Republicans nominate a fusion ticket, headed by Governor Steunenberg.

September 1.—Wisconsin Democrats nominate Hiram W. Sawyer for governor; the Democrats failing to adopt fusion with Populists, the latter nominate A. A. Woolsey....Iowa Republicans commend the national administration and nominate candidates for minor State offices.

September 5.—In the Arkansas election the vote is light; the Populists fail to elect a representative to either branch of the Legislature.

September 6.—The Republicans carry the Vermont election by reduced pluralities, electing a governor and both members of Congress....The "Middle-of-the-Road" Populists nominate Wharton Barker, of Pennsylvania, for President, and Ignatius Donnelly, of Minnesota, for Vice-President.

September 7.—Iowa Democrats nominate a fusion ticket.

September 8.—Colorado Republicans nominate Simon Guggenheim for governor.

September 9.—Utah Republicans declare for free coinage of silver at 16 to 1....Nevada Democrats reject fusion with the Silver party.

September 10.—Colorado Democrats, Silver Republicans, and Populists name a fusion ticket headed by Charles S. Thomas (Dem.) for governor.

September 12.—In Maine Governor Powers and the four Representatives in Congress, all Republicans, are reelected by a comparatively light vote.

September 13.—New Hampshire Republicans nominate Frank W. Rollins for governor....Delaware Democrats demand a reform of our currency system....Governor Ellerbe leads by a close vote in the South Carolina Democratic primaries.

September 14.—The Navy Department awards contracts for three new battleships.

September 15.—Connecticut Republicans nominate George E. Lounsbury for governor....The "regular" Colorado Republicans nominate Henry R. Wolcott for governor....Nevada Republicans nominate William McMillan for governor.

September 16.—Secretary Day tenders his resignation to President McKinley.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—FOREIGN.

August 24.—An important conference is held at Vienna between the Austrian and Hungarian premiers on the subject of the *Ausgleich*.

August 31.—Colonel Henry, of the French army, having confessed that he forged a letter in order to secure the conviction of Captain Dreyfus, commits suicide in his prison cell....The congress of Ecuador suspends its sessions and the cabinet resigns.

September 1.—Lieut.-Col. Sir Henry E. MacCallum is appointed Governor of Newfoundland.

September 2.—The British and Egyptian troops under Sir H. Kitchener win a brilliant victory over the Dervishes at Omdurman, near the site of Khartoum; more than 10,000 Dervishes are killed; the British loss is about 200.

September 3.—M. Cavaignac, French Minister of War, who opposes revision of the Dreyfus case, resigns office.

September 4.—The British troops enter Khartoum; the flags of Great Britain and Egypt are raised over the palace....Mme. Dreyfus appeals to the French Government for a revision of the court-martial proceedings in her husband's case.

September 5.—General Zurlinden, Military Governor of Paris, becomes French Minister of War....Queen Wilhelmina accedes to the throne of the Netherlands....The Peruvian Congress sanctions the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus*.

September 6.—An outbreak of Mohammedans at Candia, Crete, leads to a bombardment of the town by British gunboats.

September 7.—The British battleship *Camperdown* arrives at Candia.

September 8.—Manuel Estrada Cabrera is elected President of Guatemala.

September 10.—The Empress of Austria is assassinated at Genoa by an Italian anarchist named Lucheni.

September 15.—Many of the leaders of the riots in Crete are arrested and delivered up to the British admiral at Candia.

September 17.—General Zurlinden, Minister of War, and M. Tillaye, Minister of Public Works in the French Cabinet, resign office and are succeeded by General Chanoine and Senator Godin, respectively.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

August 23.—The Canadian-American conference meets in Quebec.

August 25.—Sir John Brawnston and Admiral Sir James El-

THE PARLIAMENT HOUSE AT QUEBEC.

(Where the Canadian-American Commission is in session.)

September 19.—President McKinley appoints Senator Faulkner, of West Virginia, a member of the Canadian-American commission to succeed Senator Gray, who becomes one of the Spanish-American peace commissioners.

September 20.—The Canadian-American commission resumes its sessions in Quebec.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH.

August 21.—The premiers of Queensland, New South Wales, and Victoria meet in Sydney to discuss plans for a new Pacific cable.

August 23.—The German arctic expedition of Herr Theodor Lerner returns to Hammerfest, Norway, having found no trace of Andrée.

August 27.—The Czar unveils a monument to Alexander II. at Moscow.... The steamer *Hope* arrives at St. John's, N. F., from her trip to Greenland with Lieutenant Peary's expedition.

August 29.—The British trade-union congress meets at Bristol.

August 30.—Walter Wellman's arctic exploring expedition returns to Tromsø, Norway.

August 31.—The South Wales coal strike is ended by an agreement made at Cardiff.

September 4.—The G. A. R. holds its annual encampment in Cincinnati.

September 6.—By the fall of the two spans of the Ottawa & New York Railway Company's bridge over the St. Lawrence 14 workmen are killed and 17 badly wounded.

September 9.—The Federal Steel Company, with a paid-in capital of \$200,000,000, is incorporated in New Jersey.

HON. FERDINAND PECK.

(United States Commissioner to the Paris Exposition of 1900.)

phinstone Erskine are appointed commissioners to investigate French treaty rights in Newfoundland.... Commissioners appointed to settle the boundary dispute between Chile and Argentina meet in conference.

August 27.—By order of the Czar, Count Muravieff, Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, invites an international conference to consider disarmament.

August 28.—The Zionist congress meets at Basle, Switzerland.

September 2.—The Canadian-American conference at Quebec adjourns till September 20.

September 5.—Germany demands of the United States that the same tariff reductions recently granted to France by treaty shall be accorded to Germany, under the "most-favored-nation" clause.

September 7.—Li Hung Chang is again dismissed from office in China, presumably because of Great Britain's complaint of his partiality to Russia in the matter of railroad concessions.

September 9.—The foreign admirals at Candia, Crete, ask the powers to reinforce the international garrisons there.

September 12.—The foreign admirals at Candia request their governments to appoint a governor-general for the island of Crete.

September 13.—Rear Admiral Noel, commanding the British naval forces in Cretan waters, issues an ultimatum to the Turkish military governor of Crete.

September 14.—The Turkish Government refuses to withdraw the troops at Candia in compliance with Great Britain's demand.

September 17.—Admiral Noel demands the disarmament of the Mussalmans in Crete.

DR. D. MANUEL F. CAMPOS SALLES.
(The new President of Brazil.)

September 10.—It is announced that a gift of \$1,500,000 has been made to Cornell University for its new medical school to be established in New York City.

September 11.—The business part of New Westminster, B. C., is destroyed by fire at a loss estimated at between \$2,500,000 and \$3,000,000....A hurricane in the British West Indies destroys thousands of buildings, rendering 50,000 people homeless and killing 500.

September 12.—A typhoon in central Japan causes the loss of 100 lives.

September 13.

Mormon Church, 91....Rev. Dr. Jesse Ames Spencer, author of religious works, 85.

September 3.—James S. T. Stranahan, Brooklyn's "first citizen," 90.

September 4.—Ex-Gov. Andrew Faulk, of Dakota Territory.

September 8.—Representative Stephen A. Northway, of Ohio, 65.

September 9.—Stephane Mallarme, the well-known French essayist and poet, 56.

August 25.—Ernst Marjet; a well-known CARINIAN artist, 71....William H. P. Hains, fleet captain of the Cunard Line of Atlantic steamships, 75.

August 27.—Arthur Pease, member of the British Parliament, 61.

August 28.—Ex-Gov. Claude Matthews, of Indiana, 53....Dr. Nathan Bouton Warren, musical composer and author, 83.

August 31.—Lieutenant-Colonel Henry, of the French army, 50.

September 2.—Wilford Woodruff, president of the

Maximilianus de Proskowetz,

Austro-Hungarian consul-general in Chicago, 47....Capt. Allyn Capron, First United States Artillery.

September 19.—Sir George Grey, British colonial administrator, 86....Charles G. Kerr, a leading Baltimore lawyer, 66.

September 21.—Ex-United States Senator William Wallace Eaton, of Connecticut, 82....Theodor Fontane, German writer and poet, 79.

THE LATE HON. THOMAS M. COOLEY.

Y yo el tercero.

Y yo el segundo.

Soy el Monroe primero.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE PERSONIFIED.—From *Don Quirote* (Madrid).

CURRENT HISTORY IN CARICATURE.

THE cartoons that have been appearing in the Spanish weekly *Don Quirote*, touching various phases of the war and its results, have seemed to us sufficiently novel and striking to be accorded several of our pages this month. We are, therefore, presenting fourteen from recent issues of that popular Madrid paper, which undoubtedly reflects the sentiment of the Spanish people with an unusual degree of fidelity. The drawing at the top of this page, representing progressive stages in the working out of the Monroe doctrine, owes its particular form to a scene in a familiar Spanish opera.

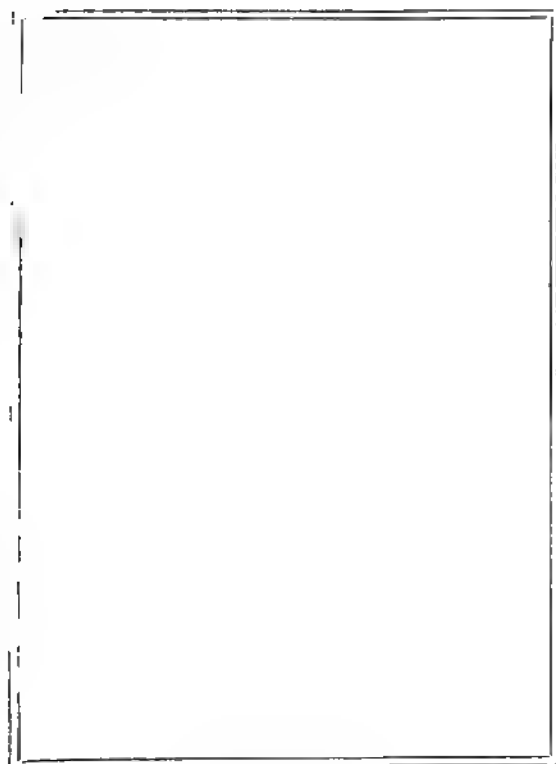
The one at the bottom of the page is reduced from a very large double-page drawing, in which *Don Quirote* gave expression to its feelings on the general situation after the destruction of Cervera's fleet. Most of the heads are those of members of the Spanish cabinet.

The total contempt with which the Spanish press, both in serious articles and in comic pictures, treated the United States in the period just preceding the war, began to disappear after Dewey's victory at Manila; and there was very little left of it when the Spaniards really became aware that Cervera's fleet was destroyed

IT'S EVERY FELLOW FOR HIMSELF NOW!—From *Don Quirote* (Madrid).

at Santiago and General Toral's army had surrendered. The two victo-

BE CAREFUL, M'KINLEY—SHE MAY NOT BE DEAD!
From *Don Quirote* (Madrid).

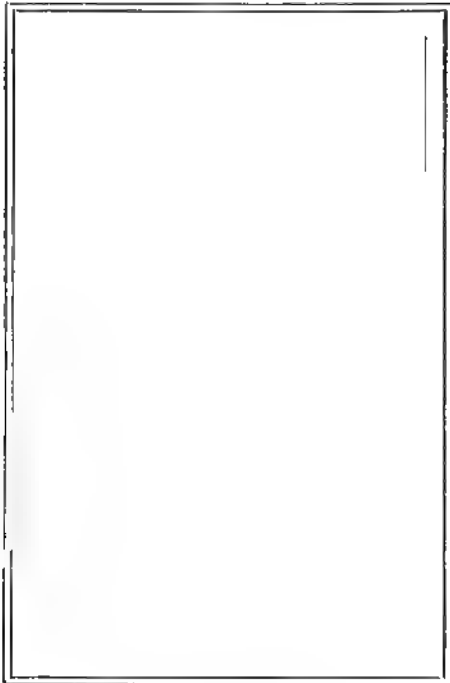


"PIGS! PIGS! CHEAP TO-DAY!"
From *Don Quirote* (Madrid).

INSTEAD OF INRI HE SUBSTITUTES PAZ.
From *Don Quirote* (Madrid).

SAGASTA IN AN ATTITUDE THAT EXPLAINS ITSELF.
From Don Quixote.

The close censorship of the press in Spain has not seemed to extend to the point of forbidding caricatures of the prime minister to be published. Week after week *Don Quixote* has made its protest against the censorship by printing a female figure, representing the press, stabbed through the heart with the big lead-pencil of the censor's office. Nevertheless, on the very same page *Don Quixote* has continued to pay its *disrespects* to Sagasta. The Spanish cartoonists represent their na-



SAGASTA AS THE NATION'S BARBER.
(Apropos of the loss of territory.)
From Don Quixote.

SAGASTA OFFERS THE MANTILLA OF PEACE TO SPAIN.
From Don Quixote.

tion sometimes by a female figure and sometimes in the form of a country bumpkin. This remark has its bearing upon two cartoons on this page.

MARINE MINISTER AUNON GOES TO SEA IN A PAPER BOAT,
WHICH IS ALL THE NAVY WE SPANIARDS HAVE LEFT.
From Don Quixote.

McKINLEY TO CUBA: "There! Take your independence!"
From *Don Quixote*.

On this page we have presented five cartoons from *Don Quixote* representing Mr. McKinley in various capacities. In one he is the successful fisherman; in another the landlord who holds the keys to the Hotel of Peace, which Sagasta would fain enter; tended to show the manner in which S pleased to obey the injunction, "Love y

McKINLEY AS A LITERARY MAN.
From *Don Quixote*.

another shows McKinley dictating the terms of the peace protocol, while a fifth represents him as kicking the Cubans out of Cuba.

McKINLEY THE FISHERMAN.
From *Don Quixote*.

SAGASTA APPLYING TO LANDLORD McKINLEY FOR LODGING IN THE HOTEL OF PEACE.—From *Don Quixote*.

FORGIVING ONE'S ENEMY AS SPAIN WOULD LIKE TO PRACTICE THAT VIRTUE. *Don Quixote* (Madrid).

While it is true that *Kladderadatsch* by no means represents the sentiment of the whole of Germany, it must be observed, none the less, that it stands for the views of a very powerful element, and it is well worth while that Americans should make a note of the three cartoons on this page, all of them from recent issues of

that strongly anti-American paper. The top one gives a glimpse into the twentieth century, and shows the European concert making music to entertain Uncle Sam as he feasts off the whole earth, with John Bull as a lackey at his back. At the bottom of the page are two of Stutz' exceedingly able attacks upon Uncle Sam.

UNCLE SAM WANTS TO BUY A COALING AND NAVAL STATION
IN MOROCCO.
From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin).

UNCLE SAM PLAYS THE FLUTE IN THESE NEW PIPING TIMES
OF PEACE, WHILE HIS SHEEP ENJOY THE FRESH PASTURES
HE HAS GAINED.— From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin).



?

W. C. BOWMAN

SECRETARY OF WAR ALGER: "What are you all looking at me for? They ain't my chickens."

From the *Tribune* (Minneapolis).

On this page and the one following we have collected a few of the current American cartoons, reflecting, for the most part, the widespread criticisms of the army administration. Our reproduction of them does not necessarily imply indorsement. But they must go on record as thoroughly illustrative of the tone and character of the month's discussion in the United States.

THE HORRORS OF PEACE.

Shall this monument be erected to political incompetence and corruption?—From the *Journal* (New York).

STARVING VOLUNTEER: "Wherein is my condition better than that of the Cuban *reconcentrado* whom I tried to save from you?"

GENIUS OF THE CAMP: "Why you are in the glorious United States, under the protection of Uncle Sam and Mr. Alger. Fie! Aren't you satisfied?"

AND THE FALL ELECTIONS ARE COMING ON!

pending Republican campaign.

AND FORTY MORE ARE COMING IN NOVEMBER.
From the *Journal* (New York).

ALGER FINDS A FRIEND IN NEED.
HANNA: "The man that attacks Alger attacks me. See?"
From the *Journal* (New York).

THE REAL BRONCO BUSTER.
Teddy Roosevelt seems to stick pretty tight to his political mount.—From the *Journal* (Minneapolis).

THE WHOLE THING.

UNCLE SAM (to the powers, who are watching him with great interest): "There ain't goin' to be no core."

From the *Times* (Los Angeles).

The Philippines question is presented on this page from four very different points of view. One is German, one is Spanish, one represents the dubious New York state of mind, and the fourth represents the sanguine and very determined attitude of the American West.

HASTE WITH CARE.

Uncle Sam, as a smart business man, begins to trade his Philippine doves to the highest bidder.

From *Kladderadatsch*.

WHAT WILL HE DO WITH IT?
From the *Herald* (New York).

FILIPINA'S SUITORS.
From *Cometa* (Barcelona).

THE ROYAL MUZZLE—TWISTING THE LION'S TAIL.—FROM *PUNCH* (London).

There was great excitement in England a few weeks ago over the threatening aspect of various foreign complications, particularly the manner in which England seemed to have been outwitted by Russia in obtaining Chinese advantages. It was said by the press, notably by the *London Times*, that England was handicapped through the Queen's determination that England should not engage in war with any European power during her lifetime. This discussion provided Mr. Harry Furniss with the theme of the striking cartoon at the top of the present page. In the tail-twisting cartoons of other days Uncle Sam was usually depicted as the prin-

cipal twister. He is conspicuous for his absence from this cartoon by Mr. Furniss. At the bottom of the page the famous French caricaturist, Caran d'Ache, gives us the situation at Port Arthur as it seemed to be a little earlier in the season. The Russian elephant is supreme on land, while the British whale spouts majestically in mastery of the sea. Since Caran d'Ache drew this picture, however, England and Russia would seem to have come to the wise conclusion that there is plenty for each to do in his respective sphere and no sound reason for quarrelling. These two draughtsmen, Furniss and d'Ache, are strikingly different in method.

From a new photo by Bell.

PRESIDENT MCKINLEY.

THE MAN AT THE HELM.

BY GEN. A. B. NETTLETON.

WITH the close of September, 1898, President McKinley has covered little more than the first third of the term for which he was chosen. Usually it would be both unfair and unhelpful to pass in hasty review the official course of a President at a period in his administration when most Presidents have only become fairly settled in the saddle, with vision somewhat adjusted to the new and vast perspective. But in more ways than one the present time and situation are exceptional. Lines of history, of world-embracing importance, are seeming to con-

verge upon the closing quadrennium of the nineteenth century and upon the American republic as the leading actor in a new and stately drama. Not only have affairs of the first magnitude already fallen to the management of President McKinley and his responsible associates, but the horizon bristles with novel, difficult, and far-reaching problems with which his administration will immediately and continuously have to deal, and the solution of which calls for the highest qualities of manhood and statesmanship. Perhaps it is neither untimely nor presumptuous,

even in the midst of the whirl of events, to take a cursory glance at the expanding epoch and the man at the helm, equally avoiding pessimistic or microscopic criticism on the one hand and indiscriminating eulogy on the other. It will not be aside from the general purpose if this sketch shall partially answer the question, How has William McKinley responded to a great opportunity?

ELECTION AND ADJUSTMENT.

Major McKinley came to his nomination for the Presidency in June, 1896, with a solid and desirable reputation as a typical American public man with a habit of success, whose political career, if not brilliant, had been singularly free from serious errors, and who, by much fruitful experience in constructive legislation, had earned and held the leadership of his party in its relation to that hitherto central issue, the tariff. Judicious friends and fair opponents considered him a strong candidate, and expected him, if elected, to reach a good average of efficiency and success in his great office—but still an average. The logic of the situation and the mandate of the nominating conventions enabled and required the Republican candidate to stand primarily for a restoration of a reasonable protective policy and a sane and safe treatment of the currency problem, equally removed from the two extremes which had been evolved in the long battle of the standards. If the man or the themes had led any to expect a tame canvass with mediocre utterances from Canton, a sharp surprise was in store for them. Mr. McKinley's series of daily addresses delivered to visiting delegations from many and distant sections of the land and representing widely various elements and interests was a revelation. These speeches manifested a power of sustained discourse, a versatility of information, a readiness of adaptation and of sagacious yet sincere appeal, a skill in marshaling facts, and, withal, a freedom from indiscretions and from partisan clap-trap which instantly commanded the attention of the country. Equally exempt from superficiality and from all suggestion of the lamp and the encyclopedia, they hit the bull's-eye of the public interest and made it plain that Mr. McKinley was at least not an average candidate. Mr. Blaine and General Harrison had previously in this respect set a pace not easy to follow, but the unpretentious Ohio citizen quickly proved himself the equal of these past masters of felicitous and convincing speech. This episode of a remarkable campaign gave promise, but not assurance, that as Mr. McKinley had notably risen to the level of his fine opportunity as a candidate, he might with still

greater distinction respond to the larger demands of the world's greatest elective office.

During the months of waiting which fortunately or unfortunately intervene with us before a newly chosen administration assumes the reins of power, some abatement of enthusiasm naturally replaced the recent campaign fervor. Sinister critics who still insisted that Mr. McKinley would prove weak in executive faculty and pliable where he should be firm busied themselves with surmising what particular bosses or groups of unworthy politicians would probably control patronage and policies during the next four years. Certain of the principal appointments early announced by the President distinctly failed to meet the approval of his most discerning friends—appointments which subsequent experience proved to have been thoroughly ill-advised. There was a moment of doubt as to the degree of wisdom, independence, and strength which the new administration would develop—of uncertainty whether the high promise of the candidate was to be realized in the performance of the official. Mr. McKinley immediately succeeded in office one who was a President without a party. He was perhaps unduly impressed with the forlornness of the spectacle and at first unconsciously inclined to carry to excess his anxiety to hold solidly at his back, through its recognized leaders, that superb political organization which had swept the country and now presumably held his administration and his own future in its keeping.

This period of adjustment to a novel situation—this process of reaching solid ground through some initial experiments and resulting errors—was soon passed. The President quickly learned the lesson that even from the point of view of "good politics" his own judgments and unspoiled intuitions were wiser and safer than the interested counsels of political promoters. Under the wholesome compulsion of circumstance he laid aside that which threatened to be his bane, an excess of political amiability. Thenceforth there was no uncertainty. Past mistakes were put to their legitimate use of avoiding future ones, although even this recovery could not prevent some threads of weakness running through the strong web of his coming service. The country retained its confidence that it had not blundered in choosing a pilot for the rough weather that loomed just ahead, and no one has had occasion to ask, Who is at the helm of affairs in Washington?

THE TARIFF AND INTERNATIONAL BIMETALLISM— HAWAII.

Following his inauguration the President promptly entered upon his part of the task of executing the pledges embodied in the platform

Lieut.-Col. B. F. Montgomery. (In charge of executive telegraph.)	Brig.-Gen. H. C. Corbin. (Adjutant-General.)	A. A. Adee. (Second Assistant Secretary of State.)	George B. Cortelyou. (Assistant Secretary to the President.)	Charles M. Loeffler. (Doorkeeper of the cabinet room.)
M. Thibault. (Secretary of French legation.)	William R. Day. (Secretary of State.)	William McKinley. (President.)	O. L. Proden. (Assistant Secretary to the President.)	
M. Julien Cambon. (French ambassador and representative of Spain.)	John B. Moore. (First Assistant Secretary of State.)		Thomas W. Cridler. (Third Assistant Secretary of State.)	

THE SIGNING OF THE PEACE PROTOCOL AT WASHINGTON.

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on which, with a Republican House of Representatives, he had been elected by so pronounced a majority. Summoning the new Congress in extraordinary session, he urged the enactment of a tariff measure which should at the same time end the scandal of an annual deficit in time of peace and embody the principle of a reasonable preference for American industries in American markets. With a Senate dominated by no party and anti-Republican on several test questions, the achievement of such legislation was from the outset difficult and success doubtful. Without meddling, without arrogance, but with admirable tact, persistency, and good sense, the President used the legitimate prerogative of his office and the influence of his own courteous but forceful personality to supplement the efforts of the friends of tariff revision in the reluctant and conglomerate Senate, and the bill became a law. Born thus of a mixed parentage, the measure was not ideal legislation from the point of view of any school of economists, but its operation has proved at least its capacity to produce sufficient revenue for the country on a peace footing, and its protective features provided helpful conditions for a needed return of industrial and commercial

prosperity. Both in his campaign addresses and in his attitude pending tariff legislation, without the slightest disloyalty to the central idea of protection, Mr. McKinley manifested his recognition of the fact that through industrial evolution this country is in a stage of healthful transition toward wider markets and broader theories of exchange.

Upon the prompt initiation of tariff legislation the President, with equal forthrightness and in quiet defiance of a unanimous and rather contemptuous Wall Street, took his next step in obeying the instructions given him by the people at the polls. The national Republican platform of 1896 contained this declaration: "We are therefore opposed to the free coinage of silver except by international agreement with the leading commercial nations of the world, which we pledge ourselves to promote, and until such agreement can be obtained the existing gold standard must be preserved."

Fifty-one and one-fifth per cent. of the voters ratified this utterance with their ballots, while 46½ per cent. supported a platform and candidate committed to the immediate free coinage of gold and silver at the traditional ratio. Here,

for better or for worse, was a practically unanimous declaration by seventy millions of people in favor of the doctrine of bimetallism. Parties divided over a subordinate question. The Democrats held that the United States, acting alone, could and should restore and maintain the joint standard; the Republicans, while they declared for the joint standard, contended that the problem was one of world-wide scope, like the tides of the ocean, and that without the coöperation of several of the great nations of Europe an attempt by the United States fully to remonetize silver could only result, under then existing conditions, in practical silver monometallism for this nation, with all that this implied. As between the two views the verdict of the election indorsed international bimetallism and instructed the new administration to promote that result. Meantime the existing status of substantial gold monometallism was to be maintained until the way which was declared to be better could be safely opened. This remarkable pronouncement of the people was not seriously affected by the fact that throughout the canvass not a few persons and presses opposed or ignored both party platforms and insisted that the single gold standard was the ideal one and ought to be made permanent. No candidate standing on such a declaration could then have come near election.

With equal sincerity and foresight President McKinley saw, and wished to see, no other path than to carry out the policy formulated by his party and approved by the country, a policy which commended itself to his own judgment and was in accord with his own antecedents. He spurned the covert suggestion, which came from many influential quarters, that the language of the Republican platform in approval of international bimetallism was a dishonest bid for the votes of conservative bimetallists in all parties, and having served its purpose was intended to be forgotten after election. The commission appointed by him to sound the leading governments of Europe fairly represented both political parties, the principal sections of the country, and the several shades of opinion favorable to the joint standard. Its errand was, first, to learn authentically what would be the attitude of the governing elements in France, Great Britain, and Germany toward a movement to establish by international coöperation a practical and permanent system of bimetallic coinage,* and, second, to promote such a movement in all proper ways in the name and on behalf of the Government of the United States. The work of the commission was done with fidelity and ability, and developed the fact that outside of France the coöperation of Europe in favor of bimetallism could not be

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THE PRESIDENT AT HIS DESK—A NEW PHOTOGRAPH.

counted on for the present or the early future. Whether that result shall prove to be a temporary repulse or a final defeat for the cause of bimetallism, the mission to Europe of Senator Wolcott and his associates was abundantly justified by the event. In the presence of claims exactly opposite and equally positive the people of the United States needed and demanded conclusive information as to the attitude of Europe on the great monetary question of the hour. That attitude, when definitely ascertained, was sure to influence largely the opinions of men, the alignment of parties, and the course of political events in America. The work of the commission, far from being futile, constituted a necessary and thorough reconnaissance which clarified the situation, removed from the monetary debate in the United States its main element of uncertainty and confusion, and enabled our people, while solving in their own way a grave and exigent problem, to move in view of all the facts. A greater, more timely, or more courageous service, undertaken in the teeth of powerful opposition coming largely from interests which had earnestly aided Republican success, could hardly have been rendered by a President to the cause of sound finance and the general prosperity.

It was in harmony with the predominant sentiment of the nation, largely regardless of party

lines, that President McKinley, at the threshold of his term, committed his administration aggressively to the policy of Hawaiian annexation—a policy which President Harrison had sturdily advocated and which President Cleveland, attempting to defeat, had only succeeded in delaying for four years. The final failure of the treaty by two or three votes to command the necessary two-thirds majority of the Senate only served to elicit the real purpose of the people. The law-making power proceeded to accomplish what the treaty making power failed to effect, and the flag of the United States floats in final sovereignty over the Hawaiian Islands. In forwarding this measure, as in promoting the tariff enactment, the President furnished a needed demonstration that the executive may exert a great and sometimes determining influence upon the course of important legislation without in the slightest degree infringing the prerogative or affronting the self-respect of the Congress.

None can fail to see that this notable debate, with its historic setting and the resulting action, marked a momentous new departure for the nation and paved the way for still greater and swiftly coming developments. The President was not slow to perceive that while originally Hawaiian annexation had little significance beyond the economic and strategic considerations of limited range which it involved as an isolated act, by the summer of 1898, in the midst of a foreign war, it had become an essential link in a

chain of events of world-wide scope and enduring magnitude. Viewed thus, the measure was urged by the President and those who agreed with him with a vigor which assured success. Whatever the twentieth century shall say as to the wisdom or unwisdom of extending the dominion of the great republic distinctly beyond the boundaries and waters of the North American continent, that policy itself will through all time be identified in its effective origin with the McKinley administration.

THE RISING WAR CLOUD.

In receiving from his predecessor—indeed from a considerable line of predecessors—the uncomfortable legacy of the Cuban question, President McKinley recognized that its cumulative evils would reach a climax in the early months of his own administration, and that even if he would he could not pass on the mischievous portfolio to his successor. It was evident that the disease had reached a stage which would brook no treatment short of radical cure. A remedy, not a palliative, was imperiously demanded. The President lent himself to this conclusion and its logical consequence with unreluctant courage. To him as to the nation it was not simply the fact that a brave people at our doors were being exterminated because they would no longer submit to outrage. There was the broader and deeper fact that Spain had increasingly shown her innate and racial unfitness and in-

capacity to administer the affairs of a colony, and now was attempting to maintain within thirty leagues of our coast a section of fourteenth-century civilization alongside that of the nineteenth. It was another irrepressible conflict between the old and the new, between darkness and light, and current events only served to precipitate a catastrophe which in any case was inevitable. It was simply the arrival of the day of judgment for Spanish colonial methods, with the United States as the providential instrument for executing the sentence.

The end to be reached—the prompt and complete termination of Spanish rule in Cuba—having been determined by unbroken consensus, the primary question be-

came one of method. At the outset the President and his Cabinet believed the desired result could be accomplished without involving the nation in war. Even if there was but a reasonable chance of success through peaceful means, he believed this course should first be tried, since such trial, with failure, would not weaken, but would greatly strengthen our cause if subsequent events should show that forcible measures were necessary. The President, possessing full information, including much that could not currently be given to the public, was convinced that if allowed a little time and a free hand he could secure the independence of Cuba by diplomatic pressure upon Spain—that pressure being always potentially backed by the prestige and the purpose, the fleets and the armies of the United States. Very powerful influences abroad were working to this end, but out of the public sight. The necessary evils attending any war, the certainty of a long death-roll from battle and disease, and the easy possibility that our then impending struggle with Spain might prove the match to ignite the magazine of Europe and sweep our nation into the vortex of a general war—considerations like these bore upon the President as they could bear upon no one else. It was considerations like these, and not the solemn appeals of organized commercialism, that made him reluctant to draw the sword so long as another solution seemed possible.

In 1861, prior to the attack on Sumter, Lincoln seemed to hesitate. In the early months of 1898 the charge of hesitancy and indecision was raised against McKinley, mainly by the professional Hotspurs and the uninformed. In each instance it was the pause of a sincere soul before entering upon a vast responsibility which none else could measure and which no mortal could share. Each in his time and place stood alone and reckoned only with his Maker, his conscience and history. In great crises a sense of solemn individual accountability abides with a conscientious chief magistrate which is impossible to any legislative body, especially one of numerous membership. Congresses come and Congresses go, and after each expires it is known only by its consecutive number on the public-document shelves—a reminiscence without tangible or continuing responsibility. The executive is a personal and enduring entity, amenable by name to the rewards and punishments of history. Posterity can deal retributively with the fame of a former President. Posterity might as well attempt to call to account a last year's sunset as to arraign a departed Congress.

But whatever might have resulted from a further test of peaceful means with Spain, had

conditions temporarily remained unchanged, the ethics of events suddenly ordained that diplomacy should not untie, but the sword should cut, the Cuban knot. The unspeakable tragedy of the *Maine*, however direct or remote may have been Spanish responsibility, followed by Senator Proctor's calm but overwhelming *exposé* concerning the *reconcentrados*, threw a sinister light on other facts of current history, stirred the blood of our people as it had not been stirred in a generation, and closed every avenue but one.

ANTE-BELLUM STATESMANSHIP.

After war became inevitable and before hostilities should open there was necessity for widespread preparation by the United States. Spain was already on a war footing so far as she could ever be, while aside from our navy we were in the sleep of peace and utterly unready for either attack or defense. Doubtless the power of Spain, especially for an early offensive dash, was everywhere overestimated; but this is after-thought and could not have influenced plans at the outset. With nearly two hundred thousand well-equipped soldiers in Cuba and Porto Rico alone and a navy which some good authorities then regarded as fairly equal to our own, Spain was far from contemptible in fighting strength and preparedness, and not a few among our best friends predicted that in the early stages of the contest we should have the worst of it.

At this juncture the administration, while keeping in touch with the best and dominant sentiment of the country, had the complex, instant, and difficult task—

1. Of averting serious division at home;
2. Of making colossal preparation for a war of unknown magnitude, including the creation, equipment, and transportation of an army of a quarter of a million men;
3. Of preventing threatened European interference, both by making the American cause ethically and diplomatically impregnable and by convincing Europe that in case of such interference we should not stand alone;
4. Of postponing an open breach with Spain until our country could be put in a decent state of readiness for the actual shock of war; and
5. Of so guiding events in Congress and elsewhere that by premature recognition of the shadowy insurgent government in Cuba we might not shortly find ourselves in a hopeless and perhaps hostile muddle of complications with the very people whom we were arming to succor.

Illustrative of the magnitude and sweep of some of these preparatory measures, it is only now with the dawn of peace that the eyes of our own people are opening to the real significance of

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The President.

Lyman J. Gage.
(Secretary of the Treasury.)

J. W. Griggs.
(Attorney-General.)

John D. Long.
(Secretary of the Navy.)

James Wilson.
(Secretary of Agriculture.)

William R. Day.
(Secretary of State.)

C. N. Bliss.
(Secretary of the Interior.)

Russell A. Alger.
(Secretary of War.)

Chas. Emory Smith.
(Postmaster-General.)

THE PRESIDENT AND HIS WAR CABINET.

that Anglo-American understanding which was a first-fruit of our ante-bellum diplomacy. British good-will and its effective and timely manifestation were not the fortuitous circumstances, the lucky coincidences, which half the public thought them to be, and they undoubtedly saved the United States from the ugly necessity of facing the hostile fleets of at least two European nations besides Spain. This unwritten treaty of amity and mutual helpfulness is full of meaning to the family of nations, having the potentiality of a practical alliance of all English-speaking communities in the interest of universal order, equity, and civilization.

To answer the question in what manner this momentous and perplexing emergency was met and these great duties performed would be to summarize one of the most memorable and creditable chapters in American history. It is sufficient to say of the President's action in this turning of a serious crisis that no one, even after the event and in the relentless light of results, has named an important particular in which the soundest wisdom would have suggested a different course. Perhaps no contemporary estimate at once more competent and more disinterested has been given than that of the *London Times*

when it said that, amid the events and exigencies leading up to and growing out of our war with Spain, President McKinley has manifested the highest measure of statesmanship possible to a chief magistrate acting within the lines of the American Constitution.

THE PRESIDENT AND THE WAR'S MANAGEMENT.

If Mr. McKinley rose to a great occasion in the events precluding hostilities, did he fail to keep good his record in the presence of actual war? From the hour when, through the stubborn folly of Spain, diplomacy had spoken its last word, the President not only ceased to be the advocate of peace, but became the very embodiment of the intelligent and resistless war spirit of the nation. Thenceforward no one complained of a Fabian policy. As he had exhausted all honorable measures for averting bloodshed, even at the cost of criticism and misrepresentation, so now he concentrated every energy of his nature and all the well-nigh autocratic war powers of the executive upon the one task of making the conflict swiftly and humanely decisive. And here came the greatest of many surprises. Too young to have reached high rank or great responsibility during his service in the

Civil War, the President was not known to have given much attention to military affairs during his mature life. Many, perhaps most, when hostilities opened, expected to see him virtually stand aside as a civilian and relegate the strategy of the war, the planning and carrying out of campaigns, to the trained experts about him. If this was his own predisposition it was quickly displaced by two discoveries: first, that a generation of peace had failed to develop any one military officer of abilities so conspicuous and character so balanced as to entitle him to unquestioned leadership such as that, for example, which Grant exercised during the closing years of the war for the Union; second, that the diversity of view among equally competent expert advisers largely discounted the value of their counsel and compelled a resort by the President to the unwritten maxim of Grant: In emergencies consult your corps commanders, then do as you think best. Thus from the first, and that without vanity or presumption, President McKinley found himself exercising in fact the authority vested in him by the Constitution as commander-in-chief of the army and navy. Availing himself of the best talent in both branches of the service, with rare sagacity or good fortune putting the right commander in the right place, careful not to violate the canons of the military art, he formulated a plan of campaign, definite and positive in its main outlines, flexible in regard to such details and contingencies as no one could foresee or control. Admirals and army commanders acted within the lines of this general plan of the war and executed with magnificent energy and thoroughness the orders emanating from the White House, but transmitted through the regular channels of subordinate authority.

At the very outbreak of hostilities came a striking illustration of what has here been said. It is a fact not commonly known that the first dispatch which was cabled to Commodore Dewey within twenty-four hours after the declaration of war, ordering him to sail forthwith for Manila and capture or destroy the Spanish fleet in Philippine waters—an order which resulted in the greatest naval victory in history, decided the struggle in the eastern hemisphere, and changed the future of ten millions of people—was dictated by the President and sent by his direction against the advice of the entire Cabinet save one member. In the campaign of Santiago, which finally crushed the sea-power of Spain and humanely ended the war in thirty days, it was the President's energetic intervention which overcame the strange inertia and confusion that threatened to delay the departure of the expedi-

tionary force until the golden opportunity had passed. On the other hand, he had already vetoed a summer campaign against Havana by land and sea, with its needless carnage and its certain disaster from climate and disease.

But no President or chief was ever more fortunate in the competency and valor of the naval and military officers, the soldiers and sailors, on whom he depended to fight the battles and win the triumphs of a war, and none could have been more generously swift in according to his responsible subordinates the credit and glory of the marvelous procession of victories which have commanded the admiration and changed the judgment of the world. To Dewey and Merritt at Manila, to Shafter, Sampson, and Schley at Santiago, to Miles in Porto Rico, to Watson with his sleepless blockading fleet, and to their officers and men, the President transmits the thanks and tribute of a grateful nation, but he leaves it for others to remind us that this matchless campaign of little more than the historic hundred days, yet having well-nigh half the globe for its theater, was planned, unified, and energized from a modest conference table in the Executive Mansion at which his own was the final and determining word.

Over against the admittedly superb management of the war as a whole the charge is currently made that certain of the permanent bureaus of the War Department have manifested not merely an inadequate grasp of the situation, but absolute incompetency where there was needed efficiency of the highest order. It need not be remarked that no commander-in-chief could have foreseen or provided against such a revelation of departmental weakness. The application of swift remedies as soon as the mischief became evident, and the prompt appointment of a commission of eminent citizens to ascertain and report every fact bearing on the case and tending to fix responsibility, sufficiently testify the President's earnestness and open-mindedness in the premises and his purpose to prevent a recurrence of the evils complained of. After making allowance for much exaggeration and for many individual instances of incompetency and worse, it is possible that it is a vicious system which has broken down, and that no remedy will be effective or enduring which does not reorganize our permanent war establishment and thoroughly revise the relation of the national Government to the volunteer troops in time of war.

PEACE AND ITS PROBLEMS.

When, with the destruction of Spain's power of resistance and our generous treatment of her surrendered troops, came her request for terms

of peace, the President was prompt to meet half way the Spanish advance, but inflexibly firm in demanding that the logical and legitimate results of the war as he understood them should be conserved. The conditions named by him at once commended themselves to our own people and to the fair-minded everywhere as moderate and wise, embracing no element of unnecessary

bear of little minds, yet back of all rose the question, alleged to be still graver, whether the traditions, the genius and welfare of the republic, if not the spirit of the Constitution itself, did not bar for us a policy of national expansion involving the absorption and the permanent control and defense of remote lands peopled by many millions, alien of race and mainly unfit to enter upon the ex-

perience of local self-government. How a narrow mind, in bondage to appearances, to precedent, to technicalities, and to the phrasemaker, and having the responsibility of virtually deciding this question for the nation, would have acted under these conditions, it is not difficult to guess. What course the President has in fact pursued is current history. Cuba is to be liberated from Spanish oppression and held in trust by the United States for the benefit of the people of Cuba until the latter shall have organized a stable and free government. Porto Rico, whose people have welcomed the American flag, is to be American territory, useful mainly as a national outpost. For similar convenience an island of the Ladrões in the Pacific passes under our control. Finally, the future of the Philippines is left to be fixed by treaty, with the certainty that the United States commissioners will agree to no settlement which would remand the great archipelago to Spanish and priestly misrule tempered with periodic anarchy.

THE PRESIDENT AT CAMP WICKOFF, WITH GENERAL WHEELER (VICE-PRESIDENT HOBART STANDS BEHIND THE GENERAL).

severity and nothing designed to humiliate a defeated foe. The President and his advisers, in confronting this problem of a settlement of the issues of the struggle, even before the white flag was raised, were not blind to the apparent inconsistency of demanding considerable cessions of territory at the end of a war which we had proclaimed to be waged unselfishly, solely from motives of humanity, and with no purpose of national aggrandizement. If this were met with the obvious aphorism that consistency is the bug-

but in decent deference to the opinion of the nation did President McKinley refrain from fixing in the protocol the final disposition of the Philippines as he thus fixed the destiny of Porto Rico. Their annexation or practical control by the United States, from which outcome he has thus far seen no honorable escape if escape were desirable, involve a new departure so radical and wide-reaching that he was more than willing the country should have opportunity to discuss the question before it was foreclosed and impress its

judgment upon the treaty-making power. As to what that judgment will be the President probably has little anxiety. His chief solicitude would naturally center about the new and vast responsibilities rolled upon his administration by the new order of things. None will doubt the firmness of his purpose that the same considerations of humanity which compelled our intervention in behalf of Cuba shall determine the lines of settlement with all interests, east and west, now that peace has come through victory. Much has occurred between April and September. New rights of new peoples have emerged, and new duties necessarily follow.

HISTORIC INCIDENTAL RESULTS.

The definite and epoch-making events here hastily outlined, in which President McKinley has necessarily been the central figure, are almost equaled in salutary and historic significance by what may be termed the collateral and resulting incidents of the opening period of his administration.

The conduct of the national finances as related to the war period forms a suitable parallel to the military campaign. Instance: against opposing advice and predictions of failure from the same fiscal experts who under the preceding administration approved a practical brokerage of \$9,000,000 for negotiating \$62,000,000 of United States 4-per-cent. bonds in time of peace, Congress and the President went directly to our own people for a loan of \$200,000,000 at 3 per cent. in time of war. The memorable response, promptly tendering six times the desired sum, with no commission to any one, blazes a pathway for future administrations. The Nicaragua Canal, commercially desirable before, has by this year's events become well-nigh a national military necessity, and the President seems likely to realize his wish of seeing its construction inaugurated under the exclusive ownership and control of the United States during his administration.

The obliteration of the last vestige of estrangement between the North and South is one of the great compensations of the war with Spain. The prompt and patriotic response of the Southern States and the President's wise and unsolicited appointment of prominent ex-Confederates to important commands in the new army marked and constituted the final step in the unification of our people. The thirty-third anniversary of Appomattox witnessed the completed reunion of the States. Hardly less beneficent has been the leveling of artificial barriers between political parties.

The nation has been a unit in its attitude toward the war and in loyal support of its chosen leader in the performance of his great task. Seldom if ever in the republic's past has a President enjoyed the confidence and good-will of all citizens in a like degree. And no President has more frankly or effectively shown that he preferred to be regarded and remembered as the official head of an entire people rather than merely as the office-holding leader of a successful party. History seems to be repeating itself in a latter-day "era of good feeling."

PRESIDENT M'KINLEY AND THE NEW OUTLOOK.

The war's unavoidable outcome in a Larger America, involving a colonial system, territorial possessions spanning one hundred and eighty degrees of longitude, governmental and trade relations with populous communities of other tongues and customs, close and vital connections with the commerce and policies of the Orient, a place and voice in international councils—these things cannot fail to lift our civic life to a higher level. We could not if we would longer be wholly absorbed in or divided by local and domestic issues. We have ceased to be provincial. Our thoughts and discussions must henceforth embrace the world.

President McKinley's official term falls at the close of the first and beginning of the second era in the republic's history—at the point where the nation, having completed its minority, leaves behind the maxims and limitations applicable only to childhood and enters almost suddenly upon the wider activities and responsibilities of mature and virile national life. He must see, as our people see, that this great commonwealth is henceforth a world power, unable, if it wished, to continue that isolation which was its safety in days of weakness, and that to his administration largely fall the duty and the honor of adjusting the nation to its new and enlarged orbit. Is the President equal to the occasion? A bell is judged by the degree of its resonance—by the completeness of its response to the blow of its iron tongue. And men are fairly measured by their human quality of resonance—by the promptness and greatness with which they respond, each in his place and hour, to the hammer-stroke of great emergency and great opportunity. So tested and so measured in view of the record thus far completed, William McKinley stands in the eye of the world to-day. The future must be judged by the past.

MEDICAL AND SANITARY ASPECTS OF THE WAR.

BY DR. CARROLL DUNHAM.

NOW that actual fighting is over, and doubtless over for good, it is undeniable that failure adequately to safeguard the health of the American troops is the one blot on an otherwise fair account. Mere fault-finding is of little service and is not the purpose of this article; its purpose is to survey the events of the late war in so far as they bear on the health of the men in the service, with the single wish to learn and to tell the truth. When the events are those of yesterday and to day this is a difficult undertaking, but it is worth while. Each sincere effort to present the facts strengthens the determination of the American people to get at the reasons for whatever weakness, fault, defective organization, or lack of pure and single will to worthily perform great obligations has caused the tragical inefficiency of the Government's care of its men in the hour of their highest service and their greatest need.

WHAT WE ARE CAPABLE OF.

It is not as if we had no standard of administrative duties done with which to compare these shortcomings. We have one close at hand, at home, familiar to the public mind and dear to every heart. We entered on the late war fearing that our navy was too small to force it to a quick end. The swift succession of events has gloriously disappointed us. We know now that our navy belongs to the highest type of systematized coöperative energy. Although it has been developed during years of peace, it is a perfect machine, animated with intelligence and enthusiasm, yet instantly obedient from top to bottom to the control of the master mind. From stoker to engineer, from cabin-boy to admiral, there is one informing spirit: love of the service is fused with love of country, the honor of the man and the honor of the flag cannot be separated. The long discipline, the strictly professional spirit of the service, the effective unity which is the crown of steady, faithful labor, have set the American navy before our people and our fellow-nations as a brilliant standard.

THE ARMY AND NAVY COMPARED.

In comparing the army with the navy, important fundamental differences between them should be borne in mind, otherwise the comparison will mislead. First, then, the navy has

been treated as a unit and has been trained as a unit. Its commanders, through practical experience in actually doing things at sea with warships, have become masters of the difficult art of handling numbers so as to bring out all their strength in attack and direct it where they wished. The regular army of the country, a small body of professional soldiers, has done its work scattered at military posts all over the vast area of the United States. None of its commanders has had an opportunity of handling an army corps in the field. Not one of the larger problems of war, such as mobilization, providing and distributing sustenance for thousands of soldiers in motion, the precise marshaling of a divided force so as to concentrate it on a particular point at a specified time—none of these larger problems has been worked out practically. The army's work has been a larger sort of police duty. An equally important difference between the services is that while the navy remains a unit in war, the regular army becomes merely the nucleus of our military force—the core of the apple. The Hull bill was designed to give increased efficiency to the war force of the republic by using the regular army as leaven for the volunteers. It was to furnish an organized skeleton for the new regiments which should be brought up to full strength by the enlistment of volunteers. This was a workmanlike plan which would have been of great use in the sudden emergency we were called to face, but enough militiamen opposed the bill to cause its defeat in its original form, and the emasculated bill which became law was shorn of a large part of its efficiency.

Now, the fundamental reason why the army has fallen so far short of the navy is the reason why it has not been correspondingly developed. We have disapproved of a standing army, and though we have seen that one was necessary, we have taken care to keep it just as small as possible. Through their Congress our people have declined to authorize a development of the military service which should keep any sort of pace with the development of the population. Since 1875 the number of enlisted men has been strictly limited to 25,000, or one-thirtieth of 1 per cent. of 70,000,000. Some of us have been influenced by the boggy of arbitrary power and the notion that a larger standing army would

give too much strength to the central Government at Washington. All of us have been busy with other tasks and have not thought it worth while to pay much attention to the army. We assumed that its chief use would be for defense, and in our peaceful mass we were strong enough to be safe from any outside interference. We reasoned that if ever it became necessary we could at any time, and on the shortest notice, put an immense militia force in the field, who would fight for their homes as their fathers had fought before them. To sum up, we assigned police duty to the regular army and national defense to the militia.

Suddenly involved in the practical business of offensive warfare, the navy has perfectly responded to every demand made on it by circumstances, many of which could not have been foreseen. The army also has dared and done. Every man of the great Teutonic stock is proud of the dashing courage of the Santiago campaign, and feels himself ennobled by that great demonstration of fortitude in battle and humanity afterward. But that the army has not in all respects proved itself master in emergency is to be recognized as a consequence flowing in part from the policy of the country in military affairs. As a sensible people we shall sift out the lessons of this war, apply our experience in practice, modify our policy, and see to it that our army, whatever its force may be, shall be so trained in the art of war and so related to the great body of militia that its efficiency as an expression of national energy and intelligence will put it on a par with what we know the navy is.

PREVENTION THE GREAT DUTY.

In every war, until 1870, disease has killed more men than guns. For the first time, in the Franco-Prussian War, the Germans triumphed over disease. Forty thousand five hundred men died during that brief war, 28,202 from wounds, 12,180 from disease. This is a demonstration of the possible.

The public knows that important progress has been made in surgery, in the knowledge of many kinds of infection, and in general sanitation during the thirty-three years which have elapsed since the close of our Civil War. We think ourselves the last people to neglect the practical utilization of advancing scientific knowledge. In our great hospitals the latest results of European study are frequently put to use before the European practitioners themselves appreciate their new resources. We are not lacking in self-confidence and we are often justified. It was, therefore, taken for granted that although we were not prepared for war we could cross the river

when we got to it. We did not expect any serious trouble with our men before sending them to Cuba if we kept the weak ones out of the army to begin with. This preliminary work fell to the army medical department. On every side men were turned away because they were not sound enough to be trained for war.

The function of the military medical officer is to select men who will make capable soldiers and to keep them fit for duty. This seems too plain to be worth the drop of ink it takes to print it. But what does it mean? It means that prevention is the backbone of medical work in war. Prevention, not cure, wisdom before the harm is done rather than mending afterward, the stitch in time that saves—that is the chief duty of military medicine.

The rigid examination of volunteers is thus the first step in the medical work of the army. It prevents the entrance of unsound material. Soldiers must be chosen from those who are fit to endure service in the field, and the army must be protected from the unfit.

Having made sure of the healthy recruit, the next duty is to keep him healthy and to adapt him to his special duties as a soldier. He must be trained till he can take long marches and is tough enough to turn his hand to any task; he must be broken in to regular hours and to the severe diet of the army ration; he must be taught to yield himself willingly to the control of those who are for the time his superiors. It is a fine spectacle to see thousands of American men habituated from childhood to a nearly complete independence, masters of themselves and equal with their fellows, learn easily and thoroughly to submit to military discipline.

But it is not enough that a soldier should implicitly obey orders in matters military. He must obey them with equal precision in matters sanitary. And there's the rub. The intelligent soldier has heard of bacilli and bacteria and knows that they bear relation of some sort to recent advances in our knowledge of disease, but he does not think of them as being dangerous to troops as bullets are dangerous. The fact is that they are even more dangerous than Mauser bullets shot off with smokeless powder. Both hit without giving a sign to the eye whence they come, and of the two the Mausers hit less often and hit less hard. The reported experience of the Turkish army in the recent campaign in Thessaly is an extreme one. Turkey lost something less than 1,000 men in battle; 19,000 more died of disease in Thessaly; 22,000 were invalided and sent home, and of these 8,000 subsequently died. This is a ratio of 1 man killed in fight to 27 killed by disease. Most of these

deaths were unnecessary. They were due to diseases which would not have occurred under proper and vigilant sanitary administration.

Our men have suffered from preventable diseases. In a modern scientifically run hospital our men would have been kept well. We know enough about many infectious diseases to prevent them from spreading widely when we can control the essential conditions. In order to accomplish this expert knowledge is necessary in those who are in command. Precision and conscientious detail work are necessary on the part of subordinates. Obedience to orders is necessary in the rank and file.

Evidently the way to secure such conditions in a volunteer camp is the chief task. The soldier boys have come to the support of the country with enthusiasm. They are healthy fellows; the medical examiners have seen to that. They know that they can do nothing in the field when it comes to fighting unless they learn to obey their officers, and they drill with all their might. In all matters where they fully understand the necessity for doing certain things they will obey any orders. They grumble at the army ration, a concentrated, nutritious, and easily portable diet, which they do not like; they growl at their clothing, which they think is too heavy for summer and absurd for service in the tropics; their shoes hurt their feet, which is the last thing an army shoe should do, and make marching painful and for some of them impossible. The statement has been made, as a result of observation in Germany, that 5 per cent. of infantry troops ordinarily shod are incapacitated by a forced march. This means the handicapping of a much larger percentage.

There are a score of precautions that should be regularly taken to prevent disease. One of the simplest of these is to boil all drinking-water, so as to make sure that any microorganisms it may contain shall be destroyed before being swallowed. How do the volunteers observe this precaution in camp? At first they boil their water because they have been instructed to do so. But the weather grows hot and hotter, they have what seems to them insufficient food, they are drilling all the time, and they are footsore and weary—weariness as they had never supposed men could be. Is it strange if men so situated, sweating and thirsty from their labors, get careless about boiling their water? It goes without saying that they ought not to be allowed to get careless in taking any sanitary precaution; it is the business of their officers to see that they obey orders. But many of the officers themselves have failed to appreciate the greatness of their responsibility in these sanitary matters. Even if they have done militia

duty at home, they have not had any training in military philosophy. They do not take large professional views of their work as men in authority. They are brave, they are patient, they do their duty as they see it with all their hearts, but the fact is—and there is no use blinking at it—they are not trained and competent soldiers.

Tactics mean to them the various maneuvers by which troops are handled in the field; strategy means the moving of forces as chessmen are moved on the board. This is all right as far as it goes, but it does not go nearly far enough to be up to the times. To see only one-half of one's duty is a pretty sure way of doing not more than half of it at the best. "He that aims at the moon will shoot higher than he that means a tree." The well-informed commander of today knows that the little matter of boiling camp water before drinking it is really of vast importance. It cannot always be accomplished when advancing on the enemy, but it can always be done in camp. He knows that the sanitary condition of a force in active campaigning may be so good that it is free to move, able to endure forced marching and sharp fighting, and to push forward with a speed and energy which fully double its efficiency. He knows that the same force of men unscientifically cared for is hampered in its movements by its sick, its effective number is reduced, it can do less when reinforced than it ought to do alone. He knows that in loss of military strength there is nothing to choose between one man sick and two men killed. And he knows very well that the difference between an army that has faithfully boiled its water while in camp preparing for the field and an army that has neglected to do so, may be the difference between an army carrying typhoid fever with it as an invisible ally of the enemy and one free from that infection.

It is not hard to understand how it is that men suddenly called on for service, hurriedly gathered together in great camps, hastily supplied and under the orders of commanders who have not handled large bodies of troops in war, should have become the victims of preventable disease. To understand is not to excuse. Because a duty presents difficulties it is not the less a duty. Troops are punished for breaches of discipline. Officers would certainly be held rigidly to account if they sent their men into action unarmed or short of ammunition. They should be held just as rigidly responsible for laxity in enforcing sanitary regulations. No subject is of more importance to the master of an army than the medical supervision of his forces. Whatever rigidity of discipline is needed to enforce thorough sanitation it is his imperative duty to

maintain, not primarily because he wants to be kind to his men, but because it is a military necessity for him to have his force in shape for use. Other things being equal, the general who is a stern sanitarian will win in the long run, and this becomes more and more exactly true with the advance of knowledge.

THE GREAT CAMPS AND THEIR CARE.

When the volunteers assembled in response to the President's call they were first gathered together in small camps in their respective States and then transferred to the great government camps which were established at points conveniently situated for rapid movement to ports on the Gulf and the South Atlantic coast. The selection of these great camps was an important piece of work which called for the exercise of foresight and sound judgment. They must be easily accessible and provided with every possible facility for transportation; they must be at strategic centers; they must be suited to the sanitary needs of large bodies of troops.

The sanitary requisites of the military camp which is to be occupied for a considerable time are good water in abundance, a dry, porous soil with good natural drainage, plenty of wood for fuel, grass for feeding mules and horses. If the first two of these requisites are secured it is possible to prevent the occurrence of most of the camp diseases, provided the commanding officers carry out with precision the recommendations of competent medical officers whose duty it is to advise them, and provided the troops are properly supplied.

Immediately after the war began, on April 25, the surgeon-general issued a circular of instruction to medical officers of the army stating the dangers of camp life and giving the most important means of prevention in a precise and comprehensive way. He recognized at the start that the result of a campaign may depend on sanitary measures adopted or neglected by commanding generals in the field, and that this put a great responsibility upon medical officers because they are responsible advisers of their commanders. He then pointed out the dangers facing our armies in Cuba, calling attention to the fact that they would contend there not only with malarial fevers and the usual camp diseases—typhoid fever, diarrhoea, and dysentery—but would be exposed to yellow fever in its home while themselves in unfavorable conditions. Finally he gave specific instructions covering the chief points of camp hygiene and police.

It will be clear to the intelligent reader who has followed the considerations presented that the water he drinks and the soil on which he

camp should be chosen for the soldier with a care commensurate with their importance. All competent sanitarians know what these should be, and there are hundreds of practical men in the country who can easily and accurately determine whether or not a given place is really suited to the uses of a camp.

These military camps should have been chosen for two main reasons: because they were places suitable for healthy camps; because they were conveniently situated for receiving and distributing supplies and troops. Chickamauga was chosen because it was already the property of the United States; because it was convenient; because it was high and attractive. Its soil is not suited for a large military encampment. It consists of a few inches of loam with an underlying bed of dense clay, which extends everywhere to bed-rock. The ground remains damp after rain and cold even when exposed to the sun for a long time. Water collects in pools where it is held by clay. The weather is hot by day, cold and damp by night. The water-supply is in part from artesian wells and springs: but some of the troops have used ground-water which has been exposed to infection. At Camp Alger, in Virginia, the water-supply was insufficient and the place unsuited for camping. At Tampa, Fla., the soil was admirably adapted for camping, being very light and sandy to a great depth—thus insuring a perfect drainage—and the water-supply was good.

If what should have happened had happened, our picked men gathered in these camps, living regular lives on simple and nourishing diet, drilling all the time and living out of doors in the early months of an American summer, would not have suffered. On the contrary, they would have gained in health and strength and have been better able to endure a campaign in the tropics after their camp life than before it. This would have been the result in the English, the French, or the German army to-day. That the reverse has been our own experience is humiliating to us as a practical people.

TYPHOID FEVER.

Typhoid fever was the camp fever of the Civil War. It was usually at its worst a few weeks after each new levy of troops was assembled in camp. During the first year of the war it attacked about 8 per cent. of our men, killing more than 35 per cent. of white and more than 55 per cent. of colored troops attacked. At the beginning of our war with Spain it was foreseen by competent men that a like danger would threaten our troops in the great government camps. We know a great deal more about typhoid fever now than we did during the Civil

War, for we have discovered the bacillus producing it and we know how the disease may be transmitted. The typhoid bacilli thrive and multiply in organic matter. The disease is produced by their activity in the human intestine. They are in the organic wastes of those who have the fever. Typhoid is transmitted from man to man by the transference of these living bacilli from such organic wastes of the fever patient to the digestive tract of another human being. This may occur directly—as from uncleanness of the camp sinks or any contamination of the fingers of nurses or attendants—or it may occur indirectly—as from an infection of the water-supply by seepage through the soil from collections of organic refuse or by the action of flies walking on heaps of infected wastes and then going to camp kitchens and crawling over the food. It is of the most extreme importance that these bacilli should be kept out of the water-supply, because the method of transference by means of drinking-water is a whole-sale one which produces epidemic outbreaks of the disease. Viewed largely, where, as in military medicine, the main conditions can be controlled, typhoid fever is the type of a preventable disease.

In military camps the organic wastes of the human body are thrown into trenches called sinks, which are dug to varying depths in the ground. It is part of the sanitary policing to cover these wastes every few hours with a layer of fresh earth and to fill them up altogether before they approach too near the surface. The chief danger in the situation thus produced is that the rainfall in its course from the surface to the deeper parts of the soil will carry with it disease-producing organisms which will thus find their way into the water-supply. This danger probably cannot be eliminated in any large military camp getting its water from local wells, ponds, or running streams, except by systematically removing the organic wastes from camp.

That the conditions necessary to safeguard the health of troops have not been successfully carried out is undeniable. In this connection Circular No. 5 issued by the surgeon-general is of importance:

WAR DEPARTMENT,
SURGEON-GENERAL'S OFFICE,
WASHINGTON, August 8, 1898.

Circular No. 5.

The attention of medical officers is invited to Circular No. 1 from this office dated Washington, April 25, 1898.

The extensive prevalence of typhoid fever in camps of instruction indicates that the sanitary recommendations made in this circular have not been carried out. If medical officers have failed to make the proper recom-

mendations as indicated, the responsibility rests with them. If the recommendations have been made and not acted upon by those having authority in the various camps, the responsibility is not with the medical department, but these recommendations should be repeated and commanding officers urged to move their camps at frequent intervals and to maintain a strict sanitary police.

GEORGE M. STERNBERG,
Surgeon-General U. S. Army.

MALARIAL FEVERS.

Peculiarly to be feared in the Cuban campaign were malarial fevers and yellow fever. Of these the former, caused by a minute organism, the *Plasmodium malariae*, can only be guarded against in the present state of our knowledge by keeping those exposed in the best possible condition and using certain precautions, among which is avoidance of swamp-water, sleeping under cover, and in general protection from the extremes of heat and cold, wetness and dryness of a tropical climate. The malarial plasmodium destroys the red-blood corpuscle, and it should be noted that men who have suffered from severe malarial fevers become, as a result of this destruction, more or less incapable for a time of assimilating food. They suffer from a kind of chronic starvation. This does not justify keeping such convalescents on the army ration, but it does explain the fact that they sometimes fail to improve at once when fed with delicate and abundant food. What they need is time and pure air.

YELLOW FEVER.

For a hundred years prior to 1761 Havana had a reputation for the salubrity of its climate and the absence of epidemic disease. In that year yellow fever established itself there, beginning its local habitation by the destruction of 3,000 persons. Eight years later a little army of 3,500 came from Spain and was immediately decimated. The next year 8,000 men were landed, of whom 2,000 were destroyed within two months. Since that time yellow fever has prevailed constantly in Havana and probably in other places in Cuba every year.

"... During the four hundred and eight months 1846-79 there was only one single month free from an officially reported case of yellow fever."*

This disease has never obtained a permanent foothold in the United States, though our Gulf cities and our Atlantic coast cities also have suffered severely from epidemics of it. The ports of Cuba are a continuing source of danger to our country, because Cuba is the permanent

* Dr. Chailié, president of the commission sent to Havana by the United States National Board of Health, 1879. *Vide* report of the commission.

home of yellow fever. The loss of life and the injury produced by this affection in the United States are such that if the evacuation of Cuba is followed by the restoration of Havana and other Cuban ports to the salubrious condition they once enjoyed, the war would prove a good investment for the United States.

GENERAL HOSPITALS AND THE LARGER AMBULANCE SERVICE.

In anticipation of active service general hospitals were established at Key West, Fla. (755 beds); at Fort McPherson, Georgia (1,050 beds); at Fort Thomas, Kentucky (432 beds); at Chickamauga (Leiter Hospital, 255 beds); at Fortress Monroe, Virginia (535 beds); and at Fort Myer, Virginia (308 beds). There was in addition accommodation for several hundred in the Marine Hospital at Staten Island, N. Y., in civil hospitals in New York, in Brooklyn, in Charleston, and for small numbers in civil hospitals scattered throughout the country.

In order to transport the sick and wounded from the front to these hospitals what may be called the greater ambulance service was organized. This consisted of several hospital ships carefully and thoroughly equipped, fitted with medical supplies, and carrying surgeons and nurses, which were designed to ply between Cuba or Porto Rico and Key West, Tampa, or other coast cities. For distribution from Tampa a hospital train was provided, consisting of ten sleeping-cars and a dining-car, which made numerous trips between that port and various inland hospitals.

THE MOVEMENT AGAINST SANTIAGO.

The entrance of Cervera's fleet into Santiago Bay was fortunate for us. As soon as the presence there of his formidable ships was ascertained the Government determined to make the work of the navy more swift and certain by sending a land force to hem in Santiago, cut off Morro Castle and the batteries, and thus prevent the operation of the harbor mines. When these operations should be completed American warships could steam into the harbor and engage the Spaniards at close quarters, while our military forces delivered the fire of their heavy siege guns from the surrounding hills. Such in outline was the plan of action as given to the public in the beginning of June. It was stated at the same time that the climate of Santiago Province, while hot, was free from most of the deadly diseases prevailing in other parts of Cuba, and that our men would gradually and without extreme danger become acclimated, so that when the campaign against Santiago was over they

would be in good condition for the hardest kind of service in less healthful portions of the island.

The troops for this expedition were massed at Tampa, and on June 5 some 35,000 men were in camp. Siege guns were sent forward provided with special trucks or carriages, low and strong, with wheels four or five inches wide, so that they might be taken over the rough Cuban roads to the tops of the Santiago hills. On June 10, as if to prepare a landing-place for the invading army, the fleet under Admiral Sampson entered Guantanamo Bay and put a force of marines ashore. Guantanamo Bay, a safe and capacious harbor, something over forty miles east of Santiago, offered the navy a secure refuge and a port on the southern coast of Cuba within striking distance of that city, where transports could disembark troops and supplies in quiet water. At this time it appeared to be the purpose of the War Department to land troops there and move them on Santiago from Guantanamo, building roads and sending its guns and supplies with the army as it moved. Such a plan combined the objects of laying siege to the city and establishing a sufficient and permanent base in the island. Its defect was that it allowed Admiral Cervera time for choosing the most favorable chance to force his way through the blockading fleet.

DELAYS IN STARTING.

The embarkation of the troops from Tampa was delayed over and over again, apparently because of the great difficulties encountered by the various subordinate divisions of the War Department in supplying a complete equipment for field service in a foreign country. The newspapers reported at this time that there were eight or nine miles of loaded freight cars standing on a single track at Tampa without bills of lading or destination marks, and that cars had to be broken open in a perfectly blind search for supplies urgently needed. Compared with our well-known ability to move enormous freight tonnage, such a condition appears puerile. Transportation was in such a state of congestion that there was serious danger of complete paralysis. The condition of things near the army camps was like that in lumbering where a great number of logs, gathering where the stream runs swift and narrow, fill it, become wedged, and pile up in an extreme confusion, called a "jam."

The difficulties encountered in providing equipment for the volunteers called out by the President had proved greater than had been expected. Reports from the several States were at first to the effect that about 90 per cent. of the men volunteering were men from the militia, who were both equipped and trained. The supplies neces-

sary to enable such men to start for the field would be in part brought with them from their home States. But when the men were mustered in these expectations were disappointed. Instead of 90 per cent., it turned out that only 40 per cent. of the volunteers were militiamen. The War Department was therefore called on at short notice to provide entirely not only for the 10 per cent. figured on, but for one-half of the army of volunteers into the bargain—that is to say, of the first call for volunteers to the number of 125,000 men, the War Department had to provide not for 12,500, but for 75,000 men.

When war was declared there was no equipment whatever on hand for volunteers. It is true that the famous fifty-million-dollar emergency appropriation had been made, but no part of this sum appears to have been used to prepare for equipment of volunteers certain to be called out. The grand total of men actually in service and including the increased regular army reached 268,500.*

Looking at the work of buying, moving, and distributing army supplies, it appears that quartermasters have done their buying as quickly and carefully as the laws in force permitted; that transportation has been reasonably prompt, though not without confusion and several instances of a congestion which could have been avoided by any one of a dozen trained railroad men; and that of the three functions the distribution of supplies to the soldiers has been least well done. The newspapers were full of statements of shortages of various supplies needed by our men while stacks of the required articles were near at hand, but unavailable because for reasons not clear to ordinary common sense they could not be distributed. This inability to take the final step, without which all the steps taken before are of no use to any one, has been repeated over and over again during the Spanish-American War. It has characterized in some degree all the large military camps, including the camp for the returning army of Santiago at Montauk Point. And there has been a like failure during the campaign against Santiago.

DETAILS OF THE MOVEMENT.

Whether or not there was an actual change of plan when General Shafter embarked with the Fifth Army Corps is not yet known to the public. There was great haste at the last moment following on the heels of vexatious delays, all supplies not absolutely necessary being left at Tampa. Indeed, the facts as reported force the conclusion that many supplies commonly and justly consid-

ered necessary were classed for the purpose of this particular campaign as impedimenta and were left behind. Among these were changes of clothing for the men and a great part of the medical supplies. A spirit of hot haste took possession of the force. The whole theory of the movement seemed to have been changed. Instead of going to Guantanamo, where a base was ready, and making an orderly progress following the safe rule of war which builds only on sure foundations, the attack on Santiago exposed an entire army corps to the hazards of assault.

The reasoning which led to this method of attack must have been based on the certainty that disease was by far the deadliest enemy to be feared in Cuba in July. The risks run were tremendous, but the campaign has been justified by its extraordinary success. Assuming that its daring spirit was also the spirit of practical good sense, it must have been based on a just dread of disease. Now, if it was so based, there can be no justification whatever for sending the army forward without such medical equipment as is regularly provided for its use. That this was done is common knowledge. The reserve medical supplies and ambulance corps were left at Tampa because transportation was insufficient.* These supplies should no more have been left behind than reserves of ammunition.

When the transports arrived off Santiago on June 20 and it was decided to make the landing at Baiquiri, some seventeen miles from Santiago, the difficulties in the way proved very great. Lighters had been sent forward to transfer supplies and guns from the ships to the shore. They were lost at sea. The second set of them ordered by cable met with the same fate. A single lighter from the navy was all the army had. A few pontoons were used, but nearly all the work of disembarking was done by means of small boats. Some of the siege guns, part of the medical supplies and hospital stores, and vast quantities of provisions were never put on shore at all. There were a great number of men to be put on land, and work was necessarily done in haste. But no houses were burned, no wells filled, no sinks dug. The surgeon in charge of the beach hospital, Major LaGarde, urged that every building on the shore should be burned, advice said to have been indorsed by Major Wood, chief of the First Division hospital in the field. When camp was established in the heart of the little village of Siboney its pretty vine-clad cottages were seized upon for headquarters and other administrative purposes. One of the first cases of yellow fever occurred in such a house. The village was not

* Secretary Alger to Mr. Depew, August 18, 1898.

* Surgeon-General Sternberg in New York *Medical Record*, August 6, 1898.

finally vacated and burned until after the arrival of General Miles.

The landing of troops was completed early in the last week of June. They were immediately pushed forward along trails unworthy to be called roads until they met and engaged the Spaniards. When they started from Baiquiri for the fighting line each man carried on his back a blanket, poncho, and three days' rations rolled in half of a shelter tent. Troops were instructed to take these neat packs wherever they went. Laboring over the hilly trail between dense jungle walls under a burning sun and plastered with mud from the stifling dust, they threw away, first, blankets and then the rest of their baggage.

"Coats, underclothes, and haversacks followed the bulkier articles, and the ground might have been the scene of a retreat instead of a scarcely opposed advance. When camp-time came our troops began to regret what they had lost. . . . The terrific heat passed and the damp night air seemed doubly chill after the exhausting march. . . . Many of the men had abandoned their rations . . . and as there was no hope of a supply train reaching the camps before two or three days the situation threatened to become a serious one. . . . Bacon and hard-tack in very limited quantity made up the bill of fare. The coffee supply was also very limited, and almost without exception the men had abandoned the tinned meats and vegetables with which they had been supplied at starting. The fare of officers and men in most of the regiments was identical. The officers had what each had packed for himself, and many of them had thrown their supplies away on the march. . . . The camps for the troops were located, so far as was possible, on the sides or crests of hills and as near running water as was thought wise. The water problem was thoroughly discussed previous to the departure of the army from Tampa. Military men, scientists, and civilians talked and wrote about the water which would be found in Cuba, and hundreds of sets of rules for its preparation and use were drawn up and published. Almost all the authorities agreed that the water must be boiled. Some wanted it filtered previous to boiling, and the army was instructed carefully what it must do to avoid disease from this source. It would pain the authors of the elaborate water regulations to watch the men at the front." (New York Sun, July 12, 1898.)

The men had no kettles. There was nothing whatever for them to boil water in but their tin drinking-cups. They were thus at the front, in the tropics, with salt pork or bacon and hard-tack for food. If they could have had coffee and rice, both of which are easily transportable,

they could have stood it. Later on, while men at the front were suffering for want of vegetable food, hundreds of barrels of potatoes and onions, which had spoiled on board the transports, were heaved into the sea.

BEHIND THE FIGHTING LINE.

The extraordinary fighting qualities displayed at Guasimas, Caney, and San Juan have added another page to the great record of human heroism. To serve this army corps there were the First Division field hospital, under Major Wood, in the brush three miles east of Santiago, the hospital on the beach under Major LaGarde, and the hospital ship *Olivette* lying off shore. The First Division hospital, on Friday, July 1, "consisted of three large tents for operating tables, pharmacy, dispensary, etc.; another of similar dimensions for wounded officers; half a dozen small wall tents for wounded soldiers; and a lot of 'dog kennels,' or low shelter tents, for the hospital stewards, litter-bearers, and other attendants. . . . The professional force at the outset consisted of five surgeons." (George Kennan, *Outlook*, July 30, 1898.)

One of these five surgeons, Dr. Godfrey, stated in his report to the surgeon-general that "owing to the very small number of hospital corps men present with the division, and as the number of ambulances for the entire army was limited to three, it was impossible to expect them to convey the total number of wounded from the collecting stations to the First Division hospital." This hospital had shelter for about 100 wounded. It had neither cots, hammocks, mattresses, rubber blankets, nor pillows. Its supply of army blankets was very short. It had no clothing at all beyond three dozen shirts. There was no hospital food except a little beef extract and malted milk brought in the private baggage of one of the surgeons and held in reserve for desperate need. The five surgeons on duty had about twenty litter-bearers and assistants.* In the absence of transportation the medical officers had converted their horses into pack animals, loading them with medical supplies, and had led them on foot over the trails.

By 9 o'clock on the morning of July 1 the wounded began to come in. The five surgeons began their work, and as the wounded came fast and faster continued it without intermission for twenty-one hours. Late that evening they were reinforced by five more operators who came in from the front. By sundown on that day the five surgeons had dressed and operated on 154 men. After this time the men came so fast that records were omitted. By day the wounded lay

* Kennan. *Loc. cit.*

on the grass exposed to the tropical sun; by night they lay there damp and chilled. The weather was clear; there was no wind; the moon was nearly full. If there were any lanterns these surgeons did not have them. They worked by candlelight exposed to the fire of Spanish sharpshooters in the trees. Many of the wounded men who had gone into action under the fierce heat of a tropical day, having thrown away everything except their rifles and ammunition, reached the hospital half naked. The pitiful supply of blankets and shirts was almost immediately exhausted, and there was nothing at hand to cover these men from the scorching heat or the chilling cold. Mr. Kennan says: "If there has been any weakness or selfishness or behavior not up to the highest level of heroic manhood among the wounded American soldiers in this hospital during these three terrible days, I have failed to see it. As one of the army surgeons said to me, with the tears very near his eyes: 'When I look at these fellows and see what they stand, I am proud of being an American and I glory in the stock. The world has nothing finer.'" This hospital cared for about 800 men on July 1 and 2. From this point all that could walk or bear army-wagon transportation over the rough trail were sent to Siboney to the hospital steamers and transports.

It had been expected that the gunshot wounds produced by projectiles with very high velocity would be more destructive to life than any known to American experience. The reverse of this has proved to be the case. The small-caliber Mauser bullet which penetrates a yard of hard pine goes clean through a man when it hits. At short range it generally goes through him in a perfectly straight line and at such a rate of speed that it almost sears the wound from the heat generated. The fact that the bullet makes its exit from the tissues of the body does away with probing, a painful and dangerous procedure from which there is always a probability of infection under the conditions of field surgery. The high speed of the bullet gives it great penetration. It does not take bits of clothing with it into the wound and leave them there. It makes a clean tunnel through the wounded man from skin to skin, thus securing good drainage and a wound which is free from infection to begin with. If these wounds are promptly dressed on the field with aseptic dressings, such as all our soldiers now carry in the small first-aid packet—272,000 of these have been issued by the medical supply depots—the wounded men who require no operative treatment are in the most favorable condition for prompt and clean recovery. The tendency of such wounds, if simple ones, is to heal at once. The pain from them is moderate. The

proportion of recovery after gunshot wounds has been very large during our short experience of war. The use of the dressing in the first-aid packet in the field is one of the most admirable and practical applications of common sense to the care of the soldier that could have been devised. It is of interest also to note that the X-ray apparatus, which was brought into use in Cuba, has proved of great value in locating foreign bodies in the tissues and in the determination of the degree and character of fractures of the bones.

OUR MOST DANGEROUS ENEMIES.

No skill, no foresight could have saved our men from malarial infection under the conditions before Santiago. They were digging trenches, opening fresh ground and turning it over in the tropics during the rainy season. But now a danger greater even than any hitherto encountered suddenly faced our troops—a danger against which, so far as appears, no adequate precautions were taken by those in authority.

When notice of the bombardment was sent to the Spanish commander of Santiago the city gates were opened and the miserable inhabitants rushed out toward the invading army. They were received with a kindness which did more credit to the hearts than to the heads of our men, because, worn out and stricken with disease as they were, bearing with them hunger and infection, they were more truly menacing to the American army than were the troops of Spain. They mingled with our friendly soldiers. They filled the unburned villages of Caney and Siboney. Incredible as it seems, it is stated as a fact that the few ambulances in use by us were used to convey refugees many of whom were fever-stricken. And the same ambulances were then used to carry our own sick and wounded men.

There had been mutterings of yellow fever before this, but immediately after the pouring out into our lines of Santiago's refugees the trouble began. First a few cases, then 20, then 200. The chief surgeon of volunteers, who went to Santiago from Chickamauga with the reinforcements, said: "I was more than astonished when I arrived at Siboney on July 7 to find that thousands of refugees from infected districts were allowed to enter the camps unmolested and mingle freely with our own unsuspecting soldiers. All along the route, from the base of operations to the line of intrenchment, could be seen at short intervals scenes which were sure to bring about disastrous results. Our soldiers in a strange land and among strange people enjoyed at first the novelty, and were free in buying the fruits of the land and exchanging coins, not knowing how dearly they would be called upon

to pay for such a privilege. Houses and huts in which yellow fever was raging were visited freely, and the dangerous germs of the disease were inhaled as a matter of course. The results of such intimate association of our susceptible troops with the natives could be readily foreseen. It required only the usual time for the disease to make its appearance, and when it did so it was not in a single place, but all along the line from our intrenchments to Siboney." *

Here, again, it is instructive to compare the inability of the army to cope with circumstances with the efficiency of the navy. It was on June 10 that the marines landed at Guantnamo. As soon as they were in possession of the shore every hut on the beach was burned and the heads were knocked out of all the casks of Spanish wine. Camp was then pitched and rigidly policed. This camp was small and was near the shore, but the Cubans entered it and camped there too, and the hardships endured by the marines were great. Camp discipline was maintained. The Cuban allies were required and compelled to obey the rules of the camp—rules which were not only made, but enforced to the letter. Thirty-five days later, on July 15, there had not been a case of yellow fever at Camp McCalla, and that camp, free from disease itself, was strictly quarantined against the army camp at Siboney, where yellow fever was gaining with immense strides.

OUR ARMY DISABLED.

By the time Santiago was surrendered the strength of our army had become greatly reduced by the development of disease. It was in every way fortunate that knowledge of this fact was concealed, otherwise it is scarcely credible that the Spanish authorities would have capitulated. The health of our men declined with alarming rapidity. By the end of July it had become obvious to the commanding officers in the field that if the army were kept at Santiago its efficiency would be totally destroyed and the loss of life from disease would become appalling. In order to put the army under better sanitary conditions, the War Department directed the major-general commanding to move the army into the interior to San Luis, where the sanitary conditions were thought to be more favorable than on the coast. The receipt of this order led to the famous "round robin" which was addressed to General Shafter by eight of the officers commanding brigades, divisions, etc., of the army of occupation of Cuba. They said that the army should be at once removed out of Cuba to some point on

the northern seacoast of the United States; that this could be done without danger to the American people because yellow fever had yet not become epidemic in the army; that the army was so disabled by malarial fevers that its efficiency was gone; and that the epidemic of yellow fever certain to occur would probably utterly destroy it. Further, they were certain that the army was unable to move to the interior because of weakness and lack of facilities. If it was moved there it would suffer deadly losses from malaria. Then came the pregnant sentence: "This army must be moved at once or perish."

At this time scarcely 10 per cent. of the army of occupation—the flower of the American troops—were fit for duty. The receipt of this appeal determined the Government to move the entire army of Santiago north with the utmost possible dispatch, and it was decided to establish a great reception camp at Montauk Point, the eastern extremity of Long Island, a place easily accessible by water and at the terminus of the Long Island Railroad, to which it belonged.

THE ARMY TRANSPORTS BEARING HOME THE SICK.

In the meantime a wave of bitter indignation had swept over the country because of the wretched condition of some of the transports which had arrived at New York with wounded soldiers from the seat of war.

First came the *Seneca*, on July 21, with nearly 100 sick and wounded. She was a transport, but not a hospital ship, and was about to sail from Siboney with some fifty passengers—including newspaper men and military *attachés* of foreign governments who had been with the army—when her captain was ordered to take on board the sick and wounded soldiers. He protested, but in vain. Two young surgeons and one Red Cross nurse were assigned to the ship. Some of the soldiers were put into roughly constructed bunks down in the stifling hold. Just before the *Seneca* sailed from Siboney the nurse went over to the Red Cross ship *State of Texas* and got from the stock there such small quantities of medical supplies and beef tea, malted milk, etc., as could be spared. What she obtained in this way was about all for the sick the *Seneca* had on board when she left Cuba. The ship ran short of ice. Only a part of the water needed could be furnished by the condensers; wounds were washed with sea-water. When the wounds of some of the men opened and bled afresh during heavy weather at sea there were no bandages to bind them up with; the passengers tore up their shirts and skirts and used them. The surgeons had to do a necessary operation at sea with a pocket-knife because they could not wait and

* Dr. N. Senn, lieutenant-colonel of volunteers. Chicago Tribune, July 23, 1898.

had no instruments. The Quarantine officers at New York were delayed in deciding whether or not there was yellow fever on board because there were no temperature charts; but there could not be any because there was not a medical thermometer on the ship. (New York Sun, July 22.)

The *Concho* came in on July 29. She carried 172 sick and wounded. While ordered to take 175 convalescents from Siboney, she had berths for 58. This steamer sailed from Cuba on July 23. The drinking-water on board was that supplied at Tampa before General Shafter's army left there. The vessel was overcrowded with weak men, many of whom broke down at sea. Several were stricken with fever. There was one physician, himself weak from illness, and one male nurse. Of the Red Cross nurses on board, four were well enough to work. The food for the sick was the regular army ration. Medical supplies were lacking at Siboney and could not be spared for the *Concho*. There was no ice.

The condition of these and other transports gave rise to an illuminating order from the War Department, directing that all transports carrying sick or wounded should be thoroughly examined before leaving Cuba to prevent overcrowding and in order to see that they were properly supplied with food and medicine. I call this an illuminating order because it seems to indicate that this kind of inspection, which every one knows to be essential, had been omitted.

THE RESERVE TROOPS ENCAMPED IN THE UNITED STATES.

Meanwhile, of the grand total approaching 270,000 men in service, how had those fared who had stayed at home in the government camps instead of going out of the country to Manila, Cuba, and Porto Rico? Camp diseases, and notably typhoid fever, developed and spread at Chickamauga. At Camp Alger, near Washington, typhoid assumed such proportions that the camp became dangerous to the lives of our men. Nor is this to be wondered at, for the camp was badly situated and it was not kept in proper sanitary condition. Many of the soldiers there occupied small shelter tents set back to back with about a six-foot space between them. In the middle of this space was an open trench in which ran the greasy refuse from the camp—neither more nor less than an open sewer on either side of which the soldiers lived and slept. The great army camps have been gradually abandoned because of the alarming increase of disease in the troops occupying them.

An exception to this state of things is the camp at Jacksonville, Fla. The men there kept in

good condition and the small camp has made an excellent record. This was due not to the superior efficiency of the army discipline, but to the facts that the camp was in the municipal limits of Jacksonville and that Jacksonville is an up-to-date town and is served by efficient public officers. The mayor forbade the military men to dig sinks, exerting his authority as a municipal officer. All the organic wastes of the camp were carted away by the city authorities and immediately burned in the public crematory.

Regiments have come back from our great army camps having seen no active service whatever, but showing losses greater than those they would have suffered in a fighting campaign. Men will be invalided for life; men will be dying for ten years to come because of diseases which ought to have been prevented. It has been said already in this article that a sojourn in a properly administered camp during the summer-time should be beneficial to the health of troops. The measure in which we have fallen short of this result is the measure of administrative incapacity. A part of this is due to the unwieldy and over-complicated administration of the War Department. There should be a perfect dovetailing of the different kinds of work and a precise devolution of responsibility, direct and simple, such as must exist and does exist in every complicated and successful business. But a large part of our incapacity is due to the systematic appointment of men to positions of executive trust for political reasons. If this policy is ever tolerable during peace it is never anything short of an iniquity in war.

THE ARMY OF CUBA AT MONTAUK.

Montauk Point was secured for a military camp and steps were at once taken to prepare for the reception of the returning troops. Adequate precautions were taken to prevent the outbreak of epidemic disease in the United States as a result of the movement of troops to the northern seaboard. While this was done the preparation of Montauk should have added to this regard for the safety of the country a like regard for the care and treatment of an army which was made up of invalids from disease or privation. Nearly every man of that force was in need of medical treatment. From the outset the preparations for hospital accommodation, nursing, and medical supervision of the men have borne no true relation to the necessities of the situation. Invalids arrived in small detachments by rail and began to come from the seat of war on transports early in August. The object-lesson which has been given to the country in the vain endeavor to get Camp Wikoff ready to receive the

soldiers is proof positive of the executive inefficiency of the War Department. That a body of contract carpenters hired in Brooklyn for \$1.50 a day struck for higher wages and refused to work in the rain at any price, thus for a time crippling the building of a hospital desperately needed; that men weakened by the ravages of typhoid fever slept on the ground with nothing to eat but army rations brought up from the tropics and with milk as much beyond their reach as if there were no cows in the northern parts of the United States; that troops of the regular army, weakened by extreme privation in Cuba, were denied fresh rations because, forsooth, they had not eaten all the rations issued to them in the tropics and under the regulations could be allowed no more food until they had consumed all that had been requisitioned—these incidents, taken at random, should satisfy any logical mind.

The reports of the army transports arriving at Montauk repeated in some instances the history of the *Concho* and the *Seneca*. The *Mobile*, "so overcrowded that the sick had scarcely breathing-room," brought 300 sick men in a total of 1,600. The food for all was the army ration. The *Relief* brought troops from Porto Rico, of whom more than 150 had typhoid fever. The probability is strong that this disease did not originate in Porto Rico, but rather in the improperly managed government camps in the United States, whence it was exported with our troops to that island.

In striking contrast with the struggles of the War Department to prepare Montauk and its utter inability to work in a hurry is the swift and quiet demonstration by the Navy Department of the action of an effective organization with a rational devolution of executive responsibility. At Portsmouth on less than two days' notice barracks were built and every preparation made to receive 1,100 Spanish prisoners of war sent up from Santiago, where they had been captured at the time Cervera's fleet was destroyed. When the prisoners arrived their barracks had been built, roofed in, and furnished—barracks, not tents—the kitchens were not quite done, but the cooking-ranges were in place and ready for use. These Spaniards have been kept there some two months in a comfort which would have saved many lives if our own soldiers could have fared as well as these captives of the navy.

When the troops began to be sent home from Montauk they were sent by rail the whole length of Long Island. The suffering caused by this proceeding during the great heat of early September was very great, although it was entirely avoidable. No place on the coast is more easily

reached by water than Montauk. The men could more comfortably, more commodiously, and more cheaply have been moved to Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, or New Jersey by water than by rail. The sufferings of the Eighth Ohio, "The President's Own," and of the 32 sick men belonging to the Thirty-third and Thirty-fourth Michigan—who were moved from the hospital to the railroad station and then back again because the officials were out of transportation blanks, and who reached the hospital only to find that their places had been given to other sick men—these instances are types of a considerable number which point toward the same inevitable conclusion.

If this sort of thing was happening far away from home, where those in authority were short of help or of money, we could wait in patience for reasons. But this is going on at our very doors, within a few hours of the richest city in America, under the eyes and almost at the door-yards of people whose sons, brothers, and husbands are in camp. The machinery of administration has proved unequal to the strain put on it. There are other reasons for the break-down; but in fairness it should not be forgotten that this is one.

CONCLUSION.

An almost infinite multitude of details could be cited in support of the opinion that we have failed to take proper care of our men. Secretary Alger in his letter to Mr. Depew says, "Every effort has been made from the beginning to furnish every camp with all appliances asked for," and again, speaking of the army in Cuba: "Everything that human ingenuity could devise has been done to succor that army—not the ingenuity of the Secretary of War, but the result of the combined counsel of those who have had a life-long experience in the field." To succor is well—the people are taking a hand in that also; but the duty of the men who knew and could therefore look ahead was to prevent. The chance was theirs to make succor in most cases unnecessary. The contention is not that no effort has been made, but that the failure has been so grave. Had we been pitted against any power stronger than Spain the result would have been a catastrophe.

A people that created the World's Fair at Chicago, that breeds men by dozens capable of operating enormous combinations like the railroads, like the trusts, like the great dry-goods stores in the big cities, cannot bear this sort of inefficiency. We have been through it before. The English people, whose military service is today a shining example of efficiency, as the beau-

tiful precision of the Soudan expedition is now proving, have been through it too. The breakdown in the Crimean War led to such terrible results, and the ruthless investigation of it, made necessary by the indignation of England, revealed such a supine incapacity in the administrative departments that the entire army organization was reformed, centralized, and made obedient from top to bottom to the master mind. This is the case with our navy and it must become true of our army.

At the beginning of the Civil War political intrigue and favoritism were the chief causes of our inefficiency. Under Cameron our army was a helpless mass; under Stanton it became a machine capable of direct and powerful action. We cannot with safety to ourselves as a great nation avoid the issue. An efficient army is an absolute necessity to us from this time forward, and the only way to develop an efficient army is to investigate the causes of our failure and take those measures which will make like failures impossible.

Facts are stubborn and instructive. The chief purposes of investigation are not blame and punishment. These are but incidents. The facts are there; they exist. Our common sense compels us to submit to them. We must study them. We must learn the weaknesses and the faults of

men charged with vital duties and of the system which has failed to work.

If it be objected that we disgrace ourselves before the world by exposing our weakness to publicity, the objection will not hold. That we mean to do it, that we shall do it, is the crowning proof of the same manly spirit in our great nation that nerved our brothers before Santiago when they freely offered themselves for all of us. Human flesh shrinks before the keen but kindly knife. The wise man overcomes his dread and the cancer is cut out. The spectacle of this mighty people facing the fruits of an incompetency for which we are all of us in part to blame, for which, and justly, we shall have to pay the costs of war many times over in pensions for disabilities that might have been prevented, will move the nations of the earth not less profoundly than our soldiers' courage or our sailors' deeds.

Far more potent than any printed statement in influencing the inevitable movement of public opinion will be the men who have endured these things, who have survived them, who have been mustered out, and who have returned to those far-scattered farms and villages and towns where they will recite to neighbors who hang upon their words the story of how they served their country and how their country cared for them.

SOME LESSONS OF THE WAR FROM AN OFFICER'S STANDPOINT.

BY JOHN H. PARKER.

(First Lieutenant Thirteenth Infantry, late commanding Gatling gun detachment, Fifth Army Corps.)

IT was a magnificent achievement. With less than 13,000 effective fighting men the Fifth Corps captured in twenty days 28,000 of the enemy, in a fortified city, well provisioned and well equipped with all the munitions of war. It conquered for the United States a territory about equal to that of New England, and drove from the safe shelter of a land-locked, mine-defended harbor a formidable fleet of the enemy, to fall an easy prey to our vigilant and invincible squadron.

In the face of such achievements it seems idle to seek for any lessons bought by sufferings of our own troops. It would seem that the military student should seek in the mismanagement of our adversaries to discover lessons in administration. But we should expect to find in the tactics of the victorious army an object-lesson of

careful reconnoissance, skillful preparation for the attack by energetic artillery fire, prompt support of the troops occupying the captured position, and an early opportunity for the troops exhausted by the charge to rest, reorganize, and recuperate.

The unexpected happened. The feeding of our troops was not well done, the reconnoissance was made after the position was captured, and the exhausted troops who made the charge, instead of being relieved or supported, were compelled to hold on to the captured position, nor merely an hour or two, but for seventeen weary days, until slow-moving diplomacy should decide whether or not Santiago, already virtually in our hands, should surrender.

The troops had been ordered to carry three days'

rations, but had not been able to do so, and this fact was well known to everybody; yet it was three days before any food to amount to anything reached the firing line, and a full ration was seldom, if ever, issued to the troops in Cuba. Even after the surrender placed unlimited wharfage at our disposal within two and a half miles of the camps, easily accessible over excellent roads, some one or more articles were always short or missing.

There are, then, some lessons to be learned in regard to administration, not applied by those whose business it was to provide for all contingencies. There is also a very important lesson to be learned from a tactical analysis of the battles of July 1 to 5 and 10 to 11.

THE OLD ROUTINE BREAKS DOWN IN EMERGENCY.

The United States has not had an army since 1866. Fragments of regiments it has had, and in some cases whole regiments. There has been no such thing as a brigade, division, or corps. The isolated fragments were splendid, but there was no opportunity to study the problems of organization and supply on a large scale in a practical way. The usual routine of business gradually became such that not a wheel was turned in the quartermaster's department nor a nail driven without express permission, previously obtained, from the quartermaster-general at Washington. The ordinary repairs, for example, to public property were required to be estimated for from three months to a year in advance. If any energetic officer ventured to disobey this rule, his energy was forthwith diverted into the channels of official explanation of his unapproved action, and it took a vast deal of energy to prevent the money cost of such expenditure of material from being charged against the luckless wight who dared to disregard the official routine.

In the commissary department there was a similar system, and the same remarks apply to all the other staff departments of the army. The administration had become a bureaucracy with everything centralized, because the whole army for thirty years had been administered as one body, without the subdivisions into organizations which are inevitable in war-time.

War became a reality with great suddenness. Those who have grown gray in the service and whose capacity, honesty, and industry have never been nor cannot be impeached found themselves confronted with the problem of handling nearly 300,000 men, and they had no authority to change the system of supply and transportation. The minutest acts of officers of these departments were regulated by laws of Congress, enacted with a view to the small regular force and with

no provisions or modifications for war. In authorizing the formation of large volunteer armies Congress did not authorize any change in the system of administration or make any emergency provision. As before, every detail of supply and transportation had to be authorized from the central head. Is it any wonder that under such extraordinary circumstances as those encountered in Cuba a system designed for peace and 25,000 men weakened in some respects when the attempt was made to apply it to 300,000?

The great wonder is that it did the work as well as it did; and that it did accomplish the work, after a fashion, was due to the superhuman exertions of the chief officers of the supply departments and their able assistants. These men and their subordinates knew no rest. They were untiring and zealous. On their own responsibility they cut the red tape to the very smallest limit compatible with proper care of government property. Instead of regular returns and requisitions, the merest form of lead-pencil memorandum or receipt was sufficient to obtain the needed supplies whenever they were available. This much was absolutely necessary, for these officers were personally responsible for every dollar's worth of supplies and had to protect themselves in some degree. Many of them will find it years before their accounts are finally settled, unless some provision be made by law for their relief. These remarks apply only to conditions after we landed in Cuba.

It can therefore be stated once for all that there was some suffering in Cuba among our soldiers, and that this suffering was caused largely by the conditions under which the campaign was conducted. Some of it might possibly have been averted if Congress had seen fit to lodge a degree of discretionary latitude in the hands of administrative officers; but this was not done. The system was a faulty one, made doubly hard by the hard conditions of the campaign.

HOW THE SYSTEM MUST BE CHANGED.

The lesson to be derived is that we must change the system in certain particulars. We must vest in officers of the supply departments an amount of discretionary power commensurate with the responsibilities they are called upon to face. This means, of course, decentralization. If we are to organize an army of 75,000 or 100,000 men, large enough to be organized into permanent units, then each of these units must be complete in itself for purposes of ordinary administration.

If an officer is capable of being a brigade quartermaster, commissary, or surgeon, for example, then invest him with sufficient discretionary authority to meet emergencies, accept his

certificate that such emergencies exist, and if he does not accomplish the desired results put in some other man who will.

Let each regiment, brigade, and division be as nearly independent as practicable, and then require of its responsible officers efficiency. If it fails to come up to the standard, substitute officers who can do the work. If they fail through neglect, punish them.

The "board of strategy," as an inception, was a fine thing. Its logical sequence is a general staff, such as may be found in other countries, charged with the problems of organization, mobilization, and strategic disposition of all the forces of the United States. But such a body as this would have no more to do with the details of rations, transportation, and tentage than with the tactical maneuvers upon the battlefield. In these the general commanding must be supreme. He must be thoroughly supported, never interfered with, and held accountable for results. His subordinate should know no other or higher authority than his; a decision or order from him must be final and should clear the subordinate of all responsibility except that of prompt compliance.

This idea is the exact converse of the principle of bureaucracy. Under the latter the most competent general may be hampered or even disabled by the opposition, ignorance, or indifference of some subordinate official of a bureau a thousand miles away who is not accountable to him, but to a bureau chief equally opposed to or ignorant of the plans of the general. The benefit of the proposed change of system ought to be fully apparent.

There can be no doubt in the minds of those who know all the facts that most of the hardships and sufferings that the troops had to endure were unavoidable under the conditions. The supply departments labored heroically—after the emergency was upon them. But they were tied by the bonds of preimposed conditions.

COSTLY MISTAKES.

The corps that went to Santiago was virtually the regular army. Every regiment that went to Tampa went there ready for service. Their equipment was just as complete on April 26 as it was on June 6. They wore the same clothing to Cuba that they had brought from Sheridan, Assiniboine, and Sherman. They brought with them their wagons and mules, their tents and camp equipage. There should have been no problems to solve in regard to them, and yet there were many. Owing to delays in the supply departments they wore winter clothing for their service in the torrid zone, and drew sum-

mer clothing there just in time to return to the bracing breezes of Montauk, where, in their enfeebled condition, winter clothing would have been more suitable. When they landed in Cuba their wagons and mules had vanished. Consequently rations, of which there were abundance at Baiquiri, were slow in coming up and were doled out one meal at a time, and short at that. The vegetables spoiled before they got to the men who were suffering for them, and men died for lack of medicines which were abundant only eighteen miles away.

There was over a month at Tampa to foresee all this, and around the tents of company officers it was foreseen and discussed. Why not in the supply departments? Are we to conclude that it was impossible to get beans, rice, and canned fruits enough to take the place of potatoes and onions? That it was impossible in forty days to get summer clothing? There were ten thousand firms in the United States who would have undertaken to provide these things and who would have put them in Santiago itself for a consideration. The only conclusion is that these necessities were not foreseen by the supply departments in time, although they were by the line officers generally. It did not require a prophet to say that vegetables would spoil on transport in the torrid zone; that bacon, hard-tack, and canned roast beef were not a suitable diet alone for campaigning in the tropics; that the winter clothing worn in Michigan winters would be very uncomfortable in the heat of southern Cuba. The reason for these deficiencies must be sought and found unless we are to inflict similar suffering on our soldiers in future.

THE ROOT OF THE EVIL.

Now, it has been a notorious fact for many years that promotions to the supply departments of the army were to be had largely as a result of "influence." In the last thirty years many appointments in them have been made which have had their origin in "pull." Neither party alone is to be blamed for this, for the same conditions have obtained under both Republican and Democratic administrations. In a country where not a postal clerk, mail-carrier, or messenger could be named except for fitness previously determined under competitive examination and civil-service rules, the feeding, clothing, and transportation of our army has been in the hands of departments in which the appointments were often the reward of favorites or put at the disposal of two-penny politicians. In the nature of things would an intelligent public expect such departments to exhibit the forethought, energy, and activity necessary for so great an emergency?

There have been those who have foreseen that these departments would break down under the stress of war. It was not at all unexpected to the line of the army. It has been made the subject of exhaustive articles time and again. But no suggestions tending to simplify business emanated from the departments themselves. There was no scheme worked out by intelligent forethought on their part adapted to successfully cope with emergencies. Those who had entered the coveted honors of these offices were "arrived;" they had no more to hope for, nothing to attain. They never sought to alter the routine or devise ways and means for emergencies. A good corps of competent clerks wrote out their papers, laid them ready for signature on nice office desks, and mailed them afterward. In the fullness of time each one was to arrive at a predetermined and settled rank, not dependent in any way upon any other conditions than health and longevity, after which the fortunate incumbent of a sinecure was to reap the reward of his arduous labors and enter into well-deserved rest. These conditions do not beget that mental and physical activity which foresees and prepares for emergencies or simplifies the doing of business.

They labored with superhuman exertion to meet the conditions when the war had become a fact; but no amount of labor could take the place of intelligent foresight and proper preparation. It is highly to their honor that they succeeded in any degree under such conditions, but it would be well to draw a lesson from this awful stress.

If the sufferings spoken of had been confined to the Fifth Corps it could be said that they were entirely due to the unavoidable conditions of the campaign. But from every side come similar complaints on behalf of troops that never left railroad communications in the very heart of the United States. The unavoidable conclusion is that the whole staff system is faulty. This conclusion is strengthened by the experiences of foreign countries. The principal contributory cause of the French defeat in the Franco-Prussian War was the bureaucracy which hampered army administration. The French learned the lesson and have entirely reorganized the administrative departments of their army. The German system seems to be admirable. Shall ours be brought up to the modern standard in the inevitable reorganization of the army, or shall we still more expand an unwieldy machine, leading to still greater waste and suffering in the future?

MACHINE GUNS IN PLACE OF HEAVY ARTILLERY.

Tactically the war was marked by the total absence of drill maneuvers. The grand tactics of the battle as planned by the general were superb.

The orders issued contemplated effective use of the artillery, which was to open at daylight. The preparation for the assault by artillery fire, however, failed to materialize. The artillery could not live at ranges near enough to see the Spanish trenches nor do effective work upon them at long ranges. It was demonstrated by noon that the modern rifle has moved artillery back on the battlefield to 1,500 yards, while in the days of the Springfield it could work effectively at 600 or 800. Daring attempts were made by Best and Parkhurst to use their batteries at the close ranges, but they could not stand the storm of Mauser bullets and had to retire. At the next available position in rear they could not see their objectives clearly enough to do effective work. The artillery did not even attempt to cover the successful charges, because it could not see the positions of either our own troops or those of the enemy well enough to risk the danger of firing into our own men.

We have in this a tactical lesson of the utmost importance, and one which has already been recognized by foreign governments since July 1. That lesson is that, in the general case, the function of covering the charge, which formerly belonged to the artillery, has ceased to be a possibility for that arm, and that some new device must be sought for that purpose.

It is only another exhibition of American characteristics that with the necessity was developed the proper means to perform the work. Where heavy guns could not go light machine guns could and did; where artillery, with its comparatively slow fire of unaimed fragments, could not live, machine guns, with a fire equivalent each to a regiment of sharpshooters, were a decisive and controlling factor, completely taking the now impossible function of artillery and performing it better than artillery ever did in history—so well, in fact, that not even a score of men were hit during the actual charge upon what was essentially an impregnable position. The heavy losses of the infantry occurred during the deployment by the flank under fire, and not during the actual charge, which was of only eight and one-half minutes' duration and in which there was practically no loss.

A comparison of the losses at San Juan ridge, where the charge was covered by machine-gun fire, with that at El Caney without this aid, but with plenty of artillery, makes the deduction as to the value of machine guns very striking. At El Caney the heavy losses were during the last 500 or 600 yards of the approach to the enemy. At San Juan nearly all of the losses occurred before the 800-yard point was reached, because the machine guns went into action there, drew and

silenced the enemy's fire, while the troops, taking advantage of the moment, were over the intervening ground and upon the hill before the Spaniards realized the situation. This view of the final charge there is supported by all the officers who participated in it and is undoubtedly correct. It is also supported by the testimony of the Spanish officers who survived the dreadful slaughter of that eight and one-half minutes and were captured at the surrender.

But we have learned more than this about machine guns. We found them invaluable as a reserve on the right flank of the left wing while General Lawton was struggling to get into position on our right. The one little battery of machine guns was the only thing there in reserve, and it was held within twenty yards of the firing line. Every one there felt and knew that in any attempt of the enemy to double up our right flank or retake the captured position, he would meet in the fire of these guns a reserve equivalent to at least a brigade of sharpshooters.

In other words, it was possible on these two days to hold the line with every man, holding nothing in reserve but these guns, while waiting for Lawton's countermarch into position, with absolute confidence on the part of everybody on the firing line that the right flank was safe, absolutely safe, against a turning movement. This is a most striking illustration of a hitherto unrecognized value of a heretofore unrecognized arm. We found that the defensive use of the guns in trench on July 10 and 11 was all that the most sanguine had ever claimed for the weapon, and that as support to an outpost a machine gun was invaluable.

It will not be disputed by any one who was there that this campaign has made for these guns a unique place on the battlefield, and that tactics, both minor and grand, must be revised in regard to them. It is not too much to claim—for it was fully demonstrated on the battlefield—that

we have in this campaign developed a new arm, independent of infantry, cavalry, and artillery in the same sense that they are independent of each other and more nearly capable of acting alone than any of them. This much is absolutely demonstrated. It is beyond discussion; it is henceforth an axiom of war.

THE DEMAND FOR NEW ORGANIZATION.

But the organization which shall be given to this new arm, like the new organization of our staff and our supply departments, is a problem not yet solved. To the solution of these problems the best energies of all patriotic citizens should be directed. Whether we have willed it or not, whether it is in accord with our institutions or not, Providence has so ordered events that our flag has girdled the globe and will never again witness a sunset. To maintain our footing, to preserve the respect of other nations, to enforce law and order at home and abroad, we shall require not only a powerful navy, but also an efficient and effective army, much larger than the one which has heretofore been sufficient for police duty of the frontiers. In order to have this with due regard to public service it must be the best-organized, best-officered, best-fed, and best-clothed army, as well as the best fighting army, in the world. We can get along with half as large an army of this kind as would be necessary under worse conditions. This argument, based on efficiency and economy, will appeal to every true American, even if national pride and humanity did not point to the same conclusion.

The men who are to construct such an army must be trained soldiers if the desired object is to be accomplished. In such times as these, with the prestige and prosperity of the nation at stake, party politics must give way to patriotism and allow the recommendations of the most competent to govern.



THE FOUNDER OF A PROTESTANT BROTHERHOOD.

BY HENRY S. LUNN, M.D.

REV. THOMAS CHAMPNESS.

THE Rev. Thomas Champness, who is coming to America in the month of October and will spend a week with Mr. D. L. Moody at Northfield, is one of the most striking figures in the religious world of England to-day. For years the problem before those who care for the spiritual welfare of the masses has been how to gain the immense advantages which the Roman Church secures through her preaching fraternities without sacrificing the vital principles of religious enlightenment and freedom. It has been a standing reproach against Protestantism that it could not command the discipline, the obedience, and the self-denial which are placed at the service of the sacerdotal churches by the religious orders. Two men have arisen in our day to wipe away this reproach, William Booth, the general of the Salvation Army, and Thomas Champness, the founder of the Joyful News Mission; and if the name of the latter is at present less widely known, his

work is equally original, and the influence of it on evangelistic methods is likely to be increasingly wide and important. Mr. Champness' workers carry out in practice the three "evangelical counsels" of poverty, chastity, and obedience. They are absolutely under the direction of the head of the mission, they receive from him just the supply sufficient for their wants as they require it, and if they marry they leave the mission. On the other hand, they do not surrender their personal freedom, they are bound by no vows, and the obligation to this self-denying life ceases with the termination of their connection with the work. They move about in the country villages and the slums of the great English cities, among the swamps of West Africa and the Indian bazaars, as poor men with poor men, denying the voice of personal ambition and the craving for the joys of a settled home that they may speak the message which they have from God. Since Wiclif sent forth his "poor priests" to circulate the Word of God among the English peasants there has been nothing quite like it.

No man in England knows "the man in the smock-frock" better than Mr. Champness, but although his immediate ancestors belonged to the working classes, some of the best blood in England flows in his veins, for his pedigree runs back to the old Norman family of Champneys, who "came in with the Conqueror." The call to service came to him early in life. He was only twenty-three when he went out to the fatal shores of West Africa. Here he labored till his health broke down, and here he buried his young wife. In 1864 he entered on the ordinary work of a Methodist preacher in England, and not long after he married the lady who has been his true comrade through the great work of his later life. After a time his special evangelistic gifts caused him to be set apart as district missionary, and he labored successively among the vast working-class populations of Newcastle-on-Tyne and Lancashire. While at Bolton the idea of a half-penny religious weekly occurred to him, and he founded his unique little journal *Joyful News*, which has had from the first such a circulation as to make it a paying property quite apart from advertisements.

The Joyful News Mission arose directly out of

the establishment of the paper, but how that came about Mr. Champness shall tell in his own words.

"It all grew out of *Joyful News*," he said. "When I began to make a little money I felt that it was the Lord's money and I had no right to use it on myself, and so we talked it over, the missus and I, and we determined to try and do something for the villages. We took two men and supported them and trained them as evangelists.

never gone into debt, either. When resources fell off we have reduced our work, and we have been guided by our income as to how many men we should take. We know exactly how much each man costs us. Of course this varies. In some villages they find the man board and lodging and we only have to supply him with clothes. In other places we have to meet all the expenses."

"What check have you on their expenditure when you give them money for expenses?"

"Well, it is this way. I send a man a three-pound check and he sends me back his book with it all accounted for to the last halfpenny. Of course we find extravagance sometimes. Some fellows are very extravagant in physic. It is something awful the money they will spend on blood mixtures. But we know pretty exactly what a man ought to spend."

"And when they get married what happens?"

"They leave the mission. They know that before they come. In the few cases where we have employed married men as agents the rule is the same. We give them just what they need for actual expenses. We find that seventy pounds

keeps a man in the mission field for a year. Of course they know that we can send them off at any moment if our funds fall off and we have to cut down the work."

"Do you find a steady demand for these men?"

"The demand exceeds the supply. It is not only for missions, but for their services in ordinary circuits to assist the regular ministers. I keep in touch with the men and correspond with them all every week. I seldom hear of any theological difficulties among them. Strangely enough, such difficulties as crop up seem to be about baptism. Some of our best men have become Baptists and some are in the Baptist ministry. We often find that the men pass from us into the regular ministry of the Church. Looking to the future, when the time comes for me to lay down my work I hope to leave it in the hands of my children. My son William is managing it during my absence in conjunction with his mother, and I hope as time goes on people will feel that they may trust the mission to him and his brothers and sisters."

CASTLETON HALL, ROCHEDALE, HOME OF THE JOYFUL NEWS MISSION.

Just at that time there was a mission in Bolton, where we were living, which was not a success; so we sent one of our young fellows there to see what he could do, and he was made a great blessing. This came to the ears of Mr. James Barlow, of Bolton, who had built the Mission Hall and given it to the Connection. He went down there and found everything in full swing, and then he sent word that he was coming to have a cup of tea with me. When he came he said: 'You are on the right lines.' 'Yes,' I said, 'I should like to spread the thing.' Then he said: 'Here's fifty pounds. Spend it and come to me for more when that's done.' So we took a larger house and received eight men, and the work has gone on increasing, and now we have between fifty and sixty men in training. We just took things as they came and had no idea what the work would grow to."

"As to funds," I said, "you seem to go on George Müller's principle."

"I have never asked for money and never made a collection. We have just said what we were doing and left it to the people. I have

Mr. Champness' three sons and three of his four daughters are actively engaged in the mission work. It should be stated that neither Mr. nor Mrs. Champness receives a farthing from the funds of the mission, but Mr. Champness pays one hundred and eighty pounds yearly to the Joyful News Home for the accommodation of himself and his family, besides contributing to the mission from the profits of his newspaper and his literary work generally.

The agents of the Joyful News Mission are now working in every part of the world, and the martyrdom of one of them, William Argent, in the riots at Wusueh, China, in 1891, will still be remembered.

The Training Home for Evangelists is now located at Castleton Hall, Rochdale, one of the old county mansions of Lancashire with *fleur-de-lis* on the stained-glass windows and many other relics of its ancient manorial splendors. Here are received not only the Joyful News missionaries, but men belonging to other organizations

who come for temporary training and help in their vocation. Sixty-nine of these preachers have passed through the home during the past year.

A marked feature of this splendid work is the modesty and unobtrusiveness with which it is carried on. Its founders belong to the race of whom the poet speaks—

"Who did their deed
And scorned to blot it with a name;
Men of the plain heroic creed
That loved Heaven's silence more than fame."

Mr. Champness has never truckled to the spirit of the age by adopting its advertising methods to push his work. On such tours as he is now carrying out he makes no collections and takes no expenses; but those who are fortunate enough to hear him tell the plain, unvarnished tale of his labors in the Joyful News Mission will find it not only a thrilling experience, but also, in the time-honored Methodist phrase, a "means of grace."

THE LIBERAL CONGRESS OF RELIGION.

BY A MEMBER.

THE fifth meeting of the Liberal Congress is to be held this month (October 18-23) in connection with the Trans-Mississippi Exposition at Omaha. The congress is directly a child of the great Parliament of Religions held in Chicago during the Columbian Exposition. Its supporters are made up chiefly of those who believe that the work of that parliament was prophetic—that instead of being a mere incident or accident in the religious history of the world, it was almost or quite the greatest corporate event in the religious history of the race, and that it was more a prophecy than a fruition, the beginning of a new series, the embodiment of a new ideal which is to be increasingly religious in the future.

The initial step for the permanent organization of the spirit of the parliament was taken by Rev. Hiram W. Thomas, pastor of the People's Church, Chicago; Dr. E. G. Hirsch, minister of the leading Jewish congregation in Chicago; Rev. W. S. Crowe, now of New York City; and Jenkin Lloyd Jones, pastor of All Souls' Church, Chicago, who is also editor of *New Unity*. As a result of a meeting of these gentlemen on the fair grounds in the month of June, a circular letter was sent out to such ministers of all denominations as were likely to be at the parliament and interested in such a movement. A meeting was held. Twenty-

five or thirty different ministers attended. A preliminary organization was here effected and a call was drawn up which was subsequently widely signed by seven or eight hundred ministers, prominent educators, and laymen. The first meeting in response to that call was held at Sinai Temple, Chicago, in May, 1894. The meeting was a notable one on point of attendance, public interest, and the character of the speakers. Dr. Momerie, of London, Revs. Mr. Savage, of Boston, Merle St. C. Wright, of New York, and John Faville, pastor of the Congregational church of Appleton, Wis., were among those taking part.

The second meeting a year later was held in the same temple and the interest was sustained. The third meeting, in 1896, was held in Plymouth Church, Indianapolis, and the fourth meeting, a year ago, was held in connection with the Tennessee Centennial Exposition at Nashville. Although the conservative elements of the South, particularly the clergy, arrayed themselves against it, the effect of the meeting was far-reaching and the report of it was a matter of international enterprise on the part of the Associated Press and other prominent newspaper forces in Europe and America.

The character and spirit of the organization cannot be better indicated than by the list of

officers and the "object" as set forth in its charter. The bracketed inscription is inserted for the sake of indicating the theological range of its constituents, although such denominational descriptions do not belong to the spirit of the congress or to the spirit of the men. They appear not in their denominational or theological capacity, but as individuals, citizens of the larger commonwealth, and members of the Church universal. The following is the list :

President, Hiram W. Thomas, D.D., 535 Monroe Street, Chicago (Independent); general secretary, Jenkin Lloyd Jones, 3939 Langley Avenue, Chicago (Independent); treasurer, Leo Fox, Continental National Bank, Chicago (Jewish). Vice-presidents: Col. T. W. Higginson, Cambridge, Mass.; Rev. E. G. Hirsch, Ph.D., Chicago (Jewish); M. J. Savage, D.D., New York City (Unitarian); R. Heber Newton, D.D., New York City (Episcopal); Alfred Momerie, D.D., London, G. B. (Episcopal). Directors: Dr. Paul Carus, Chicago (Independent); Mrs. Henry Solomon, Chicago (Jewish); Rev. Philip S. Moxom, Springfield, Mass. (Congregational); Rev. E. L. Rexford, Columbus, Ohio (Universalist); Edwin D. Mead, Boston; President David Starr Jordan, Palo Alto, Cal.; W. L. Sheldon, St. Louis (Ethical Culture); Rev. Joseph Stolz, Chicago (Jewish); L. J. Duncan, Milwaukee, Wis. (Ethical Culture); E. P. Powell, Clinton, N. Y.; Prof. Nathaniel Schmidt, Ithaca, N. Y.; Rev. F. E. Dewhurst, Indianapolis, Ind. (Congregational); Rev. Caroline Bartlett Crane, Kalamazoo, Mich. (Independent); Rev. J. H. Crooker, Troy, N. Y. (Unitarian); Rev. John Faville, Appleton, Wis. (Congregational); Rev. N. M. Mann, Omaha, Neb. (Unitarian); Rev. I. S. Moses, Chicago (Jewish); Rev. R. A. White, Chicago (Universalist); Rev. W. C. Gannett, Rochester, N. Y. (Unitarian); Rev. Isidore Lewinthal, Nashville, Tenn. (Jewish).

The following is the "object" as stated in the charter :

To unite in a larger fellowship and coöperation such existing societies and liberal elements as are in sympathy with the movement toward undogmatic religion; to foster and encourage the organization of non-sectarian churches and kindred societies on the basis of absolute mental liberty; to secure a closer and more helpful association of all these in the thought and work of the world under the great law and life of love; to develop the church of humanity, democratic in organization, progressive in spirit, aiming at the development of pure and high character, hospitable to all forms of thought, cherishing the spiritual traditions and experiences of the past, but keeping itself open to all new light and the higher developments of the future.

From the beginning the congress has met a large amount of distrust from all quarters. The ministers of the Unitarian and Universalist denominations in the main have held aloof lest it might mean the organization of another liberal

movement which would tend to disintegrate their already rather porous and inadequate organizations. The so-called orthodox ministers have distrusted it lest it might harbor theological heresy in disguise, but notwithstanding this distrust the congress has held the confidence and enthusiasm of its projectors and has slowly won the confidence of those who have distrusted it. The local committee at Omaha includes the rector of the Episcopal church and the pastor of the leading Methodist church. In July the president and general secretary of the congress visited Omaha, and they received the hearty coöperation of these gentlemen and both were heard in the pulpit of the Methodist member of the local committee. Dr. Heber Newton has from the start been one of the most earnest and active supporters of the congress. The same may be said of Dr. Momerie, of London, who is one of the vice-presidents of the congress and a prominent Episcopal clergyman. Colonel Higginson, who is also president of the Free Religious Association, with headquarters at Boston, has been a warm supporter, as has also the organization of which he is president. Rev. Philip Moxom, of the Congregational church of Springfield, Mass., Rev. Washington Gladden, of Columbus, Ohio, Prof. Nathaniel Schmidt, of Cornell University, President David Starr Jordan, of the Leland Stanford University, and Edwin D. Mead, editor of the *New England Magazine*, are among its active supporters.

The programme this month at Omaha will include the names of President David Starr Jordan, of California, Prof. C. Hanford Henderson, of the Pratt Institute, Brooklyn, Rev. Leighton Williams, of New York City, Dr. John Henry Barrows, Rev. Frank Crane (a prominent Methodist pastor), of Chicago, Rev. H. H. Peabody, of Rome, N. Y., Dr. W. S. Rainsford, of New York, E. P. Powell, of Clinton, N. Y., Revs. H. M. Simmons and Marion D. Shutter, of Minneapolis, Dr. E. G. Hirsch, of Chicago, Rev. Robert E. Jones, of Ithaca, Prof. W. H. Council, of Alabama, Rev. R. A. White, of Chicago, Dr. Lewinthal, of Nashville, Tenn., and others. Dr. Jordan and Mr. Simmons will speak on the international problems now upon us; Rev. Frank Crane will speak on "Christ and the Labor Problem;" Dr. Barrows on "The Greater America and Her Mission in Asia;" Professor Gilman, of Meadville, Pa., on "What the Employers Might Do to Settle the Labor Problem;" Rev. S. R. Calthrop, of Syracuse, N. Y., on "The Part Faith Takes in Science."

GLIMPSES OF INDIAN LIFE AT THE OMAHA EXPOSITION.

[The attractiveness of the Trans-Mississippi Exposition has been greatly enhanced by the addition of a feature which was not present during the earlier months of the fair. This feature is the systematic arrangement of a series of Indian encampments, representative, in point of costume, habitation, and otherwise, of the leading tribes of red men that survive in the great West. In many other ways the closing weeks at Omaha will have especial attractions. The sketch of Indian life on the fair grounds which we present herewith appeared the other day in the *Nebraska City Conservative*. It seems to us well worthy of reproduction. The illustrations which accompany it are all of them from photographs taken and copyrighted by Mr. F. A. Rinehart, the official photographer of the exposition.—THE EDITOR.]

THE exhibit of the Indian congress at the Trans-Mississippi Exposition is doubly interesting, in that on the one hand it is the first representative gathering ever attempted of our swiftly passing forerunners in our continental arena, and on the other it is something genuine in a wilderness—a howling wilderness—of Midway fakes. There is howling within that fence, but it is the utterance of savage man forgetting himself; there are no doubt points not altogether true to the red man's home customs, but imposture and extortion have no place there.

The grounds are opened to the public at 8 o'clock in the morning. One who enters the Indian inclosure for the first time at that hour is likely to feel some bashfulness. He is alone with the savages and their white custodians. He sees tents, fires, family groups, domestic business going on; here are three young squaws sitting on the grass, combing their hair, which hangs in a mop, glossy black, all around their heads; it is very thick and heavy and must be ample protection from cold. Each one holds her comb in a full grip, like a chopping-knife, and combs by main strength. The grass is wet with dew and the day is plainly not yet well under way. One feels that he is hardly welcome thus early among the tents.

Along the north fence are the white quarters, with the offices. There is a gathering in front of one building and bright colors catch your eye. A glance shows that distribution of rations is the attraction. It is the women and old men, with some of the children, who are waiting there. Each one, after some formality, departs soberly, with an armful of flat loaves most conspicuous in his burden. Nearly every woman has a child erect on her back, held there in some way by her shawl; some of the youngsters tower above their mothers' heads. Three young men, early afoot, stand apart, tall and handsome in red and yellow, and look on for the most part in silence. Some workmen are at repairs up a ladder and one playfully menaces the other with a hatchet; a grunt of appreciation runs through the group below.

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A CHIEF OF THE ASSINIBOINES.

INDIAN DIGNITY.

Two stately old men pass by wrapped in their blankets. Salute their evident dignity and they will bow gravely in return, and as often as they meet you thereafter. Their eyes are very alert and their faces, though grim, are by no means unfriendly.

Small banners before each group of tents make known what tribe inhabits them. To the east,

AN OMAHA BRAVE, AGED EIGHT HOURS.

and apparently detached from the main camp, lie Assiniboines. One brave is about already, sitting in the wet grass, working at a slender stick; three lads stand watching him; for a guess he is making a bow.

The air is filled with wood smoke. Every camp has its fire and you are always getting to leeward of one or other of them. Another smell is everywhere and you soon trace it to the cooking. You can only guess what ingredients go to the stews that are in preparation. The fires are of basswood sticks, long and heavy, about three to each fire; they are so managed that only one end burns, and that end is kept thrust up to the boiling pot. There is only a tiny blaze, but it is continuous and gives out little heat. This is not wasted, but goes, together with the smoke, to cure certain strips of meat that lie on a frame of withes some four feet from the ground.

Here is a sample installation: A pole is fixed at a proper distance above the fire and three or four of the white man's tin pails, with lids, are suspended from it, all steaming, while in the

A GROUP OF BLACKFEET.

middle hangs the main pot, easily capable of holding a small dog, full nearly to the brim of some liquor, with an intermediate mass of meat rising above it in the center. Near by the owners are at breakfast. A dozen bucks, squatting in a circle in the grass, are served by their obedient women, who go and come between them and the fire.

And what is this brought out from the adjacent lodge to be hung upon a conveniently projecting pole-end? A rounded board some 30 x 14 inches, covered and enlaced by closely wound strips of cloth, from which rises the brown face of a tiny Indian. Probably the baby that was born yesterday, whose mother thus puts him out of the way while she attends to breakfast. He cries, however, as a white child thus would do, and is taken down and handed about, board and all, among the young girls of the tribe.

A MYSTERY.

In this camp stands a tepee which is tightly closed and remains so through the day. From it

ous glance penetrate their privacy together. Here is a chattering group about a squaw, who has a youngster between her knees and is hunting through the jungle of his hair with destroying thumb and finger. Here in the tents of the Omahas is a noble warrior of large frame lolling in the shade like a Homeric hero. As you halt to view him he averts his expressionless face and stretches his hand toward the puppy, very fat and woolly, that is scratching himself among the blankets. The little dog runs joyously to tumble over by the side of the chief, who feels his fat back and sides in a critical way, and there is room to doubt whether the puppy has so much ground as he may think for being content with himself. A schoolmaster-looking young man is authority for the statement that a dog was killed here yesterday.

TEPEE CHARACTERS.

Meantime the Assiniboines have raised a new tepee, a fine one, covered with deerskin, tightly sewed and stretched tight as a drum. It has a red band around it near the top, from which creatures with claws seem to wriggle down toward the ground. Every camp has one fine lodge painted with totem signs, but most of them

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POOR DOG AND FAMILY (SIOUX).

issues a jingling, accompanied now and then by a thumping on some kind of a drum. You are left to your own agreeable surmises as to the nature of the ceremonial going on within, for this idyllic resort is yet innocent of guides and book-boys.

Your attention is caught by an old woman kneeling under a tree rubbing and twisting something between her hands. Is she cleaning fish with her thumbs? She pauses to put a big water pail to her mouth, but not for drink. The water is spurted out again in repeated jets over what she has in her hands, which you presently make out to be a small moccasin.

This may be the wearer sitting before the lodge door, with stolid, fat face uplifted to yours. As you smile at her, confusion overcomes the small savage and the brown face disappears forward into the grass.

The day is advancing and little Indians are seen lingering, as if wishfully, about the pond that has been dug in the center of the village, but seems to be reserved for the washing of clothes. You will seldom find it without some of the women kneeling on the edge scrubbing and wringing some more or less dingy garments. As the heat increases the skirts of the tepees are caught up, and the breeze and the visitor's curi-

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CHIEF GOES TO WAR (SIOUX).

are of muslin, whose blue Massachusetts imprint shows that Nebraska City starch has gone to its making up. There is another kind of hut quite common, a little arbor of bent boughs, covered either with muslin or with close reed mats, these mats not being woven with a warp, but each reed pierced and the cord passed through it.

The tepee is not long a-building, for the women understand that kind of thing, and now a superb warrior, one of the fierce-looking red-and-yellow three, sets up a ladder against it, upon which he courteously, but without hesitation, mounts himself to put on some finishing touches. Up likewise there goes a roaring and a cry from a little Indian wearing a shirt, who is for some reason struck with dismay at that sight, but he is picked up and kissed by the females and his mother wipes his face with the flat of her hand into the bargain, winding up with his upper lip. It must be admitted that there was room there for improvement. Many of the Indians, big and little, seem to be afflicted with catarrh.

SOME INDIANS WORK.

Others of the young men do not disdain work. One is splitting a piece of wood with an axe. He swings the axe left-handed and the stick is not split in the time he remains in sight. And here are two digging a hole with a spade. This, too, goes slowly, for they take about as much time to relieve each other as they do to dig. And one was seen to go off toward Florence the other day with his squaw to get lodge-poles. The woman cut the poles and dragged them home, but he showed her the place.

By this time the whole population is on foot and a goodly number of visitors have strolled in from the main fair, the discords of which now and then break in on our peaceful remoteness, for we feel ourselves far away, either in time or on the map. Stately chiefs stroll up and down,

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WHITE BUFFALO (CHEYENNE).

great, imposing-looking men. Most striking countenances are seen among them, faces like bronze masks. They have blankets, feathers, beads, shells, and claws; each costume is a picture and a study. The men are more picturesque than the women, most of them having large earrings; some of them wear silver medals as big as stove-lids. Many of the elders carry turkey-feather fans, and the most incomprehensible old hats are found surmounting figures of Roman senators. But the women are worth looking at, too. They wear most wonderful moccasins and are sometimes covered with bracelets brass rings, and other valuables. Here are three lads with bows and arrows shooting at roots; they work hard at it, but don't appear to hit very often. Everybody here is picturesque. One boy has a red handkerchief over his head, his face painted yellow, and wide yellow buckskin breeches with farmer-boy suspenders. They are not so savage as they look. Say "Hello!" to them as they run past and they shout back "Hello!" A short "Howgh!" as deep in your throat as you can get it, is, however, the

usual salutation, but even this you can't always count on. Two young bucks in full paint, passing by on a run, respond to a solemn "How" with a friendly "Good-morning." And here is a tepee with a bicycle leaning by its entrance, and there is an Indian brass band, which the white policemen seem to think the feature of the congress.

A SIOUX SÉANCE.

Here now is something genuine. On the grass before an out-of-the-way lodge in the Sioux sec-

be the one part of the fair of which you would like to have a relic you may, after some inquiry, be directed to an inconspicuous tepee, where you are told you may find something if you are lucky. Stooping at its entrance, you find that you are intruding upon a silent conclave. Four or five of the serious old men and a couple of old women are sitting around on the blankets. All their eyes are upon you, but nobody stirs. You say "How," they say "How." No opposition being made, you enter and seat yourself in the opening of the circle. They are smoking—that is, each in turn is taking a few pulls at the long, heavy-handled pipe. It is not offered to you, but if you signify a willingness to partake it will be gravely passed to you. You can proceed to business whenever you like. If it is moccasins you want you can easily signify that; there is a grunt here and there, and presently there will appear from somewhere a pair that you will probably find, when you get home, fit you exactly. Payment is easy. You offer a suitable assortment of coins to the nearest warrior, and he picks out the right ones, which will come to about one-third of what you expected to pay if you have ever bought such things of a dealer. Then, if you have behaved yourself well, he will shake hands with you into the bargain and you can withdraw; and you needn't expect him to wrap up your purchase.

NEW ARRIVALS.

By far the most curious feature of this day is the arrival of a band of new-comers, Flatheads from Montana. They appear marching by twos from the gate in the southwest corner, two exposition officials in front, not looking very glad, and in the rear the wildest-looking old savage on the grounds, having a long fringe of reddish hair hanging all around his head, from which it stands

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SPIES WITH THE ENEMY (CROW).

tion sit half a dozen of the elders in a circle, stern-visaged old warriors, paying no heed to the curious passer. They are doing something, but what it is is beyond unaided conjecture. There is no sound from them save an occasional grunt, but their hands are in motion. They hold up one, two, three fingers, point upward and downward, and chop at each other as if counting. Is it prayer, perhaps, or merely conversation?

They don't talk much, these old Indians, but their sign-language is developed to a point that is incredible until you see what they do with it.

You wonder at not being importuned to buy anything at quadruple price. There appears to be no merchandise offered, but if this happens to

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A WINNEBAGO CAMP.

out some six inches. This it afterward appears is not his own hair, but purely decorative. He is a very respectable chief and a judge in his nation, and has been to Washington. The line is halted by the wash-houses on the south side, and immediately there begins a running from all parts of the grounds of braves hastening up to shake hands with the newly arrived. Your suspicions are aroused and you think they perhaps have not been parted very long, but Heaven at this point sends a man with a badge on his hat, who has lived among them and knows their language, and he says that not only were they all strangers until they met here, but that many of them are of tribes that have been hostile time out of mind. So you turn again to watching them, with the little knot of visitors that has collected. Some telephone linemen have come down from their poles and joined the group, and on come the welcoming braves, Foxes, Blackfeet, Chippewas, Brule-Sioux, Winnebagoes, the young men running, the old men pacing soberly up in their utmost pomp, and each one goes down the line, giving a "Howgh!" and a hand-shake at every step. "Look at 'im, would ye?" we say. "Think he'll shake hands with the squaws?" But the next is a chivalrous brave, who gives the little Flathead women the same welcome as their husbands. These are not so noble-looking a lot as some of the Sioux, for instance. The men are rather young and grin like Chinamen, as if they were being tickled in the ribs, but no smile visits

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THREE INDIANS (CHYENNE).

the old judge in the rear; his eyes dodge watchfully about behind his fringe of horsehair

PREPARING CAMP.

We follow the Flatheads, who have been marched to the spot assigned to them. By good management on somebody's part their tent-poles, baggage, and other impediments are on the ground as soon as they are. Two tepees are already up. A young squaw is sitting on a pile of blankets with a cheerful six-months' baby sputtering and twisting about her feet, while the bucks stand around, still receiving civilities and grinning. Two of them produce beautiful war-clubs armed with short polished black horns. "Buffalo?" asks an investigating Indian, and an affirmative grunt being given the clubs are handed about with much curiosity. It would seem as if the native name for that vanished creature must have

been forgotten ; indeed, the younger men must know him only by tradition.

An active little squaw in blue blanket skirt and neat leggings is setting up the third tepee. She takes the three longest poles and ties them together near the small end ; it is then easy for two people to set them up into a tripod, in the crotches of which the tops of the other poles rest. The covering is then drawn around the whole, an opening being left low down on one side. The hole in the top around the poles seems not to be sufficient for ventilation, for a slit is left running down for several feet from it, with long flaps standing up, which are carefully held open by poles coming up from the opposite side of the tent ; the lower ends of these poles being set in the earth or in holes in a heavy log of wood.

Our little squaw is working at it single-handed, and lets the whole thing tumble over two or three times, laughing like mad every time. Then she comes up to where a party of bucks are sitting on a pile of poles and begins pulling one of them out without ceremony. The bucks jump up with alacrity and pay no attention.

A SOCIABLE TIME.

Meantime the terrible old judge is receiving visitors, no other than the three gorgeous chiefs in red and yellow from the Assiniboine camp. They have come last and in great state. After a "Howgh" and a hand-shake they all gather

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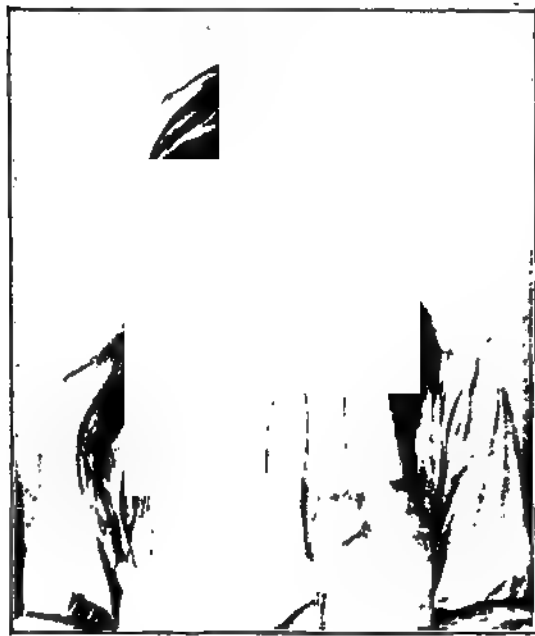
A FLATHEAD.

their robes about them and sit down upon the ground. The head man of the visitors opens the conversation with an inquiring wave of his hand toward the judge, out over the landscape and upward, meaning plainly, "How far have you come?" The judge's eyes are fixed intently on the others. He answers by describing rapidly with outstretched fingers two of the sun's circuits through the heavens. Then the dialogue becomes too intricate for the outsider, but the Indians themselves seem never at fault for an instant.

There they sit, visiting in the politest and friendliest way, and all trying very hard to be good Indians for the time being ; but something in the rigid set of their features and the roll of their fierce eyes suggests irresistibly that those three young warriors would like very much to be at that old judge's throat.

We look at this Indian congress as a spectacle, but who can tell what it may mean to the Indians themselves in the way of patching up old feuds, of which no man knows anything outside of their own tribes? But is history ever likely to be written from the Indian's standpoint?

It would perhaps be curious to know how things look to a man who is an American of a hundred generations and sees the world from



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A MOJAVE APACHE.

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AN ASSINIBOINE.

behind copper-colored eyelids, but who has a father's love for his children and a statesman's concern for his people.

PERMANENT VALUE OF THE CONGRESS.

This gathering of Indians at Omaha has a unique significance. As "Octave Thanet" remarks in the October *Cosmopolitan*, there is something dramatic in this idea of a great meeting of a vanishing race. Dr. Albert Shaw, writing in the *Century*, pronounces the so-called "congress" by far the most picturesque and distinctive feature of the exposition, though in his opinion the word "encampment" would have better described the fact than the word "congress."

We quote a few sentences from the *Century* article which set forth the serious purpose and bearings of this department of the exposition:

"The managers of the exposition had perceived the desirability of bringing representative groups of Indians from all the principal tribes, and placing them on the exposition grounds in such wigwams or other habitations as were strictly characteristic of the particular tribe. In or near those habitations the Indians were to be occupied with the industries originally practiced

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TURNING EAGLE (SHOCK).

by them, whether weaving, carving, basket-making, arrow-shaping, or otherwise. This gathering of Indians was not to partake in any sense of the character of the Midway diversions or the Wild West shows. It was, on the contrary, to be carried out under the auspices of the Government's Indian Bureau, with the aid of the ethnologists of the Smithsonian Institution. The greatest care was to be taken that every tribe should be costumed, not after the later manner in government blankets, blue calico, and the supplies furnished by the Indian Bureau, but in the fashion of the tribe in its previous state of independence. Characteristic dances and ceremonies of various sorts were to be given.

"Thus it happens that the Indian congress was to afford the last opportunity, presumably, to see the red man in his primitive glory and in his various tribal divisions, under correct conditions of dwelling, costume, industry, and ceremonial. It is entirely safe to predict that in the later weeks of the exposition period, particularly through the month of October, the assemblage of Indians will have attracted not only national, but world-wide attention as the most unusual feature of an exposition interesting for many other reasons."

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A. B. UPSHAW, INTERPRETER (CROW).

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH.

CRITICISMS OF THE SANTIAGO CAMPAIGN.

AMONG the articles on the Santiago campaign now appearing in the magazines are several which comment unfavorably on the management. As this is a subject of great public interest, and these criticisms are published in American periodicals of the highest standing and responsibility, they cannot be ignored by this REVIEW in its monthly survey of current literature. It is, of course, fully understood that the REVIEW in no way makes itself responsible for such opinions as may be expressed in articles from which we may make quotations.

Perhaps, the most noteworthy of these criticisms is that by Mr. Richard Harding Davis, which appears in the October number of *Scribner's*. Mr. Davis is outspoken in his complaints, and his article is by no means pleasant reading for such good Americans as wish to think that just the right things were done to insure the success of our troops with the smallest possible sacrifice of life.

For example, Mr. Davis asserts that the wooded basin which lies before the hill of San Juan was never properly reconnoitered before our advance was made :

"The temper of the young officers was keen for just such adventure. Any number of them were eager to scout, to make actual surveys of the trails leading to Santiago, to discover the best cover and the open places, where the fords crossed the streams, and the trails which flanked the Spanish trenches. But their services were not required. Major-General Chaffee seems to have been the only officer who acquainted himself with that mile and a half of unknown country into which, on July 1, the men were driven as cattle are chased into the chutes of the Chicago cattle-pen. His rank permitted him to take such excursions on his own responsibility, but there were hundreds of other officers who would have been glad of a like opportunity, and there were, in the Rough Riders' regiment alone, several hundred men who for years had been engaged in just that work, scouting and trailing. But the only reconnoissance the officers were permitted to make was to walk out a mile and a half beyond the outposts to the hill of El Poso and to look across the basin that lay in the great valley which leads to Santiago. The left of the valley was the hills which hide the sea. The right of the valley was the hills in which nestles the village of El Caney. Below El Poso, in the basin, the dense green forest stretched a mile and a half to

the hills of San Juan. These hills looked so quiet and sunny and well kept that they reminded one of a New England orchard."

The Spaniards were busily at work digging trenches in plain view of El Poso hill, and in the village of El Caney they were indulging in what Mr. Davis terms "street parades," but they were not interrupted by our artillery.

"For four days before the American soldiers captured the same rifle-pits at El Caney and San Juan, with a loss of two thousand men, they watched these men diligently preparing for their coming, and wondered why there was no order to embarrass or to end these preparations."

THE ADVANCE ON SAN JUAN.

Mr. Davis admits that it is an easy task to criticise the conduct of a campaign after it is finished, to show how Santiago should have been taken after it has been taken; but he asserts that it was well understood among the general officers of experience how the approach to the city should be made, and that the fatal results of the course actually pursued by our troops were foreseen:

"Five days before the battle of San Juan General Chaffee, in my hearing, explained the whole situation and told what should be done and foretold what eventually happened if certain things were left undone. It was impossible, he said, for the army, without great loss, to debouch from the two trails which left the woods and opened on the country before the San Juan hills. He suggested then that it would be well to cut trails parallel with the entire front of the wood and hidden by it, and with innumerable little trails leading into the open, so that the whole army could be marched out upon the hills at the same moment.

"Of course, the enemy knows where those two trails leave the wood," he said; "they have their guns trained on the openings. If our men leave the cover and reach the plain from those trails alone they will be piled up so high that they will block the road." This is exactly what happened, except that instead of being led to the sacrifice through both trails the men were sent down only one of them, and the loss was even greater in consequence. This is recorded here because even if the general in command did not know what to do, it is satisfactory to remember that we had other commanders there who did, with less political influence, but with greater military intelligence."

GENERAL SHAFTER'S RESPONSIBILITY.

It is here that Mr. Davis reaches the main point of his criticism of General Shafter, who, he says, saw the field of the battle of San Juan only once before the fighting took place.

"That was on June 29, when he rode out to El Poso Hill and surveyed the plain below. He was about the last officer in his army corps to climb that hill and make this survey, and he did not again go even that far to the front until the night after the battle, and he did not see the trenches for days after the battle had taken place. His trip to El Poso, which was three miles distant from his headquarters, was apparently too much for his strength, and the heat during the ride prostrated him so greatly that he was forced to take to his cot, where he spent the greater part of his stay in Cuba before the surrender. On the day after the battle of San Juan he said hopelessly to a foreign *attaché*: 'I am prostrate in body and mind.' He could confess this to a stranger, and yet, so great was the obstinacy, so great the vanity and self-confidence of the man, that although he held the lives and health of thirteen thousand soldiers in his care, he did not ask to be relieved of his command."

Mr. Davis says that General Shafter's remaining in the rear was undoubtedly due to physical disability and to the fact that he was ill and in pain. The offense with which Mr. Davis charges him is simply that of clinging to authority after he was incapacitated.

HOW WAS SANTIAGO TAKEN?

As to the actual results of the campaign as conducted, Mr. Davis says:

"The unthinking answer which is invariably made to every criticism on General Shafter is that, after all, he was justified in the end, for he did succeed—he was sent to Cuba to take Santiago and he took Santiago. He did not take Santiago. His troops, without the aid they should have received from him of proper reconnaissance and sufficient artillery, devotedly sacrificed themselves and took the hills above Santiago with their bare hands, and it was Admiral Cervera who, in withdrawing his guns which covered the city, made a present of it to the American army. It must not be forgotten that the departure of Cervera's fleet removed Santiago's chief defense and the cause of Shafter's coming to Cuba as well. The American people cannot have forgotten Shafter's panic-stricken telegram of July 2, when he said that our lines were so thin that he feared he might have to withdraw from the position his men had taken. It came like a slap in the face to every one who believed

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MR. RICHARD HARDING DAVIS WITH COL. THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

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Santiago was already ours. Nor can they have forgotten that on the very next day Cervera, having preferred to take a desperate chance to save his fleet rather than remain on guard before the city, and having withdrawn, Shafter no longer cabled of retreat, but demanded surrender. The admirers of Shafter, if such there be, answer to this: 'Yes, but Cervera would not have left the harbor if Shafter had not arrived and captured the hills above the city.'

To this Mr. Davis rejoins that General Shafter's plan of attacking the city caused terrible and needless loss of life before it was abandoned, that it was finally disregarded by the generals at the front, and that the battle of San Juan was won without him, "for he did not see the battle of San Juan nor direct the battle of San Juan, nor was he consulted by those who did."

Another Criticism.

In *Harper's* for October Mr. Caspar Whitney writes on the Santiago campaign, and while his remarks have less of a personal application than those of Mr. Davis, the tone of hostile criticism in portions of his article is hardly concealed. Concerning the main plan of attack he says:

"The plan was to fall upon Caney with one infantry division, while the artillery at El Poso opened against San Juan and the Thirty-third Michigan Volunteers made a demonstration against Aguadores, south several miles, on the sea. Having taken Caney, the forces there engaged were to sweep west, join the other troops, and the entire army was then to make a combined and vigorous attack upon San Juan and the entire ridge before Santiago. It was uncommonly obliging of us to direct our attack upon San Juan, the very strongest point of the Spanish line, and to storm the face of the very ridges where the enemy had been industriously digging trenches since our arrival in the province. The Spaniards confidently expected us to march boldly against their all but impregnable front, instead of against their comparatively weak flanks—and we did not disappoint them.

"Those who planned this attack fully expected the American troops would march into Santiago the first day (July 1) of the fighting. And so indeed they might, and at a much less loss of life than finally attended them, had the artillery figured more prominently in the fighting, had the engagement on our left not been precipitated by absence of reconnoissance immediately before San Juan, and had there been no balloon ascension to reveal our presence and position to the enemy. There was brilliant work, magnificent work, on July 1, but it was done by the soldiers and the line officers."

CARE OF THE WOUNDED.

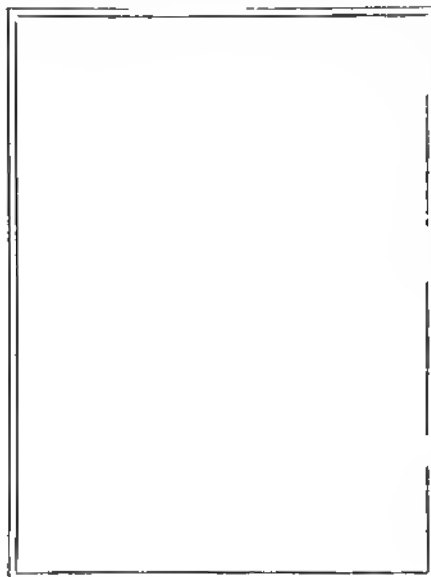
Regarding the care of the troops after the fighting at San Juan and El Caney Mr. Whitney says:

"The days following the cessation of hostilities were days of suffering and work and wonderment—suffering by the wounded, hauled to the rear in great, lumbering, six-mule wagons; work by the troops, who continued industriously to strengthen trenches and build bomb-proofs to protect the reserves from Spanish shrapnel; wonderment by all that now, with transportation facilities increased by wagons, no other rations than bacon, hard-tack, and coffee were brought up for the wounded—not to mention the well; wonderment that hospital supplies were so limited and arrangements so wretched; that wounded and fever-stricken men were permitted to sleep on the rain-soaked ground, with abundant brush and bamboo all around and unemployed soldiers enough to build beds for all; that inasmuch as a bombardment of Santiago was proposed, the siege guns remained on the transports; wonderment that the refugees at Caney were permitted to come about the camps, with the excellent chance of spreading fever."

BLUNDERING INCOMPETENCE.

Mr. Whitney's catalogue of the blunders at Santiago is about as long as Mr. Davis':

"It might not inappropriately be called a campaign of blunders. First of all was the infirmity of purpose at Washington; then the choice of Tampa, utterly unsuitable to be either a point of mobilization or departure—its one railroad track was blocked for miles and for days with the sup-



MR. CASPAR WHITNEY.

plies for which the troops were waiting at Tampa. The quartermaster deficiencies alone would fill a book—deficiencies so glaring as to make one stare—the lack of system in loading transports, which made confusion in the unloading; separation of articles that should be together; mixing of hospital supplies with general merchandise; and the storing deep in the holds of the transports things wanted first, while things not wanted were heaped on top.

"There were incompetent officials in plenty—but how could it be otherwise when we consider the attitude of our Government toward the army for the last thirty years? Not in the memory of the present generation of officers had there before been an assembling of the army—nor even maneuvers in divisions or corps. Distributed throughout the country, broken up for post and garrison duty, what else but confusion and blundering could be expected to ensue when quartermasters and others who had never seen more than fragments were called upon for swift and systematic handling of large bodies of men?

For years the Government has cut the army into fragmental duty, scattered its staff organization, denied it facilities for corps drill and its staff experience in transportation, refused to keep reserve stock of munitions, equipment, etc. And suddenly, when called on to exhibit all these, naturally we have incompetent and floundering officials. Some excuse can be found for the individuals, but none for the Government.

Officers were needed at the outbreak of the war who had proved their ability to think clearly and act quickly, who had had experience in organization. Some of these were at hand, notably Generals Miles, Merritt, Brooke, and Wheeler, and one of these should have led us to Santiago. The general who did lead us, through no especial fault of his, except that of being a friend of the Secretary of War, found himself overwhelmed by the scope of an undertaking beyond anything he had ever known. Perhaps the greatest blunder was arming volunteers with Springfield rifles shooting one thousand yards and burning black powder, to fight against Spanish rifles shooting over two thousand yards and burning smokeless powder. This was not a blunder; it was criminal."

Mr. Whitney is enthusiastic in his praise of one branch of the service—the mule-train packers: "The monthly wage of those packers was probably only a few dollars; mayhap, along with the correspondents, they were even classed as 'mere ship's stores' by the commanding general; but the accomplishments of that train, only half the size it should have been, were enormous. I saw nothing of the kind to equal it during the campaign. I have never seen such extraordinary efforts anywhere by men and mules. Literally, the army would have starved but for the indefatigable labors of those packers—and the only reward I heard of their receiving was curses from headquarters and fever from exposure and overexertion."

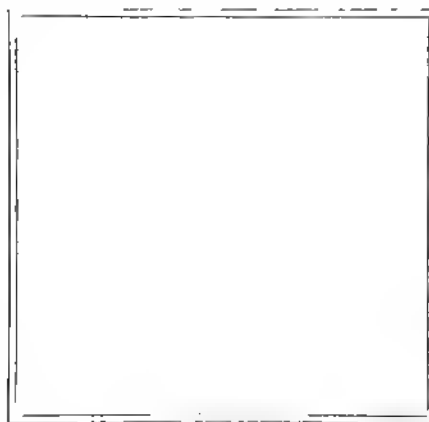
General Shafter at the Critical Moment.

In the October *McClure's* Mr. Stephen Bonsal gives a version of General Shafter's part in the transactions following the San Juan fight which is distinctly favorable to the commanding officer.

It will be remembered that Mr. Davis attributed Shafter's demand for the surrender of Santiago to Cervera's action in leaving the harbor. Mr. Bonsal shows, on the other hand, that the demand was made before the fleet sailed. He describes the conference of general officers, at which General Shafter presided, held to decide the momentous question whether the positions won at such fearful cost should be held or a withdrawal ordered:

"Fortunately, what occurred here has been set down in black and white and forms a part of the military history of our country. Fortunately, I say and repeat, because nothing was said at this conference which does not reflect the highest honor upon those who spoke. The general officers when summoned were informed that each, commencing with the junior officer, would be given full opportunity to express his views upon the question of the advisability of retaining or withdrawing from the advanced position held by our troops. As all the world knows, it was decided to hold the heights we had gained with so much bloodshed. It would seem of little importance to set forth the particular views of particular general officers. It would also be unfair and unwise to point out to our blind hero-worshippers those who spoke for retreat and those who were for holding the position, because both were inspired by the same conscientious sense of duty, and the man who was strongest in favor of withdrawing was the man who, without wishing to make invidious comparisons, had perhaps been most instrumental in capturing the position.

"It is only fair to General Shafter, however, to state exactly what his attitude at this critical



MR. STEPHEN BONSAI.

moment was. The news that our men had captured the San Juan Heights on the afternoon of the 1st filled him with anything but unalloyed satisfaction: first, because of the heavy loss incurred, and, secondly, because it did not appear that we were now one step nearer completing the investment of the town and cutting off the garri-son from reinforcements. But upon the morning of the 2d and later as the day wore on, whatever inclination General Shafter may have had the evening before to withdraw had vanished. And to the various statements from responsible officers that were made, setting forth and proving that our position was most uncomfortable and preca-

rious, General Shafter answered that he did not doubt for a moment that this was true, but that he was of the opinion that the enemy's position was even more uncomfortable and unsafe, and that he believed we had better hang on. The conference came to an end by General Shafter announcing that he had decided to demand, in the morning, the surrender of the city, and his letter to this effect was then and there drafted, before the slightest intimation of the sailing of Cervera's fleet had been received."

ENGINEERING LESSONS OF THE WAR.

MR. HIRAM S. MAXIM writes in the *Engineering Magazine* on "Engineering Lessons from the Hispano-American War." The main point emphasized in Mr. Maxim's article is the vital importance of mechanical supremacy as a factor in modern naval success. The Spaniards, lacking this supremacy, suffered defeat. It was not that they lacked ships or guns of the best modern construction. It was in the ability to make use of the ships and the guns that their fatal deficiency lay. On this point Mr. Maxim says:

"The Spaniards were able to purchase some of the best cruisers in the world. They were also able to provide themselves with a considerable number of torpedo boats and torpedo-boat destroyers. Several of these were made in England. The machinery in them was of the highest order known to modern steam engineers. The Spaniards were also able to purchase excellent guns and ammunition. The Americans, on the other hand, built their own ships and made their own guns, and the very fact that they were obliged to do this gave them the necessary skill in their management afterward. Five or six large cruisers which Spain had at the beginning of the war were supposed to make from twenty to twenty-one knots per hour. Now, in order to make this speed it was necessary that the hulls should be clean and smooth, that the boilers and grates should be clean, that the coal should be of good quality, and that the engines should be of the highest degree of efficiency. Had these ships been in the hands of engineers such as may be found in England, the United States, or Germany, they doubtless would have developed a speed very nearly equal to that claimed for them. When, however, they were taken possession of by the Spanish engineers, everything apparently was neglected. The hulls were allowed to become foul and the boilers to get completely out of order; the engines did not receive the proper care; the stokers did not possess suf-

ficient skill to keep up the steam pressure; hence instead of twenty to twenty-one knots they could make but fourteen or fifteen."

All Europe believed, at the outbreak of the war, that the Spanish cruisers could run away from the American battleships and outfight the American cruisers. It was thought that the Spaniards would surely have the advantage for five or six months at least. In Paris there was much talk about the certain annihilation of the American fleet and the bombardment of New York and Boston by the Spaniards.

THE CASE OF THE "GLOUCESTER."

When the test finally came at Santiago, however, it was found that only one of the Spanish ships, the *Colon*, was able to go faster than our battleships, and, as Mr. Maxim expresses it, the cruisers of Cervera's fleet "very soon found themselves paired off with American ships fast enough to be able to choose their own range. By taking advantage of the superior skill of the American gunners at long range, the Americans were able to annihilate the Spanish fleet in a short time, with practically no loss to themselves. But it may be said that the American battleships were infinitely stronger than the Spanish cruisers. This certainly cannot be said in regard to the triangular fight between the two powerful Spanish torpedo-boat destroyers and the little American yacht *Gloucester*. Sidney Low, writing in the *Pull Mall Gazette*, after speaking of the total destruction of the Spanish fleet with practically no loss on the part of the Americans, points out that the determining factor is the man who fires the gun, the man who wings the torpedo on its way, the man who pulls the lever in the engine-room, the man who has the nerve and skill to use the ram. If he is not capable and resolute, all the rest is nothing."

The *Gloucester*, as every one knows, was a lightly built yacht, turned into a warship merely by the mounting of a few six-pounders and three-pounders on her decks, while the two destroyers were supposed to represent the latest results of modern naval architecture. Built in English dockyards, they were supposed to have a speed of twenty-eight or thirty knots an hour. Moreover, they were heavily armed. Nevertheless, the gun-fire of the *Gloucester* soon drove them ashore in flames—as Mr. Low puts it, "a most astonishing triumph of mind over matter."

THE VALUE OF TARGET-PRACTICE.

This is Mr. Maxim's explanation of the American naval victories:

"The American gunners had been highly trained; large sums of money had been expended

in ammunition to be used in target-practice at sea. Every man knew his gun and had confidence in himself, while the greater part of the Spanish gunners probably fired the large guns of their fleet on the morning of the action for the first time.

"There can be no question that the Spaniard individually has quite as much personal bravery as the American, but he has no taste for machinery, is not an engineer, and is completely without the skill which is necessary in order to understand and handle the ponderous and complicated machine that one calls a battleship or cruiser of to-day. Hand-to-hand sea-fighting is a thing of the past; naval battles are engineering conflicts between machines, and the man who understands these machines best is the man that is sure to win."

BIG GUNS AND HEAVY ARMOR PLATE.

In the closing paragraphs of his article Mr. Maxim summarizes the lessons that the naval engineer may derive from the war:

"I think it may also be said that naval warfare has reached so high a degree of development and requires such a mass of intricate and complicated machinery as to render it completely useless to unscientific nations. The wisdom of a government in insisting that everything relating to warfare should be constructed in its own country is apparent. If a nation make its instruments of warfare it will certainly be able to use them.

"The war has taught us, too, the small value of torpedoes as compared with heavy artillery. Many naval engineers have contended that the torpedo boat would be much less dangerous in actual warfare than was supposed, and the war seems to sustain their view.

"I think the war has also shown that the heavy gun throwing steel projectiles at a very high velocity, so as to have a flat trajectory, is the arm *par excellence*, the arm which we must depend upon in naval warfare, and that thick and heavy armor plate more than compensates for the additional weight and loss of speed involved. It has also shown the great value of battleships as compared with cruisers—that is, in a pitched battle; but it has not shown that cruisers are unnecessary. Had the Spanish cruisers been well cared for and well handled, there can be no question that they would have inflicted very serious damage upon the American fleet and might perhaps have bombarded some of the coast cities. The war has proved that we should stick to high-power guns and the conventional forms of cruisers and battleships and keep the navy free from cranks and fads."

SOME FACTS ABOUT THE WAR LOAN.

IN the September *Forum* Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Vanderlip writes on "Lessons of Our War Loan."

The arrangements for this bond issue, as Mr. Vanderlip remarks, had every element of popular success. It was in the fullest sense a popular loan. The bonds were issued in a popular cause, at a time when money was easy and securities were high. They were issued at par, and every man with \$20 knew that he could invest it and get a twenty-dollar security back. There was no commission, no premium, no restriction as to the character of the remittance. The Treasury received any form of United States currency, any kind of bank check or draft, post-office money-orders, or express money-orders.

It is a curious fact that a larger sum was received through the mails in currency than in post-office money-orders. It was not a rare thing to receive a thousand-dollar bill in an unregistered letter, and Mr. Vanderlip states that from all these subscribers there was no complaint of the loss of a currency remittance. The subscribers' use of banking instruments shows how general has become that method of remitting money.

"Over \$100,000,000 in checks, drafts, and certificates of deposit were received from subscribers for the five-hundred-dollar and smaller bonds, while the 2-per-cent. deposits on the subscriptions for the larger amounts were wholly in the shape of certified checks. About \$198,500,000 of the \$200,000,000 bonds issued will be paid for by means of bank paper and certificates of deposit.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE BONDS.

"Under the provisions of the law every subscription made by a syndicate, corporation, or association was rejected, the preference being given to individuals. The entire loan was absorbed by individual offers for amounts less than \$4,500.

"Half of the loan, more than \$100,000,000, has gone to 230,000 people each of whom subscribed for \$500 or less. The number of persons who applied for the bonds reached 320,000; and if they were mustered into military ranks they would outnumber by almost 100,000 our army of regulars and volunteers enlisted for the Spanish-American War. Standing at dress, side by side, they would form a line 120 miles long—a line that would reach clear across Cuba at its broadest point and half way back, or from Washington to Philadelphia. Had all these investors presented their subscriptions with the currency attached, it would have required three times the cash held in the vaults of the 3,600 national banks of the

country. Some idea of the enormous total of \$1,400,000,000 subscribed by these 320,000 persons may be gained by a comparison with the amount of money in circulation in the United States on August 1, 1898. On that date the money of all kinds in circulation aggregated \$1,809,198,000. If the United States had accepted in currency all the subscriptions made, the Treasury would have absorbed seven-ninths of all the money in circulation."

OUR NATIONAL FINANCES FROM A FRENCH POINT OF VIEW.

IN the first August number of the *Revue des Deux Mondes* M. R. G. Lévy, a distinguished financial authority, writes an interesting article on the finances of the United States. M. Lévy traces in an interesting manner the history of the United States debt from the earliest times, and he goes on to discuss the local indebtedness of particular States. The total State indebtedness rose from \$12,000,000 in 1825 to \$353,000,000 in 1870 and fell to \$223,000,000 in 1890. Side by side with this diminution of State debt there is to be noticed an increase in the debts of counties, and, above all, of municipalities. The debts incurred by towns of more than 4,000 inhabitants rose from \$623,000,000 to \$646,000,000 in 1890.

A variety of circumstances, explained by M. Lévy, had combined to enrich the country as a whole before the war, but he anticipates that the new taxes now rendered necessary will dispose the people to examine the Federal budget with more care than hitherto. If an imperial policy of expansion be ultimately adopted by the American people, then it is clear, as M. Lévy says, that they must make up their minds to bear fiscal burdens similar to those under which the nations of Europe are groaning. But they have two great advantages over the nations of continental Europe. Their geographical situation is such that a large army is not needed, and they can concentrate the bulk of their expenditure on their fleet. Secondly they are already so rich and their still undeveloped resources are so great that they can practically play almost any game they like in the region of high politics, confident that when the time comes they can foot the bill without much difficulty. Altogether, it is pleasant to see that this able and learned Frenchman does full justice to the capacities, both intellectual and material, possessed by our people. He expresses the hope that the great republic will not yield to the temptation to abuse her economic power, but will remain faithful to the traditions of moderation, wisdom, and reason bequeathed to her by her illustrious founders. It is certainly to be hoped that M. Lévy's article will do something

toward enlightening French opinion, which, it will be remembered, was far from doing justice to the United States at the beginning of the war, but which now shows signs of a better mind.

"THE NEW IMPERIALISM."

THE Hon. John R. Procter, of the United States Civil Service Commission, contributes to the September *Forum* an article entitled "Isolation or Imperialism?" in which he advocates an aggressive policy of territorial expansion and coöperation with Great Britain, the Netherlands, and Japan in the control of the Pacific. This is his programme:

"First. There should be a treaty of arbitration entered into between the United States, Great Britain, the Netherlands, and Japan, into which other nations should be invited to enter.

"Second. These countries should unite in making coal as much a contraband of war as powder, coal being equally with powder essential to a modern warship. This would be a most potent conservator of peace.

"Third. All countries acquired by the United States should be thrown open to the commerce of the world on equal terms.

"Fourth. The United States, Great Britain, and Japan should proclaim a new Monroe doctrine applicable to China, and coöperate with that country in preventing acquisition of territory there by European powers.

"Fifth. The United States, Great Britain, and the Netherlands should proclaim and maintain a new Monroe doctrine applicable to the vast islands of the Indian Archipelago. The possessions of these three countries and Japan encircle the Pacific Ocean with an unbroken chain from Cape San Lucas, California, to New Zealand, with this country in possession of the central point of strategic vantage, Hawaii; and ere long this country will control the entrance into the Pacific from the East, as Great Britain controls the short route from the West."

AN ECONOMIC "IMPERIALISM."

IN the *North American Review* for September Mr. Charles A. Conant writes on "The Economic Basis of 'Imperialism,'" with special reference to our commercial interests in China and the other countries of the far East. He says:

"The United States cannot afford to adhere to a policy of isolation while other nations are reaching out for the command of these new markets. The United States are still large users of foreign capital, but American investors are not willing to see the return upon their investments reduced to the European level. Interest rates

have greatly declined here within the last five years. New markets and new opportunities for investment must be found if surplus capital is to be profitably employed.

"In pointing out the necessity that the United States shall enter upon a broad national policy, it need not be determined in just what manner that policy shall be worked out. Whether the United States shall actually acquire territorial possessions, shall set up captain-generalships and garrisons, whether they shall adopt the middle ground of protecting sovereignties nominally independent, or whether they shall content themselves with naval stations and diplomatic representations as the basis for asserting their rights to the free commerce of the East, is a matter of detail. The discussion of the details may be of high importance to our political morality and our historical traditions, but it bears upon the economic side of the question only so far as a given political policy is necessary to safeguard and extend commercial interests."

OUR CHINESE TRADE.

"The present situation in China is such as to call for energetic political action on the part of all powers which desire to obtain new openings for their commerce. Russia, Germany, and France have seized stations and large tracts of territory in China with a view to enforcing there their restrictive policy of shutting up the market to their own people. It is necessary, if the United States are to have an unimpaired share in the new trade of Asia, that they should protest against this policy of exclusion and seek to limit the area over which it is applied. Great Britain stands before the world, as she has done since the days of Huskisson and Peel, as the champion of free markets. The United States, if they are not to be excluded from Asia, must either sustain the policy of Great Britain or they must follow the narrower policy of the continental countries in carving out a market of their own. Silent indifference to what is going on in Asia is not merely a question of political and naval prestige or of territorial extension. It is a question whether the new markets which are being created there shall be opened to our commerce in any form under any conditions, and nothing but vigorous assertion of American interest in the subject will prevent the obstructions to the natural course of trade which will follow the division of Asia among the protectionist powers of the European continent."

With the "open-door" policy definitely established in the far East, American capital can find an outlet in equipping China with the mechanism of production and exchange.

THE PROBLEM OF THE PHILIPPINES.

OF the three articles on "The Problem of the Philippines" which appear in the *North American Review* for September, the one contributed by the Hon. John Barrett is the most pertinent to the discussions of the hour, notwithstanding the fact that it was actually written before the outbreak of hostilities between the United States and Spain. The situation that has resulted from Admiral Dewey's victory is fully anticipated in Mr. Barrett's article, and it is almost impossible for the reader to assure himself that the arguments presented were thought out and elaborated before our ships had entered the harbor of Manila. Whatever may be thought of the reasoning, it must be admitted that few men six months ago could have foreseen so accurately conditions as they are to-day.

The four propositions which Mr. Barrett outlines as representing the different policies that can be followed by the United States in determining the future of the Philippines are these:

"1. They can be held as a permanent possession, colony, Territory, or State of the United States.

"2. They can be returned to Spain on the payment of a war indemnity.

"3. They can be given their independence.

"4. They can be sold to some nation (other than Spain) under favorable conditions, or exchanged for certain of its possessions or for reciprocal advantages."

Of these eventualities Mr. Barrett regards the first or fourth as more likely of realization than the second or third. It is not at all probable that Spain would be able to pay an indemnity, and the masses of the Philippine population are totally unprepared for independence.

Mr. Barrett anticipates the principal arguments that have been made against annexation—the difficulties in the way of granting citizenship to the seven million inhabitants, the expense of fortifying and garrisoning Manila, and the danger that permanent occupation would place us on the same basis with European nations as a foreign colonial power, making us a party to international entanglements in both Asia and Europe.

WHAT CAN WE GAIN BY HOLDING THE ISLANDS?

On the other hand, Mr. Barrett sees in our retention of the islands certain important advantages, which he summarizes as follows:

"1. We would have an unsurpassed point in the far East from which to extend our commerce and trade and gain our share in the immense distribution of material prizes that must follow the opening of China, operating from Manila as a base as does England from Hong Kong.

"2. As England has Hong Kong and Singapore, France Saigon, Germany Kiao-Chow, Russia Port Arthur, the United States would have the great city of Manila as an American capital in the far East, from which to extend both our material and moral influence where vast interests are at stake, and through which the United States could keep in closest touch with all developments.

"3. We would have, in the Philippines themselves, one of the greatest undeveloped opportunities in all the world—a group of islands with numberless riches and resources awaiting exploitation, and capable of providing a market for a large quantity of our manufactured products.

"4. We would have in Manila a large and wealthy city and commercial *entrepôt*, located on one of the finest harbors in the world, and backed up by a country that outranks Japan in variety of resources, but which is not much more developed in the interior than Borneo.

"5. The steamers and ships that now ply between San Francisco, Portland, Tacoma, and Seattle, in the United States, and Yokohama, Shanghai, and Hong Kong, in the far East, would either make Manila their ultimate destination or have adequate connections with it, thus placing the ports, merchants, and manufacturers in closer relations with all Asia than ever before.

"6. The islands would easily be self-supporting in the matter of government after they were once placed in running order, and they should provide an abundant revenue for improvements of all kinds, even to harbor defenses and other fortifications, thus removing the great danger of proving a financial burden to ourselves. This is apart from the profits resulting to America and American interests in trade exchange and in exploiting the resources of this wonderful group, which includes over fifteen hundred islands and has a combined area equal to that of New York and New England together.

"7. The present situation demonstrates the vital necessity of having a naval (as well as a commercial) base in Asiatic waters. The moment neutrality is declared our fleet has no place in which to rendezvous, to coal, or to repair, and is seven thousand miles from the nearest home port! We hope and are confident that our ships will be more than a match for the Spanish fleet at Manila, but supposing they are unsuccessful, where can they go to recoup and recoal? Assuming that they defeat the Spanish squadron and a more powerful one comes out from Spain to meet them, where can they put in for protection or preparation if they are not equally matched or if some of the ships are unfit for action?

"8. The growing importance of the Pacific,

of Pacific commerce, Pacific politics, Pacific lands, and the responsibilities resting on the United States in connection with that growth, together with the impending opening of China and the wide-reaching effect thereof upon the United States as well as upon Europe, demand that we do not shirk the duty of governing the Philippines, which must play a leading part in all this development. What with the cutting of the Nicaragua Canal, the annexation of Hawaii, the laying of a Pacific cable, the rapid progress of our Pacific coast interests, the increase in our trade with the far East, and the necessity of finding wider foreign markets for our surplus products, is it too much to expect that we shall endeavor to hold the Philippines as a permanent possession if we succeed in taking them from Spain?"

THE DIFFICULTIES OF MAKING A SALE.

As to the fourth proposition—to sell the islands to another power or exchange them for reciprocal advantages—Mr. Barrett finds two very serious obstacles in the way. In the first place, few if any powers would pay our price or give us what we would ask in exchange. Furthermore, if any such sale or exchange were effected, other European powers would probably protest against one of their number obtaining such an overwhelming advantage in the East as would result from possession of the Philippines, and diplomatic differences would probably result. Mr. Barrett thinks that if Great Britain would give us her outposts off our Atlantic coast, like Bermuda and the Bahamas, together with Jamaica or some of the Windward Islands, in exchange for the Philippines, we should not be losers in the end, but England might not think as favorably of the bargain as we, while France might interpose objections that her coast of Annam and Cambodia should be flanked by British Philippines. Japan, he thinks, could not afford to pay the price, and she has nothing to give in exchange.

WHAT IS TO BE DONE WITH CUBA?

IN the *North American Review* for September Mr. Mayo W. Hazeltine discusses this question, taking it for granted, of course, that the destinies of the island are to be shaped by the United States.

Mr. Hazeltine's article is largely devoted to an examination of the declaration of Congress that we entered upon the war with Spain with no other motive than to assure complete political independence to Cuba. But for the existence of that resolution of Congress, as Mr. Hazeltine says, we should deal with Cuba precisely as we have dealt with other foreign territory which from time

to time we have annexed—Florida, California, New Mexico, and the whole Louisiana region acquired by purchase from France. The widest possible application of the resolution might preclude even our annexation of Porto Rico or our demand for coaling stations in the Ladrones and the Philippines, but Mr. Hazeltine rightly pronounces this deduction a *reductio ad absurdum*:

"There is not one American citizen in a hundred, probably there is not one in a thousand, who believes that because we entered upon the war with a philanthropic purpose we are precluded from exacting some compensation for the outlay which the stiff-necked refusal of Spain to treat her colonists with justice has compelled us to make. Moreover, the logic of philanthropy would itself point to a different conclusion. The inhabitants of Porto Rico have little more reason to be satisfied with Spanish rule than have the Cubans, and the inhabitants of the Philippines have even stronger reasons for detesting it. Having once opened the prospect of freedom to Porto Rico and Luzon, the same motives which impelled us to the liberation of Cuba should prompt us to shield the two former islands from a ghastly disappointment."

ENGLISH AND FRENCH PRECEDENTS.

"Let us look now at the letter of the self-denying ordinance and inquire to what it binds us. Here let us observe that the American republic is not the only power which, in recent times, has made a similar declaration at the outset of military operations. When France took possession of Tunis and when England assumed control of Egypt the act was coupled, in each instance, with the promise that the occupation should cease when the country occupied should be fully pacified and the conditions requisite for the establishment of a stable native government should be forthcoming. Many years have passed, yet France continues to retain the Tunisian regency and England the valley of the Lower Nile; with good reason, also, for it is acknowledged by all unprejudiced observers that the evacuation of either region by its European custodian would be followed by anarchy and devastation. In the interest of the populations concerned, both England and France have proceeded on the assumption that the time for the fulfillment of their optimistic promise has not arrived, nor is yet even in sight; meanwhile they have proceeded on the principle expressed by Pope:

"For forms of government let fools contest;
What's best administered is best."

Mr. Hazeltine has grave doubts whether the Cubans can administer any kind of government for themselves.

AN INDEPENDENT CUBAN GOVERNMENT.

Mr. Hazeltine considers the possibility of setting up an independent government in Cuba, first directing attention to the fact that the so-called provisional government of the insurgents has never been recognized by President McKinley, even as a belligerent, no reference having been made to it in the message which led to the declaration of war. As to the right of the insurgents to be regarded as representing the people of Cuba, Mr. Hazeltine says:

"Have we any reason to believe that the insurgents and their sympathizers constitute a majority, or even a strong minority, of the inhabitants of the island? Where is the proof of such numerical preponderance? No conclusive proof can be forthcoming until a plebiscite shall be taken under conditions which assure a perfectly free expression of opinion. It may be that if the purity of the ballot-box were assured through American control, a large majority of the inhabitants of Cuba would invoke the guarantees against foreign interference and intestine disorder which would be afforded through the acceptance of the status of a State or Territory in our Union. If such should be the outcome of a plebiscite, it is obvious that the very spirit of the declaration made by Congress, no matter how narrowly construed, would forbid our adherence to the letter. We could not impose on the inhabitants of Cuba complete political independence—that is to say, political isolation and economical paralysis, together with the grim necessity of coping with dangerous racial problems—against the consent of the majority; for if the result of such an act upon our part were the eventual experience by Cuba of the fate of Haiti, we should be held responsible in history for a crime against civilization. Having delivered Cuba from the Spanish yoke, we are accountable for her tranquillity and prosperity; should she be ruined through our abandonment, we cannot absolve ourselves hereafter by the plea, 'Was I my brother's keeper?'

"It is clear that thorough pacification is the condition precedent to an entirely free expression of opinion and aspiration on the part of a majority of the inhabitants of Cuba. By inhabitants we mean, and ought to mean, all those persons, whether insurgents, autonomists, or ex-loyalists, whether born in the island or elsewhere, who signify a wish to maintain a domicile in the Pearl of the Antilles. We cannot drive into exile those native Cubans who have supported Blanco's autonomist government, or those resident civilian Spaniards who follow vocations and own property in the cities and large towns, and who are said to number much more than one hundred and fifty thousand. If even the

members of the latter category elect to abide in Cuba and to accept the change of *régime*, we cannot, without repudiating our philanthropic professions, withhold from them the privilege."

In conclusion, Mr. Hazeltine disclaims any desire to quibble about the terms or intent of the declaration of Congress:

"The question for us to keep in view is not what Congress might have said or should have said, but what it did say. Congress pledged itself to give the Cubans political independence, and until Congress itself shall have seen fit to retract or modify the pledge it must be carried out.

"As regards, nevertheless, the time and method of fulfillment, some reasonable precautions must be taken. The island must be thoroughly pacified and the conflicting elements of its population must be brought into at least transient harmony before they are invited to discharge the high and difficult function of framing a constitution for an independent republic. In the interest of all the constituents which make up the mixed Cuban people, whether insurgents, or native-born autonomists, or resident Spaniards, it will be the duty of our Government, as their trustee before the world, to examine the proposed constitution and see whether, on its face at all events, it is calculated to administer the even-handed justice which we shall have dealt out during the period of pacification to all the inhabitants of Cuba, without distinction of color or descent. If the projected organic law shall be found ostensibly to answer all the requirements of good sense and equity, then, unless the resolution of Congress shall have been, in the meanwhile, modified, we shall be bound to allow the Cubans to institute their new *régime*, if they, not by that time enlightened by the happy experience of Porto Rico under the Stars and Stripes, shall still insist on the political independence which, for them, will mean economic isolation and relative commercial inactivity."

SPANISH OFFICIALISM.

IN *Blackwood's* for September Hannah Lynch describes "The Spaniard at Home." Her account of official sloth in Spain goes far to explain the extraordinary state of unpreparedness in which Spain found herself at the outbreak of hostilities with the United States.

"Meditating on the exposure of national imbecility the present war reveals, I am minded of the daily existence of one of the most important of Spanish military officials I once was privileged to study in profound astonishment. This man received a large, a very large, salary from the government, and ruled over no less than four

immense provinces. He rose at 9 or 10, swallowed his chocolate, smoked a cigar, and at 11 o'clock went to his office, where he signed papers, gossiped a little with his several secretaries, and came upstairs to breakfast at noon. After breakfast he slept for a couple of hours, walked up and down the *salon*, smoking and listening to the chatter of his women-folks, went downstairs to his office at 3, and remained until 4 o'clock, and that was the extent of his daily labor.

"The state paid him enormously, for Spain, for exactly two hours' insignificant work, and the rest of the time he did nothing but sleep, smoke, rock himself in a big rocking-chair, too lazy to stir out, to walk or drive or ride, too dull and indifferent to read or talk. His mind was as empty as his days; and with such military chiefs in office, is it any wonder that not a single preparation for the war was made, not a single evidence of official competence, of forethought, of average intelligence was displayed by Spain at home or in her colonies? And this is by no means an isolated case.

"I studied for a month in a public library of Spain. The officials always arrived long after I was seated at my table. All the time they remained there they walked about or sat on tables, gossiping and smoking. Nobody wrote, nobody read, nobody knew anything on earth about the books in every one's charge, and at 1 o'clock they locked up the library and went home, worn out with the day's labor, to refresh themselves with a *siesta* and a lounge upon the public place. And this is the life of the average Spaniard, rich or poor, unless he plays *pelota*, bicycles, or rides."

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL'S OBSERVATIONS IN SPAIN.

A NUMBER of the official dispatches sent to the Government at Washington by the late James Russell Lowell while United States minister to Spain have been unearthed in the archives of the State Department and published by the *Critic*. These dispatches relate chiefly to royal functions at Madrid, but incidentally throw much light on social and political conditions. It need not be said that the style is anything but "official," if conventional government correspondence be taken as the standard.

October 29, 1878, Mr. Lowell writes of the attempted assassination of King Alfonso, adding this comment:

"It is a curious illustration of the artificial state of politics here, that although the King would naturally be glad to pardon the criminal, it is said that he will be unable to do so lest the whole affair should seem a tragic comedy arranged

beforehand between the ministry and the actors as a test of popular sentiment."

November 16, 1879, Mr. Lowell transmits the official note informing this Government of the intended marriage of King Alfonso with the Austrian Princess Maria Christina (now Queen Regent). Mr. Lowell writes:

"Naturally this event does not excite either the sympathies or the animosities awakened by the wedding of twenty-two months ago, and it occurs at a time when the country is saddened by the terrible inundation of Murcia and public attention distracted by the recent news from Cuba. The young Archduchess is said to possess qualities likely to render her popular, if only she is able to disarm the criticism to which any foreign and perhaps especially any Austrian princess will be exposed in Spain.

"The match is declared to have no political significance whatever, though circumstances may easily be imagined in which the eagerness of many Spaniards that Spain should follow the example of Italy under the leadership of Cavour might guide it in an importance which it does not intrinsically possess."

After the wedding Mr. Lowell writes a brief description of the bride:

"The new Queen attracts sympathy by the gracious cordiality of her manners, her youth, and the dignity of her bearing. She is good-looking without being beautiful; she has the projecting chin of her race, though softened in her by feminine delicacy of feature. One seems to see in her a certain resemblance to Marie Antoinette, and she mounts a throne that certainly seems less firm than that of France when her kinswoman arrived in Paris to share what all believed would be the prosperous fortunes of its heir-apparent. Such associations lent a kind of pathos to the unaffected happiness which lighted the face of Maria Christina."

CARLISM.

DR. E. J. DILLON writes in the *Contemporary Review* on "The Coming of Carlism." The article, which covers thirty pages, is not exactly a prediction as to the coming of Carlism. It is rather an indication of the circumstances under which Carlism might come. Dr. Dillon confirms everything that has hitherto been said as to the shocking state of rottenness that prevails at headquarters in Spain.

SPANISH FEELING ON THE TERMS OF PEACE.

He ridicules the idea that the Spanish people are likely to resent the loss of their colonies by overturning either the ministry or the monarchy, for the one desire of the Spanish people is peace

and an opportunity of earning their daily bread. So far from there being any passionate resentment against the government for making peace with the United States, Dr. Dillon says that he does not hesitate to assert, "and in this I am supported by the deliberate statements of Spaniards of all parties, that if the peace conditions were to involve the protectorate of Spain itself by the United States, there would be neither indignation, commotion, nor protest among the people; in fact, the feeling would be uncommonly akin to relief, as it was in Porto Rico."

The listless indifference of the masses to all things political is the greatest safeguard which the government has heretofore possessed. The only possible alternative to the present dynasty is Carlism:

"The army is as bitterly opposed to republicanism as to the hybrid form of government which has irretrievably ruined the country and demoralized the people, and the only alternative to Carlism which the army would seriously entertain is a military dictatorship."

Dr. Dillon has had some long conversations with the leading Carlists in Spain, and he summarizes the results of these interviews in half a dozen pages which bear very considerable resemblance to his own conclusions. Everybody in Spain, except those who are dependent for their living upon the good-will of the present administration, is impatient to be free from the nightmare of liberalism, for, in the opinion of his Carlist friends, the constitutional monarchy is neither a monarchy nor constitutional, but the incarnation in politics of a huge blood-sucking vampire. To every Spaniard, except the present office-holders, Carlism is synonymous with relief, release, and reform. Spanish constitutionalism, say the Carlists, is a snare of Satan's hurled into and embodied in the political life of the peninsula.

THE RISK OF REVOLUTION.

The majority of the people are extremely poor, bankruptcy will inevitably follow war, and when the lower middle classes, who at present live upon one meal a day of boiled peas, dry bread, olives, and garlic, are unable to obtain even that slender modicum of food necessary for existence, bread riots will break out and distress will bring about revolution:

"It is only when the male and female bread-winners of the country can find no more work to do, while the barest necessities of life have risen 50 or 60 per cent. in price, and when hunger typhus fills the churchyards with the would-be workers and the streets with the waifs and strays who once depended upon them, that the people of Spain will be moved to their depths."

The loss of the Spanish colonies will directly contribute to this result, because Spanish manufactures are largely, if not exclusively, dependent for their existence upon the colonial market :

"When all the factories and works dependent upon the colonies shall have collapsed, when all the trade and industry bound up with a considerable navy and merchant fleet shall have disappeared, when scores of thousands of mutilated and sickly soldiers have come to swell the ranks of the poverty-stricken, and when for large numbers of the people, the begging having proved bootless, the choice will lie between bread riots leading to a revolution and death by starvation, then the real tug of war will begin."

EVERY POLITICAL FACTOR SECURED.

Apart from the fact that hunger will certainly precipitate thousands into the streets, the Carlists chiefly rely upon the army. The story that the old Carlist officers will have to be provided with commissions at the expense of the present staff is denied by Dr. Dillon. Many officers are decidedly Carlist in their sympathies, and Don Carlos thinks he can rely upon the present army for coöperation. Subscriptions are coming in from all parts of Spain and from various towns in France. The rank and file of the clergy are Carlist almost to a man :

"Thus Carlism seems to carry with it every political factor and most of the non-political but important elements of the population, excepting certain of the republicans and those friends of constitutionalism the tenacity of whose political conviction is intensified by the love of a guaranteed salary and the fear of chronic hunger."

It is difficult to discriminate between what Dr. Dillon states as his own convictions and what he reports as a chronicler of the views of his informants ; but certainly no Carlist could exceed him in his disgust with the present ministry and his utter despair of any salvation arising from the ranks of the constitutional monarchists.

The Carlist Programme.

The Marquis de Ruvigny and Mr. Cranstoun Metcalfe contribute to the *Fortnightly Review* an article on "The Carlist Policy in Spain," which is largely in the shape of a reply to an article contributed by "A Spaniard" to a former number of the review. Omitting the controversial passages, the following may be taken as a more or less official declaration of the Carlist programme :

"Decentralization is one of the chief points of the Carlist programme. Local centers will take the place of the present bureaucracy in all matters of local interest, and municipal authority over local finance will resume its power. The

ancient *fueros* of the Basque Provinces, Navarre, Aragon, Valencia, Catalonia, and Majorca, with the ancient customs of Galicia and the Asturias, will be restored ; and even in those provinces where no such traditional institutions exist the principle of what the British call local self-government will be established.

"The necessity for a radical financial reform is, however, very evident to Don Carlos and his advisers, and a complete scheme has been prepared by competent authorities. A prominent feature of this scheme, and one which seems to have much to commend it, is that the secretary of state, who will act as finance minister or chancellor of the exchequer, will be made independent of such mere political changes as may necessitate the removal of his colleagues.

"The labor question has had the attention of the party, and is one in which Don Carlos has particularly interested himself. The formation of guilds and friendly societies is to be encouraged, and great efforts will be made to reduce the burden of taxation, which at present falls so heavily and so unfairly on the agricultural population, and thus to stop the drain of emigration to America and Africa.

"Reorganization of the law courts, general economy, beginning with the reduction of the civil list, revision of the scale of wages paid to workmen, and reduction in the price of food stuffs are other items of the Legitimist programme, of which we have thought it wise to give this brief indication, inasmuch as it is a common supposition in this country that Don Carlos is only working for his own restoration, and that his practical policy is nebulous in the extreme."

THE TWO POLICIES OF RUSSIA.

THE place of honor in the second August number of the *Nouvelle Revue* is given to an anonymous article on "The Two Policies of Russia." The writer represents Russia as having recently executed a complete change of policy in view of the situation in the far East. The "Sick Man" of Peking has taken the place of the "Sick Man" of Constantinople as an object of Russian interest, and the writer endeavors to show how fatal the consequences will be to Russia if certain counselors of the Czar succeed in carrying out their policy to the bitter end. It is erroneous, we are told, to represent the new policy as a heritage bequeathed by Alexander III. The new Eastern policy of Russia dates in reality from the treaty of Shimonoseki, and the interest which Alexander III. showed in the Trans-Siberian Railway was not because he thought of dominating China, but because he regarded it as a strategic defense.

M. Hanotaux did not foresee in 1895 that the active interference of Russia in the affairs of the far East at the conclusion of the Chino-Japanese War would be the signal of the loosening of the bond of the Franco-Russian alliance, and of a decreased interest on the part of Russia in the politics of Europe. This new Asian policy did not triumph in the councils of the young Emperor without a struggle, for Russia is bound by many ties of race and religion to the Christian East. The blood freely shed by Russia in the past cried out against this sudden abandonment of the Orthodox Christians of Eastern Europe, and discontent was widespread in the army and among the superior clergy. As for the Russian nobility, they would have preferred that the resources of the government should have been employed in saving them from annihilation, rather than in pursuing the Chinese will-o'-the-wisp.

EUROPEAN POLITICS SUPERSEDED BY ASIAN.

The new policy was headed by Count Muraviev, while the old policy is understood to have been strenuously defended by M. Witte, the powerful finance minister, whose representative in the press is Prince Oukhtomsky. The writer of this article has read the British Blue-Book, from which he quotes copiously, as well as from other and less official authorities. He explains that M. Witte was opposed to the occupation of Talien-Wan and Port Arthur to such an extent that his customary prudence deserted him, and he went so far as to reproach a foreign ambassador for not having consulted him on some point because he (M. Witte) held in his hands all the threads of Russian policy and alone directed it. The struggle was naturally transferred to the private cabinet of the Emperor, and it seemed at one moment as if the finance minister would resign; but the Czar remarked: "It rests with me alone to choose the moment at which I wish to part from my minister." The writer goes on to say that the Sultan's great terror nowadays is the possibility of an understanding between England and Russia, and apparently looks forward to some such outcome of the whole situation. He considers that Russia's acquisition of an ice-free port as a terminus for the Trans-Siberian Railway provides her with a graceful opportunity of escaping from a deplorable policy. He is impressed with the danger to Russia of foreign capital, with its secret influence upon foreign policy. Nearly all Russia's railroads are pledged to foreigners. A country in this position cannot afford to undertake in China a struggle not only with England, but also with the United States and Germany, without being a prey to the rapacious speculator.

THE PEACE OF BISMARCK.

THERE are two articles in the *Fortnightly Review* for September on Bismarck. Mr. W. H. Dawson, who had the advantage of hearing Bismarck make some of his most famous speeches, and who afterward had prolonged *tête-à-têtes* with him in the privacy of his own house, writing on the subject of the Bismarck memoirs, says:

"Much has been written of late about the Prince's memoirs, and it will not be amiss to recall some words which he addressed to me on the subject more than six years ago. 'I shall not publish anything during my lifetime,' he said. 'There are so many events of which I am now the only living witness, and you will see how the publication of memoirs while I live would land me in every manner of polemic, and that, at my advanced age, I could not stand. But I shall leave papers and memoranda to my children, who will deal with them after I am gone. For the rest, I trust to history.' 'And history is just and speaks truth,' I ventured to say as our conversation drew to a close. 'Yes,' he repeated, 'history is just, but her judgments always tarry long—it may be thirty, forty years. Yet history is just.'"

A PEACE PRESERVER.

"Diplomaticus," in an article under the title of "The Peace of Bismarck," lays stress not altogether unnecessarily on the fact that although Prince Bismarck is chiefly remembered by the part he played in the wars which remodeled Europe, he was during the greater part of his ministerial career a diligent preserver of the peace:

"Of the thirty-eight years during which he held office in Germany, twenty were devoted to the preservation of peace. During the whole of that period he labored unwearingly for peace and peace alone. Like Elizabeth, he was haunted by one great dread, and, like her, he fought against it with a statesmanship which neglected none of the resources of a 'shameful dishonesty.' The peace of Bismarck does not bulk largely in the popular imagination, but it is a chapter of European history which may not unreasonably claim to rank on the same level with the record of his wars."

GERMANY AND RUSSIA.

"Diplomaticus" attributes the formation of the Austro-German alliance to a threat made by the Russian Emperor, under Prince Gortschakoff's influence, that he would go to war with Germany if she did not always support the Russian delegates in the proceedings of the Novi-

bazar Delimitation Commission in 1878. It was at this time that General Obrucheff was ostentatiously ordered to Paris to attend the French military maneuvers. Bismarck's chief triumph; however, was to supplement the triple alliance by a private and separate agreement with Russia which practically secured at one time the peace of Europe and the predominance of Germany. "Diplomaticus" says:

"The peace of Bismarck still exists. However unscrupulous may have been the policy by which it was maintained between 1870 and 1890, it conferred benefits which we are still enjoying. It nursed Europe through a dangerous time. It consolidated a situation which was largely experimental. It blunted hatreds and gradually won the good sense of the world to declare against them. This long-continued peace accumulated fresh force as it grew older, and the world and its rulers are now less disposed to war than ever they were. Moreover, it preserved intact the work of Bismarck himself, and that is a greater achievement than can be laid to the credit of Napoleon, with whom the Iron Chancellor is so frequently compared, or than can be claimed by the allied powers who destroyed Napoleon and made the long-vanished settlement of 1815."

BISMARCK AS AN EDITOR.

IN the *Bookman* for October Mr. Henry W. Fischer describes one phase of Bismarck's career which has received less notice in the published biographical sketches than its real importance seems to demand. We refer to the Iron Chancellor's journalistic activities.

In 1848 Bismarck was busily engaged in writing political leaders and other contributions for the newspapers, and from that time to the day of his death, a half century later, he was never fairly out of the journalistic harness. In 1849 and the following years newspapers were founded and subsidized by Bismarck and his party throughout Prussia.

"When, in 1862, Bismarck assumed the Prussian premiership, the liberal press characterized him as an 'empty-headed scribbler,' 'a puffed-up braggart.' But as, at the same time, he obtained control of the government's bribery funds, the royalist press entered upon an era of prosperity. Heretofore Bismarck had fed it with flashes of genius; now he smote his competitors by reserving the news for his papers exclusively. It was a journalistic *coup d'état*. Backed by newspapers that were newspapers and which the majority of the people had to read, whether they agreed with their opinions or not Bismarck could afford to ignore the legitimate rights of the Prince of

Augustenburg after 1864, and two years later could enter upon the unpopular war against Austria, taking the sinews of war from the public treasury without a shadow of right."

THE "REPTILE FUND."

"From the middle of 1867 until March, 1890, the day of his dismissal, the funds for editorial work and for influencing public opinion placed at Bismarck's disposal exceeded the sum of 2,000,000 marks per year—the revenue of the sequestered fortune of King George of Hanover and certain appropriations for secret purposes. This was the 'reptile fund.'"

"Ah, the ocean of black tears wept over the 'reptile fund!' The press of the world joined the German liberal papers in protesting against this scandal. 'But,' said Prince Bismarck when it was all over and after he had retired to Friedrichsruhe, 'what of it? Let us assume for argument's sake that I spent during the last twenty-three years of my chancellorship 45,000,000 marks in editing, printing, and subsidizing various newspapers. Thanks to my direction of the press, Europe enjoyed twenty years of peace, and war in Europe costs, according to the calculations of 1870 and 1871, 800,000,000 marks per year.'"

BISMARCK'S NEWSPAPERS.

"From 1872 to 1890 Bismarck was quasi editor of the *Cologne Gazette*, the *Berlin Post*, the *North German Gazette* (*Allgemeine Zeitung*), the *Hamburger Nachrichten*, and the *Berlin Political News*. The *Cologne Gazette* reflected Bismarck's political opinion, passing it off as its own, for the sake of the exclusive news furnished to its home office and to its correspondents in all parts of the world by order of the chancellor. If there was an epoch-making or interesting bit of intelligence in Wilhelm Strasse, the *Gazette's* special wire carried it to the Rhenish Cathedral City before even the heads of departments in the chancellor's office heard of it. And wherever German ambassadors, ministers, and consuls resided, they had to think of the *Cologne Gazette* immediately after their chief had been informed of the political news and gossip at hand. No wonder the *Cologne Gazette* grew to be regarded as a second *London Times*. The *Post* received for its support news of the second class, and besides 'patronage,' the *Hamburger Nachrichten* had to be content with an occasional bit of intelligence and the *Berlin Political News* disseminated routine matter for the chancellor. The *North German Gazette* did the illustrious statesman's dirty work.

"Though received by some 10,000 persons daily, this journal never had a *bona fide* circulation. Its subscribers were, and are now, gov-

ernment officials and—editors. Yes, editors! In Bismarck's times no German editor could get along without the *North German Gazette*. He might miss the Cologne paper and the *Post*; it is not always essential to print the news in the fatherland, but it meant certain death for a newspaper not to know with whom the chancellor was quarreling, against what persons he was intriguing, or whom he chose to regard with especial favor at a given time. The *North German Gazette* furnished this sort of items red-hot day by day. For their sake the paper was bought by editors throughout Europe—none would be without this political scandal-monger, professedly as much opposed to sensationalism as any High Church organ, but if need be as 'yellow' as any of our up-to-date penny journals. 'At the time Pindter' (the ostensible editor of the *North German Gazette*) 'placed so and so many columns of white paper at my disposal,' was one of Bismarck's standing phrases. He used it frequently when speaking of the political history of the last two decades."

In 1890, when Bismarck left office, of all the 500 Bismarck organs scattered throughout Germany—papers which Bismarck had patronized by furnishing news, advertisements, money contributions, or talented editors—only one, the *Hamburger Nachrichten*, remained true to him.

AS EDITOR OF THE "NACHRICHTEN."

Mr. Fischer gives the following account of Bismarck's round of editorial duties at Friedrichsruhe after his retirement from public office:

"The polite but narrow-minded Chrysander was at once 'office-boy' and secretary. His first duty was to open the voluminous parcels with newspaper clippings, suggestions, queries, and articles written for approval, correction, or—the waste-basket sent in by Managing Editor Hofmann from Hamburg by special messenger every morning in the year.

"Hofmann read the newspapers with a view to 'Bismarckiana.' A half dozen scissors editors worked under his direction and cut out every item, important or insignificant, relating to the Prince or his policy that appeared in any newspaper or magazine the world over. The printed intelligence or absurdity might tell of things that happened twenty or forty years ago, or it might rehearse facts applying to the present incumbent of the chancellor's or foreign minister's office. If by a single iota it could be so turned as to suggest a connection with Bismarck's personality or his public life, the editor-in-chief must see it, and woe to the man overlooking or undervaluing what might seem to him only a bit of idle gossip.

"Dr. Chrysander read aloud the German and French clippings and the translations of items that appeared in Spanish and Italian newspapers. The cuttings from the English and Russian press the Prince read himself. He understood Russian quite well, and I can appreciate his refusal to let Chrysander massacre the Queen's English, for while I do not underrate Carl Schurz' eminence as an English scholar, I must say I never heard a German speak such beautiful English as Bismarck.

"Pipe in mouth and a pencil half a yard long in his fingers, the Prince listened attentively. If an item warranted the trouble, he held out his hand when Chrysander had finished and studied the clipping word for word, afterward delivering his criticism in some such phrase as 'good,' 'sane,' 'ought to be encouraged,' or 'rotten,' 'a confounded lie,' or simply 'ox,' 'ass.' etc. If an article enraged him, or if he was especially interested in the writer or newspaper, he was liable to personally mark the clipping with his approval or disapproval. Then his long, soft pencil descended upon the margin vigorously to inscribe with short, powerful strokes an epigram, such as he delighted in coining all through his public life. If for the instruction of the managing editor ampler directions were needed, or if the Prince had but some coarse, contemptuous criticism to offer, the marking of the paragraph was left to Chrysander."

BISMARCK'S MANAGING EDITOR.

"Like a good editor Bismarck settled all editorial questions submitted to him on any given day by return of mail—that is to say, all that he wanted to dispose of. Sometimes he deemed a letter of instructions necessary; very frequently he called Dr. Hofmann to a conference. Hofmann had, of course, no opinion of his own. The Prince did all the talking; the managing editor absorbed his thoughts, drank in his words as a sponge does liquid. If it was a very important or very new matter he asked permission to jot down the leading article or paragraph that was to appear. Consent was readily given, and the Prince revised the manuscript, often changing the meaning of the whole or improving on his own previous statements. This the doctor did not mind, but he positively trembled when his chief insisted upon writing an article himself or upon dictating one to Chrysander. Visions of prison gates, of challenges and prolonged press wars rose before his cautious soul, for the old thunderer, though engaged on a respectable provincial sheet for nearly eight years, had not yet learned to purr or to call a spade other than a spade, or, perchance, a 'confounded' spade or worse."

"Whether the Prince was at home or abroad, his editorial duties had precedence of everything else. Dr. Hofmann submitted his budget of clippings by mail, his queries by letter, by telegraph, or in person. In late years he sometimes accompanied the Prince on journeys; on other occasions he merely sent one or two expert reporters along, holding himself ready to rush to his chief's side at a moment's notice. In the telegrams between the home office and the editor Bismarck was always referred to as 'S. D.' (*Seine Durchlaucht*—His Grace). These newspaper people were never allowed to lose sight of the fact that their chief was a great lord as well as an overpowering genius."

THE PERSONAL SIDE OF RICHARD WAGNER.

IN the *Ladies' Home Journal* for October appears the first of two important papers on the composer Wagner written by Houston Stewart Chamberlain, Wagner's biographer, "with the approval and assistance of Frau Wagner."

Wagner was a man of strong domestic tastes, and it is this side of his character that Mr. Chamberlain makes prominent in his article.

"Wagner's first wife was a beautiful woman. Unfortunately she gave him no children, which somewhat marred their happiness, for he adored children, and she, remaining childless, was thrown back on the sole companionship of a man whom she fondly loved, but whose genius remained veiled to her. This first wife, Wilhelmina, died in 1866, after almost thirty years of married life. Soon after her death Wagner married the younger daughter of his great friend, Franz Liszt, and to them were born a daughter and a son. The last years of his life were consequently the happiest, in spite of all the bitter disappointments they were so rich in. His second wife was a woman of unquestionable genius, a most able and untiring ally in the pursuit of his lofty artistic schemes, destined besides to continue after his death what he had only been able to initiate, and in his house and garden rang the merry laughter of children. This—yes, this, indeed—was the 'luxury' he had been ambitious for his whole life long."

WAGNER NOT A BUSINESS MAN.

Although Wagner certainly displayed great courage and intrepidity in the battle of life, he was not at all a business man in the ordinary sense of the term.

"I know no single act of his whole life which could be interpreted as a wish to do himself a good turn, to amass riches, or to seek honorary distinctions. These latter, which, toward the

close of his life, poured in from all quarters, he always stubbornly refused. Medals and titles were sent back to the donors by return of post. And as for money, Wagner's standpoint was delightfully simple. In a letter written when about forty years of age Wagner says: 'Yes, I admit that I do require some little comfort and luxury. I cannot pour out my heart blood in works of art while a bare table stands staring at me and poverty is the familiar spirit of my home. But it is the world's duty to give men of my stamp what they require, and to give it without grudging.' This was a poet's way of looking at the matter, and no wonder that Wagner was involved in pecuniary difficulties his whole life long.

"If Wagner had been born half a century later his position would have been more tolerable. Dramatic authors and composers now always get a percentage of every performance in all theaters, and these rights are secured by international treaties for every country of Europe. This was not formerly the case. In the first place, the Royal Theater at Dresden (where Wagner's early works were first given) never paid him anything at all, as one of the regulations of this opera-house is that when it performs works whose authors are officials belonging to the Royal Theater they get no remuneration whatever. Soon—it was in the 50s—Wagner's works began to spread through Germany; one town after another put 'The Flying Dutchman,' 'Rienzi,' 'Tannhäuser,' and 'Lohengrin' on its theater's programme. But at that epoch theaters in Germany gave no percentage whatever. The only obligation the law imposed on them was to buy the score. The price of the score was fixed in each special case between the theater and the author, and varied according to the population of the town and the success expected. Once the score was bought the theater had no further obligation toward the author. Wagner usually got from \$40 to \$80 for a score and rarely \$120. What Wagner got—once for all—for 'Rienzi,' 'The Flying Dutchman,' 'Tannhäuser,' and 'Lohengrin' amounted, therefore, all told, to something like \$50 to \$100 from each theater which put these works on the stage.

"LOHENGRIN" SOLD FOR EIGHTY DOLLARS.

"The first contract in which a percentage is stipulated is that with the Royal Theater in Berlin, in 1855, for 'Tannhäuser.' It will be readily understood that many theaters made millions in this way with works they had paid a hundred dollars for. Later, the law and the usages having altered, and Wagner having achieved world-wide renown, he was, of course, able to exact a percentage everywhere—8 to

10 per cent. being the usual sum. But the difficulty was to get the theaters which had bought his older works years before to pay percentage on them. This was accomplished by withholding the newer works from them till they agreed to pay the usual percentage on the former ones. But it was not till very near the close of his life that the trusty and devoted business friends whom Wagner had found in Bayreuth, and to whom he had in a large measure given over the care of his interests, had managed to bring all these matters into good working order. From that moment the property became very remunerative.

"Another source of income ought to have been the sale of the scores to the publishers, several of whom have made fortunes with them. But the fact that Wagner was always in want of money put him in a disadvantageous position. 'Tristan,' for example, was sold for \$800, and 'Lohengrin' for \$80. Then, again, it was not till 1872 that the law extended the privilege of property from ten years to thirty years after the author's death. Wagner's works were then all out or sold except 'Parsifal.' His publishers, not he, pocketed the enormous increase of profit these extra twenty years of privilege conferred. And yet Wagner would have died a wealthy man, so great was the popularity of his works, had he not spent all he possessed, and much more, on Bayreuth. To understand this, one must begin by understanding that to say that Wagner was not a good man of business is merely to look at the question from the outside; if we go deeper we shall find, instead of this negative proposition, an affirmative one. Wagner refused to admit any business consideration in matters concerning art. According to him, venality, be it ever so apparently harmless and legitimate, is the death of real art, the essence of which, or rather the moral atmosphere of which, should always be absolute disinterestedness. This Wagner not only preached, but practiced."

HOLLAND'S GIRL QUEEN.

WILHELMINA, last month crowned Queen of the Netherlands, is the subject of an interesting sketch by Winslow Bates in the *National Magazine* for October.

The story of the young Queen's life as a princess runs as follows:

"It was about 6 o'clock on August 31, 1880, that the report of a cannon in the barracks at The Hague announced to the world that an heir to the throne of the Netherlands had been born. The glad tidings clicked over the wires to every crowned head in Europe. The

Hague bedecked itself in holiday attire the same as it did recently at the coronation, and grand illuminations lit up the land, while the sedate old burgher who kept the official books dipped his pen calmly into the ink-well and entered on the city register as a new birth the name of 'Wilhelmina Helena Paulina Maria.' The birth of this little Princess was an event of profound importance, as the ruthless hand of death had caused break after break in the house of Orange, and the question as to the succession to the throne was becoming indeed a perplexing problem. The father to this Princess, King William III., the last male member of the house of Orange and a ruler not entirely exemplary in every way, died in 1890, from which date to the present coronation his wife Emma, as Queen Regent, has had a two-fold task of a magnitude such as a woman is seldom called upon to bear. With what success she has held the reins of government and educated her daughter to become a queen the world by this time knows quite well. For the heritage which the Queen mother passed to her daughter on the day of coronation was greater by far than the one she received from the departed King, her husband. It is not strange, then, that the prayer of the fatherland to-day is that Holland may be as happy and as prosperous under the young Queen's reign as it was under that of her mother's.

THE QUEEN'S YOUTH.

"It is now something of an old story how Wilhelmina passed through the days of her youth. For a long time she has been at once both an interesting and a fascinating personality among the royalties of Europe, and in consequence her life so far has not been left unsung. We know, for instance, that in all her eighteen years there has probably never been a day in which she would not have gladly exchanged her royal lot for that of some ordinary little Dutch girl. Were you to ask her why, she would let you know that it is no fun to be a princess with the prospect of being a queen ahead of you. She has had to study long and laboriously—not alone on the usual lessons of youth, but upon many subjects which do not generally come within the range of a girl of her years—political economy, for example, the national constitution, and the legal relation of royalty to the state. She had no brothers or sisters, and playmates have been sadly wanting. Privileges and pleasures that would belong naturally to every other child have been denied her because of the certain amount of seclusion necessary to keep her away from the reach of partisan influences and court intrigues, until, at least, she was old enough to act upon her own judgment. Despite, how-

ever, all these restrictions, Wilhelmina has grown up to be a wonderfully right-minded and well-balanced girl. What beauty she possesses we may learn in a nutshell from a recent quotation from the American press, which, although a bit irreverent, is all that is characteristic: 'Wilhelmina is a member of the house of Orange, but personally she is a "peach."'

HER TRAINING FOR RULERSHIP.

"Her very retirement has made it possible for her to be the recipient of an unusually complete and comprehensive education. She knows four or five languages besides her own, and of these English is her favorite, a language which she both reads and speaks with pronounced accuracy. The routine of the day, which previous to her coronation she lived with the utmost regularity, is an interesting one. She rose at 7 the year round, breakfasted at 8, and at 9 promptly commenced her lessons. At half-past 11 she went to drive in an open carriage, regardless of the weather. A luncheon with her mother at half-past 12 was followed by another short drive, this time with the Queen Regent or by one of her governesses. On her return lessons occupied her attention once more until 4 o'clock, after which time she was free to amuse herself at will until half-past 6, when dinner was served. At 10 o'clock each night the little Queen was in bed as regularly as she was out of it the next morning at 7.

"And so the girl grew up in grace and goodness, with the result that no queen in the wide world enjoys a more devoted reverence than is felt for this young sovereign, whose education has been one to fit her to rule with justice, prudence, and wisdom—an education watched over constantly by her mother, who has kept her child pure and true in heart, simple in her tastes, tender in her sympathies, and wise beyond her years in considering questions of state and what involve human progress and prosperity."

WHAT SHOULD THE CITY OWN?

IN the August number of *City Government* are published the addresses before the recent convention of the League of American Municipalities held at Detroit. One of the most effective and pointed of these addresses was that delivered by Mayor Samuel M. Jones, of Toledo, Ohio, on the subject of municipal ownership.

The subjoined extracts make clear the general tenor and purpose of Mayor Jones' remarks:

"Public ownership is only another name for coöperation, and in Great Britain and Europe, where they are older than we, they have come to

understand that the good of the individual can only be found and conserved by seeking the good of all. When Glasgow, Leeds, and Plymouth adopted public ownership of the street railroads they bettered the service, reduced fares, shortened hours of labor, and raised the wages of men. Every city in this or any other country that municipalizes its work of improvement, substitutes day labor for contract, gets better work, pays better wages, and usually shortens the hours of labor, not only making money, but what is infinitely of more importance, making men."

PUBLIC OWNERSHIP AND GOOD CITIZENSHIP.

"The growth of sentiment in favor of public ownership, as seen in this convention of representative men, indicates that the mind of the people is rapidly clarifying on this question. They are beginning to see that no good reason exists why all of the people in the city shall say to a few of the people—the lighting company, the water-works company, the street-railroad company—'Now, all of us will give you [a few of us] the right to get rich off from the rest of us.' Large numbers of the people are beginning to see that the only wealth that is in any sense theirs is the commonwealth, and with instincts that are perfectly natural they are striving to regain possessions that have passed out of their hands, usually through the practice of deception and fraud."

"But the greatest good that we are to find through municipal ownership will be found in the improved quality of our citizenship. . . . The people will learn that they can serve themselves better without profit than a private corporation can serve them with profit as an incentive for their effort."

"The movement for public ownership is government seeking the good of all as against the individual who seeks only his own good. It is a recognition of the fundamental fact that the humblest citizen is entitled to the greatest degree of comfort that associated effort can provide. It is organized love manifesting itself in service. It is patriotism of the highest and purest type. It is a practical demonstration of the brotherhood of man. It is the casting down of idols and the lifting up of ideals. It is dethroning the millionaire and exalting the millions."

WEALTH AND PATRIOTISM.

"I deny any man the right to say that I am making a warfare upon wealth. I am pleading for more wealth. I am pleading that more of our people now doomed to hopeless poverty may share in the wealth that their hands have produced. I plead that the captains of industry,

the men who are honored for their ability as bankers and financiers, as street-railroad magnates, as managers and owners of great railroad corporations, express and telegraph companies—I plead with these as fellow-citizens of a republic of equals; I plead with them from the standpoint of one who loves his fellow-men with a passion that will never die. And I say to you, my brothers, who hold in your hands the wealth of the world, where is your patriotism? Do you love your country? If you do, then you love your fellow-men, and there never was an hour of greater need that you should manifest your love for your fellow-men than the present hour; that you should cease your hoarding of dollars and turn your attention to your idle brothers and devote your ability, not to amassing more wealth for yourselves, but to saving the people, of whom you are one, from the fearful social distress and agony of this hour. I am not asking for charity; we have too much of that. Charity seeks to continue the present order, seeks to palliate the trouble for to-day; but I am pleading for a social order of fair play, a social order of doing as you would be done by; and I deny any man or woman the right to any claim to a love of country unless that man or woman is as ready to serve the country in times of peace as the most devoted soldier in time of war."

"Under the private-contract system of labor in one of the cities of Ohio last year the contractor put laborers in competition with each other for the work of digging a sewer by the foot, with the result, as I was told by the civil engineer of that city, that those laborers received less than fifty cents a day. In another city of Ohio laborers on the street improvement and repair received less than two hundred dollars for their year's work, the labor market being so overstocked that they could only be employed less than half time in order that all might have a little work. Yet in that very same city there are men who used the streets and piled up in profits hundreds of thousands of dollars, wholly unconscious of their guilt in using streets kept up at the cost of the lives of other men."

THE SOCIAL CONSCIENCE.

"Gentlemen of the convention, the great service that is to be performed for the people of this country through the medium of public ownership is the awakening of the social conscience, the arousing of a pure and noble conception of patriotism, the bringing up of a class of men and women too good and too noble to consent to live at the expense of the lives of their fellows. It is because I see the rainbow of promise in public ownership that shall secure for us as a people

this larger realization of liberty that I plead for it. It is because I know that only in the good of all is the real good of the individual to be found that I plead for collective work. It is because I stand like many of you day after day with hopeless and hungry men, pleading that they might be allowed to work, that I raise my voice in their behalf. It is not because I would stir up dissension or cause trouble; it is because I would avoid trouble and point the way to the smooth sea of prosperity that I speak for these men."

TAKE CARE OF THE BOYS!

MR. B. PAUL NEUMAN, a philanthropist who has for several years past conducted a highly successful boys' club in the north of London, contributes to the *Fortnightly Review* for September a very interesting and suggestive paper under the title "Take Care of the Boys." He lays stress upon the more or less admitted failure of many methods adopted for the purpose of saving the boys of our great cities after they have left school.

THE IDEAL BOYS' CLUB.

He thinks that the method by which most good can be done is by the institution of boys' clubs founded on some such ideal as the reformatory at Elmira. The boys' clubs of the ordinary sort Mr. Neuman regards as worse than useless. The boys' club which he wishes to see established is a serious undertaking seriously entered upon, reasonably furnished and fitted, and staffed with workers who mean business and who have counted the cost. Such a club makes large demands on the loyalty and patience of its members. Order must be maintained, lessons must be learned, progress must be tested by examinations, good manners must be insisted upon, and *esprit de corps* cultivated. In order to induce boys to surrender their independence and take up the burdensome features, one of the first conditions is that the club should be overwhelmingly attractive. Mr. Neuman then describes what he considers to be the requisites of a really fine club.

THE RECREATIVE DEPARTMENT.

In the first place, it is absolutely necessary that it should be open every night in the week. Secondly, it should begin with comparatively few members and should grow. To begin with numbers which make personal relations between the managers and boys impossible is simply to court disaster. The best plan is to begin with twenty and to add ten or fifteen new members year by year till the limit of the club's capacity is reached.

In order to make the club attractive there must be constant variety :

"A good gymnasium with first-class apparatus is the alpha but not the omega of the recreative department. Football and cricket can easily be practiced in the gymnasium and will be prodigiously popular. Then roller-skates, racquets and fives, air gun shooting, boxing, fencing and single-stick, billiards, draughts, chess, dominoes and round games; for luxuries, a home trainer, two or three bicycles, and if possible, as a crowning glory, a small tiled plunge-bath. With such an outfit there is not a quarter in London in which you could not fill your club within a week—if you were foolish enough to desire it."

THE EDUCATIVE SIDE.

"Side by side with the recreative, and of at least equal importance, must come the educational department. And here there must be some kind of system. A regular course should be mapped out, with annual examinations, by which the boys' standing in the club may be regulated, a course which might take at least three years to complete, by which time the lads would be able to profit by the opportunities for higher education in technical schools or university extension classes.

"The teaching in these club classes must be good. Boys trained in board schools are accustomed, for the most part, to good teaching, and will be quick to detect ignorance and incompetence. And if it is found impossible to get good voluntary teachers, there is nothing for it but to have paid ones. In many localities it would be possible to utilize the existing evening classes. In fact, the club and the continuation school might supplement each other's deficiencies and work together to their mutual advantage.

NOT SELF-GOVERNED.

"Another point of the first importance is that such a club is not the field for experiments in self-government. There must be no playing at management by committees of the boys themselves. It is of the very essence of a really good club that it should be something more and higher than the boys would plan for themselves. And since ultimately the decision on matters of importance must rest with the manager or managers, it is far better to recognize the fact in the constitution of the club.

"Perhaps it may sharpen the outlines of this sketch if I erect here an ideal club-house to accommodate some hundred and fifty active members and perhaps another fifty seniors—more or less occasional visitors.

THE BUILDING NEEDED.

"On the ground-floor would be the porter's room, where the light refreshments are prepared; the gymnasium, 80 feet by 40 feet; the junior common room, 30 feet by 20 feet, with a couple of half-sized billiard-tables; and a small manager's room, where new boys could be interviewed and unruly ones persuaded or coerced into virtue. On the first floor would be the senior common room (40 feet by 40 feet), with a full-sized billiard-table; the library and reading-room, 30 feet by 20 feet; three or four small class-rooms, and a music-room, 20 feet by 20 feet, with a piano. On the second floor, the caretaker's rooms and perhaps three or four dormitories for occasional use. Then in the basement would be the lavatories, a bath-room (30 feet by 20 feet) fitted with a couple of cabinet Turkish baths and a small plunge, and a dressing-room (20 feet by 20 feet) lined with lockers. Such a building, it must be remembered, could be put to many uses during the day and early evening. For its specific work it would open its doors about 8 o'clock."

BIMANUAL TRAINING.

IN the *International Studio* for September Mr. H. Bloomfield Bare, an English art instructor, makes a plea for the training of children in the use of both hands, rather than of one. He complains that one-handedness has been fostered and cultivated by all classes of society, though ambidexterity would be a positive advantage in countless instances, and at least would lend more grace and readiness to many of our actions. From infancy the child is almost invariably directed to use the right hand in preference to the left, notwithstanding any natural tendency shown to use right and left hands alike.

In the handicrafts ability to use the tools in either hand is often a convenience and advantage to the workman. Mr. Bare estimates that not fewer than two hundred and forty crafts, trades, and occupations, including for example those of the musician and the surgeon, are largely dependent on ambidexterous skill.

A method of bimanual training was put in operation in the public schools of Philadelphia about fourteen years ago. The exercises largely consist of blackboard-drawing with both hands, clay-modeling, and carving in wood. Although this training is not made compulsory, about two thousand boys and girls devote a half day each week to it. The course extends through two years, and instead of its interfering with the progress of other studies, this work is found to be altogether helpful; the deportment, character, and intelli-

gence of the children are said to be greatly improved by it.

NORMAL MUSCULAR DEVELOPMENT.

Mr. Bare emphasizes the marked difference between the control of the muscular movements of the normally healthy child and the control of the same movements exercised by the adult. Experiments by Professor Hancock, of Clark University, upon a large number of children in the first years of school life tend to prove that the larger muscles come first under control, the order of development of control being body, shoulder, arm, forearm, hand. The hand power is latent while the arm power is developing, but the hand power gains and eventually surpasses the arm power.

Mr. Bare shows how blackboard-drawing exercises may be employed to bring into action the whole arm from the shoulder joint. Pupils are trained to swing large circles on the blackboard at a single stroke, first with one hand, then with the other. Patterns are also drawn with both hands working in unison. Complex forms, too, are reversed upside down and done right and left as a training of the eye in measurement and proportion.

A MODERN ROBINSON CRUSOE.

IN the *Wide World Magazine* for September there begins a narrative which is described as the story of the most amazing experiences a man ever lived to tell. M. Louis de Rougemont, the hero of this extraordinary story, is a Frenchman born at Paris in 1844. When he was nineteen years of age he went to the far East to make his fortune, and in 1863 invested his little money with a pearl-fishery adventurer who sailed from Batavia. Louis de Rougemont and his partner, Peter Jensen, sailed in 1863 in a forty-ton schooner named the *Veielland* to go on a pearl-fishing expedition with a crew of Malays off the south of New Guinea.

WITH THE PEARL-FISHERS.

Despite the occasional attacks of devil-fish as terrible as that described by Victor Hugo and the constant presence of sharks, which used to be hunted and captured by the pearl-fishers, the trip was extremely successful. At the end of the season in 1864 the take of pearls was valued by Captain Jensen at £50,000. They had a very fair share of adventures while pursuing their calling in the New Guinea waters, and on one occasion had to use the argument of grapeshot in order to allay the animosity of the natives, after which fishing off New Guinea became impossible. Off they went, therefore, to some

hitherto unexplored fishing-grounds, the precise locality of which M. de Rougemont does not know. There they obtained three magnificent black pearls, a treasure which led Jensen to continue fishing two months after he ought to have stopped and gone home. The season ends usually in May. He went on fishing till July.

SWEPT AWAY BY A STORM.

One morning Jensen and eleven of the crew left the ship in the little boats for the pearl fishery, leaving De Rougemont and a dog alone on board the ship. A great storm arose which swept the ship away, carrying De Rougemont and the dog with it. Of Captain Jensen and the Malays nothing was seen or heard again. For several days the vessel drove before the wind, and when the storm abated De Rougemont tried to steer her westward with the aid of long steering oars, for the rudder had been smashed in the storm. After thirteen days he approached the Australian coast and ran into a narrow strait between Melville and Bathurst Island. There he was attacked by natives, but hoisting the mainsail he stood for the open sea, where for four days he sailed along without incident. But on the fourth day the vessel struck a coral reef and remained fixed.

TWO YEARS ALONE ON A SAND-BANK.

He made a raft and succeeded in reaching a small sand-bank which rose a few feet out of the waters of the lagoon. It was 100 yards long, 10 yards wide, and only 8 feet above the sea at high water. Upon this sand-spit De Rougemont lived for the next two and a half years. He rescued sufficient salvage from the wreck to provide himself with a sleeping-place and with food. Early in his sojourn on this desolate sand-spit he discovered a singular hole in the sand about two feet deep. On scratching the sand he came upon human remains, and in an hour unearthed sixteen complete skeletons. Plenty of sea-birds visited the island, whose eggs supplied him with food. In his youth he had taken a keen interest in archery, and he had with him a bow and arrows, with which he was able to secure birds for his table. A fire he made by striking a steel tomahawk against a stone one; and having once obtained fire, he never allowed it to go out during the whole time he remained on the island.

A CRUSOE WITHOUT CLOTHES.

He went about perfectly nude, but landed from the ship the greater part of the cargo, including its valuable pearl-shells, of which they had over thirty tons on board, the value of which he computed at several thousands. The pearls of course

he removed and buried in the sand, where they remain to this day. By way of amusement he built himself a house of the pearl-shells, the walls of which were 7 feet high, 3 feet thick, and 10 feet long. Finding a stock of seeds in the captain's cabin, he planted them in a soil prepared by mixing the sand with the blood of the turtles which he killed, and very soon had crops of corn from which he was able to obtain straw to thatch his house. He caught plenty of fish, and further supplemented his store by robbing the pelicans of the fish which they brought to land for their young ones. He made a hammock out of shark's hide and generally behaved himself after the fashion of Robinson Crusoe. He had an English Testament which he read aloud until he nearly went mad by worrying himself over theological difficulties. He then set to work to build a boat out of the remains of the ship. He succeeded after seven months in building a heavy sailing boat 12 feet long by 4 feet wide. He launched it and then discovered that he had built it on the wrong side of his island, and that the boat was floating in a lagoon from which there was no access to the open sea. During all this time his dog was his only companion, and by continually talking to him he found him not a bad substitute for a human being.

A PELICAN MAIL SERVICE.

It was seven months after he had been cast away that he first saw a sail on the horizon. Altogether in the course of two and a half years five ships passed the sand-spit, but he failed utterly to attract their attention. Water he never lacked for; when rain-water gave out he condensed sea-water in his kettle. Seeing that pelicans were in the habit of visiting the island and flying away into unknown space, he conceived the idea of utilizing them as messengers. He scratched a message with a sharp nail on the tin disk which forms the bottom of tins of condensed milk. This message he prepared in English, French, Dutch, German, and Italian. He fastened them round the necks of the pelicans by means of fish gut and shark hide. The birds flew away and never returned to the island. Twenty years afterward, on his return to civilization, some old inhabitants of Freemantle told him that a pelican carrying a tin disk round its neck bearing a message in French had been found many years previously by an old boatman on the beach near the mouth of the Swan River.

On one occasion his island was visited by a flock of parrots, who ate up nearly all his green corn and then went off. He made an almanac with piles of shells, keeping account of the years by making notches on his bow.

FOUR DERELICT VISITORS.

After two years he heard his dog barking wildly on the beach. Rushing down to the shore, he saw a catamaran nearing the island upon which several human beings were lying prostrate. When the catamaran came near to the island he saw that it was surrounded by sharks and carried four black persons—a man, a woman, and two boys—all lying prostrate from exhaustion. He drove off the sharks, beached the catamaran, and carried the blacks into his hut. After considerable efforts he succeeded in reviving them. They were very frightened, imagining that they had died and were in the presence of the Great Spirit. He lived with them some time on the island and succeeded in teaching them some English. The man was always sullen and superstitious, so that De Rougemont found it necessary to keep a strict eye upon his movements and to deprive him of spears or other weapons with which he might take his life. After they had been six months on the island they succeeded in dragging the heavy boat across the sand-spit and launching it on the opposite side. They then took on board a liberal allowance of food and water, buried the box of pearls deep in the sand on one end of the island, and leaving the hut of pearl-shells intact, they set sail in the direction indicated by the native woman, who was the most intelligent of the quartette. On the fifth day they sighted a small island, and on the tenth day they reached the Australian mainland.

GREETED AS IF A GOD.

His native fellow-passengers at once landed, and by means of smoke signals announced their arrival to the tribes in the vicinity. An immense crowd speedily assembled and behaved as if he were a god. They then provided him with a wife, a young woman who remained his wife for one day only. On the following day he effected an exchange with the man who had been cast ashore on his island. The man was glad to obtain a younger wife, while De Rougemont was delighted to obtain a companion with whom he could converse in English and who regarded him with dog-like fidelity which more than once saved his life. The locality where he landed was the Cambridge Gulf, on the north-northwest coast of Australia. The natives possess a certain degree of civilization. He settled down among the natives, who held him in high honor. His description of his life among the black men has hardly been commenced, and the story is to be continued month after month until it is finished.

This story of a European who has lived thirty years among savages in a country that has

hitherto never been explored is one without precedent or parallel. The editor of the *Wide World Magazine* declares that he has satisfied himself by the closest investigation of the absolute accuracy of all the statements made by M. de Rougemont.

IN SANTIAGO DURING THE FIGHTING.

THE October *McClure's* publishes some extremely interesting extracts from the diary of the British consul at Santiago, Frederick W. Ramsden, who made this contemporary chronicle of the facts known to the dwellers in the doomed town during the entire period covered by the hostilities. It is a remarkably clear and dispassionate account, which will be valuable as historical material. We quote some extracts of special interest :

HOBSON AND ACOSTA.

"Monday, June 6.—I can't pretend to say how many shots have been fired, but firing was continuous from 8 to half-past 10, and a lot of powder has been wasted. I know now that the first lieutenant of the *Reina Mercedes*, Acosta, a first-rate fellow, has been killed. A shell took off his right leg, but he continued to give orders for the care of the other wounded until he died. Five seamen of that ship have been killed and three dangerously wounded.

"Tuesday, June 7.—To-day we have buried poor Acosta. Hobson, the American officer prisoner of war, and his associates were brought up from the Morro this morning and placed at the Cuartel Reina Mercedes. I had a long talk with him this afternoon and took a list of a few things he wanted. They are treating him very well and give him everything he wants. He feeds better than we can, and though only entitled to the regulation, they will not charge him for anything extra. On entering the barracks the first room on the left is the guard-room, and his is a continuation of that and therefore opens into it. It has a window looking out on where they used to play baseball and toward Caney. He is an exceedingly pleasant fellow, quite a young man, and every one likes him. His daring act has caused all to respect him, and he has won the hearts of his captors. The general gave me a message for him to the effect that they felt proud to have such a brave man among them, and they are really treating him more as a guest than a prisoner. He was much affected when I told him of the death of Acosta, and said : ' Why, he gave me his own cabin and bath to wash in when I got on board, and even lent me his un-

derclothes until I could get my own.' I now hear that no notification was given of the bombardment. They riddled several houses in Smith Cay, and a shell burst in that of Miguel Lopez. I have here a lot of pieces from it—an eight-inch shell. Neither the Buenos' nor Estengers' house was hurt. That of Arnax had a wall knocked down. The inhabitants rushed out to the other side of the island and got under the high land there."

EFFECT OF THE BOMBARDMENT.

"Thursday, June 9.—Yesterday there were twenty ships outside, so perhaps they may begin bombarding again. We shall see. The civil government is now embargoing all the provisions, but as the military had already taken most of them, they won't have much to embargo. Willie now makes our bread and his own every three days, and very good bread it is now that he has got the hang of it. We have flour at home for six weeks, besides some biscuit. Yesterday the public nearly drove me mad. Some one had run a report that a flag of truce had been sent in the day before to say that if the Spanish squadron did not go out within forty-eight hours they would bombard the town itself. I knew there was nothing of the kind, and also I knew that the flag of truce was with reference to an exchange of prisoners, but I could not tell them so. I did my best to assure them it was all nonsense, and promised to go to the military governor to find out ; which I did, of course with the anticipated result. All kinds of people had come to me, including judges and military. To-day the panic seems to be over. The news telegrams say that Sampson reports having silenced the forts here without losing a man, although he put his ships at 2,000 meters distant. The Socapa battery fired twenty-seven shots and that of Punta Gorda three. They did not fire more because, between the heavy rain and the smoke from the tremendous fire of the Americans, they could not see ; and I myself happened to see the three shots fired from the Punta Gorda battery, two of which were toward the end, and the third was the last shot fired, as I remarked at the time. Moderate people estimate the number of shots fired by the Americans to have been at least 1,500, and others put it at 2,000 or 3,000. Juragua iron bridge was damaged, and at the water-tank, a little further on, the line was obstructed with shells and the rails torn up in part. It seems they fired on the train coming up, but did not stop it. All the ground between here and the Morro and Aguadores is said to be strewn with remains of shell. These were principally six and eight inch, and I have sample

pieces here. The majority of British subjects have finally decided to hold on for the present, and I have cabled the commodore in that sense. Later they may not get the chance to go."

A NARROW ESCAPE FOR THE "PLUTON."

"Saturday, June 18.—At night on the 15th we heard a few shots and one very loud one. An officer of the *Pluton* told me last night that a big shell, which looked like a comet as it came, somewhat slowly, through the air, fell near them, between Smith Cay, and then came traveling in the water by means of a screw and burst just in front of their ship. He says that had theirs been a heavy ship it would have burst it up, but the little *Pluton*, which only draws seven and a half feet, was just lifted out of the water, and every one on board was thrown off his feet, but no one really hurt. The water round was strewn with dead fish, and the concussion was also felt by the *Mercedes*, which was behind the *Pluton*. He says it was a dynamite shell from the pneumatic gun of the *Vesuvius*, which had arrived on that day. Just now, 11 P.M., we heard half a dozen cannon-shot some way off. Miguel Lopez tells me that some of the soldiers stationed on the lower part of the Morro have seen people paddling about in the harbor entrance in tubs (*tinias*). These evidently must be india-rubber duck-shooting punts, in which you sit and have a bag for each leg, with a paddle at the bottom in order to move you in the water. They must be trying to get at the torpedoes in the bay or reconnoitering. Telegrams say that the Spanish Government refuses to exchange Hobson and his men. He will be disappointed. People are now beginning to die in the streets of hunger, and the misery is frightful in spite of so many having gone to the woods. There is no bread and, what is worse, there are no plantains or sweet potatoes; nor yams, and of course no foreign potatoes. There is plenty of rice, owing to the fortunate chance of the *Polaria* having been obliged to leave here her Havana cargo. Were it not for that the troops must starve. This latter is what the civilians will have to do, because, of course, there will be no giving in as long as the troops have something to eat. There are no onions, red beans, lard, pork, or anything that comes from abroad, except the *Polaria's* rice and barely (this latter intended for the beer manufactory in Havana). Orders have been issued not to give any maize to horses or pigs, but to keep it for the people. The military in command at San Luis Cristo and other country places will allow nothing to go into town, as they want to keep it all for themselves. The streets are full of beggars going round begging for what formerly was given to the pigs, but now

there is nothing over for the pigs. I saw a thirteen-inch shell which must have been from the *Massachusetts*. Any quantity of shell of all calibers are being picked up intact.

DEATHS FROM STARVATION.

"Friday, June 10.—Yesterday there were only thirteen ships outside, but to-day there are twenty-one. About midday they were firing on the shore near Baiquiri, probably on some of the troops moving round there. We are still in treaty for the *Adula*, but I fear quarantine will stop her coming. We hear from Martinique that at Guantanamo the telegraph clerk was going to Playa del Este to see if he could fix the cable, but we can get no news and have still no communication with Guantanamo; therefore we do not know what may have happened there. Yesterday any quantity of people left for the country, fearing the town bombardment to-day. Provisions are each day scarcer, and very soon there will be no meat, which to-day is at 70 cents per pound, eggs 10 cents each, etc. Nearly all the bakeries have now closed, for want of flour, and they are giving the troops a kind of bread made out of corn meal and flour, but they do not make it properly, and it is as hard as stone, and if they continue to feed them with this they will all very soon be ill. Already there have been some cases of deaths in the streets from starvation. It is reported that the other division of the Spanish fleet is well on its way from Spain, and that as soon as it appears the ships here in the port will go out and meet it, but it is not likely that Admiral Sampson will allow them to join. We are all hoping that the squadron may go, as it is the immediate cause of all our troubles and it is also eating us out. The military to-day bought 4,000 bags of rice of the *Polaria's* cargo stored here, in consequence of the ship having been unable to continue to Havana. A steamer from Halifax with provisions is now due here, but it is hardly to be expected she can get through this blockade. The forts here are really not forts: the Morro has a lot of very ancient guns, and I believe none of them is of any use. Also they may have two or three Krupp guns of small size, of under 2,000 yards' range. The only good guns they have are the two six-inch Hontorias on the Socapa earthwork battery and another Hontoria mounted after the bombardment on the Punta Gorda battery. They have three mortars of 800 yards' range on this battery, and they have also another Hontoria not yet taken up the hill and, of course, not mounted. These Hontorias were taken out of the *Reina Mercedes*. Therefore the only guns to oppose the attacking squadron were the two on Socapa battery."

MR. CARLISLE'S ARGUMENT AGAINST EXPANSION.

IN the October *Harper's* appears from the pen of ex-Secretary John G. Carlisle an earnest article on "Our Future Policy," in which he is warm in his opposition to the retention by the United States of the island territories now in doubt. He thinks that our ante-bellum protestations and our pledges in the maintenance of the Monroe doctrine are sufficient reasons for retiring from the war without the acquisition of the Philippines and the Ladrones. This question is a far larger one and more important than any other the war has aroused, a question which, if answered wrongly, may, he thinks, "prove fatal to the republican institutions under which we now live."

"But even if we were untrammelled by pledges, expressed or implied, or by our past declarations concerning the acquisition of territory in this hemisphere by other nations, there are abundant reasons, affecting our own economic and political interests, why we should not repudiate the conservative and safe policy which has made us the most compact, homogeneous, and progressive country in the world, and enter upon an unjustifiable and dangerous contest for dominion and power beyond the natural limits of our State and Federal systems of government—a contest in which success would prove to be the greatest calamity that could befall us as a nation. That our political institutions were not designed for the government of dependent colonies and provinces is a proposition which scarcely admits of discussion. This was intended to be a free republic, composed of self-governing States and intelligent, law-abiding, and liberty-loving people; and no one has ever heretofore supposed that any territory or community could be rightfully governed by the central authority, except for such period as might be necessary to prepare it for admission into the Union upon a footing of perfect equality with each of the other States.

GOVERNMENT OF CONQUERED TERRITORY.

"The un-American theory that Congress or the executive can permanently hold and govern any part of the United States in such manner as it or he may see proper is a necessary feature of the imperialism which now threatens the country; for it is evident that if this theory cannot be practically applied to the proposed additions to our territory, their possession will be a perpetual menace to our institutions. A large majority of the population which the advocates of conquest and annexation propose to incorporate by force into the body of American citizenship—the Chinese, Malays, half-breeds,

native pagans, and others—are not only wholly unfit to govern themselves, but incapable of being successfully governed under our free Constitution. If, however, territory is acquired, it must be governed by either direct Congressional legislation or by the inhabitants themselves, under such supervision and control as Congress can constitutionally exercise. At the close of the war the title to all the territory actually held in subjection by our military forces will, unless otherwise provided by stipulation or treaty, be vested in the United States for all public and political purposes. During the war, and while held by the military authorities, it will be subject to the laws of war and may be governed accordingly, because it is still enemy's country; and if a *de facto* government has been established by the military authorities during the occupation and is in existence when peace is concluded, that government may be continued for a reasonable time afterward, in order that persons and property may be protected until the laws of the new sovereign can be extended over it. This exceptional form of government is justifiable only on the ground of necessity, and consequently it can be rightfully continued only for a sufficient time to enable the new proprietor to establish its own civil authority over the conquest or cession.

NO DESPOTISM IN TIME OF PEACE.

"But this *de facto* military government cannot, after the war is over, exercise any authority inconsistent with the Constitution of the United States. There is no room for a military despotism or for the exercise of arbitrary power by the civil authorities anywhere within the jurisdiction of the United States in time of peace; and whenever the Philippine Islands, Puerto Rico, or other islands shall become part of our territory, their inhabitants will be entitled to all the rights, privileges, and immunities secured to the people by the Constitution. While held by the military forces, after the cessation of hostilities, the officials representing the *de facto* government may administer the local affairs and establish rules and regulations for the preservation of peace and order, but the fundamental rights of the people must be respected.

"'It cannot be admitted,' says the Supreme Court in a well-considered case, 'that the King of Spain could, by treaty or otherwise, impart to the United States any of his royal prerogatives; and much less can it be admitted that they have capacity to receive or power to exercise them. Every nation acquiring territory, by treaty or otherwise, must hold it subject to the Constitution and laws of its own government, and not according to those of the government ceding it.'"

WHAT TRADES MAY BE ARISTOCRATIC?

IN the October *Cosmopolitan* Prof. Harry Thurston Peck has a clever essay on "The New American Aristocracy," in the course of which he takes occasion to separate those trades whose exponents may hope to "be received" from those beyond the pale—a set of distinctions curious enough in the mystery of their derivation.

"Thus, as in England, we find that banking is entirely respectable; and likewise stock-broking, though in England this is not the case. Railroads are highly thought of, and so are iron and gas and coal; but pork and oil and 'dry goods' require at least one generation to make them socially acceptable. Patent medicines are doubtful, and boots and shoes are quite impossible; but leather and soap have been let in, and tobacco is all right. You may publish books, and, for that matter, you may even write them. You may be a jeweler or a decorator or an agent for a foreign steamship line. You may tout for a new brand of champagne. In Chicago you may keep a hotel and still entertain dukes and princes as your private guests; but in New York the case is different, for here hotel-keeping is ruled out. Yet if you have made a fortune from your hostelry and are then obliging enough to die, your widow may become a social leader and your children may marry any one they please."

THE FLY IN THE OINTMENT.

Professor Peck admits the presence of an American aristocracy:

"A marvelous amount of zeal and patience and money went to the making of it. Those who are of it may well be proud of their achievement, for from a spectacular point of view the thing is really a remarkable success; and now that they have found in Mr. Richard Harding Davis a gifted writer to describe their millinery and their manners, and in Mr. Gibson an artist to depict their physical perfections, it must surely seem as though they ought to be content.

"Unfortunately there appears to be somewhere concealed a crumpled rose-leaf, a fatal fly within the ointment. The fact that is just now so terribly depressing to our ready-made patricians is

the lack of any general recognition from the common herd, a general refusal to take them at all seriously. And this is fatal to an aristocratic ideal. It is all very well to feel intensely that you are a most superior person and that you are better than most of those you meet, but if you can't get them to think so too, you will only half enjoy your lofty station; you will very often be made quite unhappy. When you go forth expecting to receive on every hand the deference due to your patrician rank and aristocratic manner, and find that nearly every one regards you simply as a joke, what is the use of being a patrician? If the comic papers make all manner of fun of you and you are the subject of 'gags' upon the stage; if coarse, unfeeling persons of the lower orders attract your attention by saying 'Hey there!' and utterly forget to touch their hats and call you 'sir,' you might almost as well be just an ordinary plebeian; for the true joy of being an aristocrat comes from the recognition of the fact by others—from the admission by them of your superiority and of their own inferiority. This is what greatly troubles our new aristocracy. When its members are seated in the corner of a club smoking-room with deferential servants to minister to their wants and with only their fellow-aristocrats about them, then they can imagine for the moment that the thing is real, and they can feel something of the splendid high-bred *nonchalance* of a Strathmore or a Bertie Cecil; but when they chance to find themselves among a miscellaneous crowd they have a most unhappy hunted look, as of a rabbit suddenly let loose in the middle of a roadway. This question of recognition is really the question on which the whole subject turns. You can with unlimited money create a sort of aristocracy. You can secure all the externals; you can accurately imitate the internal life. But how are you going to get the world at large to accept it and give it a definite place in the national system? In other words, what are the conditions necessary to convert a ready-made and money-made aristocracy into one deserving to be perpetuated? This is really a most interesting question and one that is worthy of some serious reflection."



THE PERIODICALS REVIEWED.

THE CENTURY MAGAZINE.

THE October *Century* begins with an unusually vivid and readable sketch of Edouard Detaille, written by Armand Dayot, Chief Inspector of Fine Arts in Paris, and illustrated with many striking reproductions of Detaille's types of soldiers, French, German, and Russian. M. Dayot takes Detaille's artistic mission very seriously indeed. Never, he says, was the soul of artist more completely reflected in his work. And he describes the beautiful paintings of the French army as having been composed under a majestic and solemn grandeur of style, with a background of burning patriotism, deep historical conscientiousness, and almost boyish enthusiasm.

In the domain of popular science there is an interesting essay, by Prof. George H. Darwin, on the phenomenon of "Bores"—the great waves which are seen in the estuaries where broad flats make the tide rise with great rapidity.

W. F. Bailey gives an account of the thrilling experiences of the old-time "Pony Express" institution, illustrated with some finely dramatic pictures of the vicissitudes of pony expressing by Fernand Lungren.

Prof. Dean C. Worcester discusses "Some Knotty Problems of the Philippines," and there are further extracts from the journal of Jonathan S. Jenkins, the American painter of miniatures, entitled "Life and Society in Old Cuba."

Dr. Albert Shaw writes of the Omaha Exposition and the conditions of life in Nebraska and Kansas which led up to it, under the title "The Trans-Mississippians and Their Fair at Omaha." He explains that the financial disrepute from which Kansas and Nebraska have suffered in the last few years should by no means apply to all of those States, unhomogeneous as they are in climate and soil. Eastern Nebraska and eastern Kansas are not at all different from western Missouri and western Iowa, where corn, wheat, oats, and cultivated hay can be raised abundantly. But in arguing from the eastern portions to the western, the population of western Nebraska and Kansas made a huge mistake in supposing that these staple crops could be raised. This population went ahead as if crops were certain, and prepared for a ready-made civilization based on this certainty. After the boom was well on towns had been laid out, county, school, and municipal bonds sold, extensive farm machinery bought, and other indebtedness entered into. It was found that the cereals would not mature profitably in the vast lands which had been taken up. These Western lands were, however, well adapted for cattle-raising, and after a period of intense stress, when this disappointed population was settling down to hard reality, Kansas and Nebraska are entering on a new era of prosperity. In the western parts hundreds of millions of dollars' worth of cattle are raised to be sold through the clearing-house stock-yards of Omaha and Kansas City to the crop-raising farmers, who fatten them and supply all America with beef. Dr. Shaw is reasonably optimistic in his view of present conditions in these two much-harassed States, and thinks that the time has really come when the Kansas and Nebraska farmer is paying his debts instead of borrowing more

money. If he does wish to borrow for legitimate purposes he can do so at the local banks at 6 per cent., which is a great improvement over the old *régime*. Dr. Shaw thinks there is a definite political tendency to lose sight of the silver question, now that this era of comparatively good times has set in. The outward and visible sign of this prosperous era is the Omaha Exposition. Dr. Shaw proceeds to describe the brave show of cattle exhibits, farm machinery, tree-planting, dairy products, flax-producing, and sugar-beet culture which appears now at Omaha. Of the sugar-beet culture he says it is not making the farmers rich, but it has given a touch of variety to their output, and above all it is a sure crop. About the two best factories which he mentions there is a radius in each instance of fifteen miles, in which every farmer raises from five to twenty acres of beets, producing an average of twenty tons an acre, for which he receives five dollars a ton.

Prof. William M. Sloane, who was the author of the *Century's* "Life of Napoleon Bonaparte," writes on Bismarck, giving his personal and collected impressions of the great German statesman.

HARPER'S MAGAZINE.

THE article on "The Santiago Campaign" by Caspar Whitney in the October *Harper's* is noticed in another department.

The principal travel sketch in this number is entitled "On the Roof of the World," and is composed of notes on a journey through Asia by Sven Hedin. During the three and a half years of his journeyings this traveler had many adventures and difficulties, and became acquainted with regions which had been practically unknown to occidentals.

Ex-Secretary Carlisle's paper on "Our Future Policy" is decidedly conservative and anti-imperialistic. It welcomes an Anglo-American understanding, but not a formal alliance. Mr. Carlisle is unalterably opposed to our territorial expansion in the Pacific. We have quoted from his paper in our "Leading Articles."

Rev. Dr. William E. Griffis contributes an interesting *résumé* of the doings of our navy in Asiatic waters, beginning with early visits to China and Japan and ending with Admiral Dewey's conquest of Manila. Our naval history in the far East has not been without its stirring episodes, as for example the famous action of Commodore Tattnall, who declared that "blood was thicker than water" and went to the aid of British men-of-war in Chinese waters.

Mr. George W. Smalley concludes his reminiscent papers on Mr. Gladstone. While recognizing the passionate and emotional quality which made Gladstone a great orator, Mr. Smalley declares that the man himself was greater than his oratory, greater than his deeds:

"It is not what he did, but what he was, which was felt most deeply and will be longest remembered. Gladstone the man, the extraordinary being who for more than sixty years fascinated the world in which he lived, overmastered it, compelled other men to do his will because he was a greater force than they, because he had qualities they had not, because he was of other

fiber, of other mold, of loftier, broader, nobler nature than almost any of his time—that is the Gladstone before whom the world has bowed. It is the Gladstone whose memory his countrymen and ours in all time to come will treasure as a possession like none other.”

SCRIBNER'S MAGAZINE.

IN our department of “Leading Articles of the Month” we quote from Mr. Richard Harding Davis' account of “The Battle of San Juan” in the October *Scribner's*. In the same number there is a description of the conduct of the American regulars at El Caney, by Capt. Arthur H. Lee, R.A., British military attaché. Mr. James F. Archibald writes on “The Day of the Surrender of Santiago.”

Mr. John R. Spears describes the methods of naval news-getting employed by the great New York papers during the war with Spain. After naming some of the items of daily expense to which the papers were put during the war, Mr. Spears says:

“The reader of commercial instincts is likely to ask if the expense brought a profitable return, and I can say emphatically that in the narrow sense of the question it did not. But so far as we were able to sustain an old-time reputation for accuracy, expedition, and completeness in such matters—if we were, indeed, able to add to that reputation a bit—then the money so spent was better than gold bonds in the vaults, and the efforts made more satisfactory than any known to a lifetime spent in the newspaper business.”

Mr. Walter A. Wyckoff continues the story of his journeyings as a common laborer from Chicago to Denver. Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge is approaching the end of his “Story of the Revolution,” narrating in this number the episode of Arnold's treason. A brief essay on “American Popularity” in Europe is contributed by Aline Gorren.

THE COSMOPOLITAN MAGAZINE.

THE opening article in the *Cosmopolitan* for October is an account of “The Trans-Mississippi Exposition” at Omaha by Octave Thanet (Miss Alice French). The pictures illustrate the architecture of the exposition, which is a conscious imitation of the type developed at the World's Fair of 1893. There are also several photographs of the Indian exhibit, which is one of the chief attractions of the fair. Miss French votes the exposition a complete success, and declares that with the single exception of the Chicago fair it is “the finest, the most interesting, and the most wonderful, as well as the most beautiful, of American expositions.”

In the series of articles on “Great Problems of Organization” Mr. Theodore Dreiser describes “The Chicago Packing Industry.” Mr. Dreiser states that the plant of the Stockyards Company—exclusive of its great packing establishments—represents about \$5,000,000, and 1,000 employees work for the company. This should not be confused with the statistics of individual firms in the grounds. For example, the Armour plant is worth many more millions, and 6,000 men work for him alone. The growth of the traffic since the organization of the Stockyards Company can be understood from the statistics of that time and the present. In 1865, for instance, the number of cattle packed was 27,172; in 1897, 2,508,185; the number of hogs packed in 1865 was 507,355 and in 1897 4,878,467. A vast number of

cattle are received and shipped out alive. The statistics show that in 1865 330,901 and in 1897 3,884,280 cattle were handled. The figures for hogs are 8,078,095 in 1897, as against 849,811 in 1865. Add to this for 1897 the receipt of over 2,300,000 sheep, 100,000 horses, and nearly 300,000 calves, and note that there were shipped out, cattle, 1,350,000, calves, 82,000, hogs, over 2,000,000, and over 1,000,000 sheep and horses, and an estimate can be had of the immense business interests that are cared for daily by this company.

Mr. S. T. Willis describes the great free-lecture system conducted under the auspices of the New York City Board of Education. Under this system last season 1,860 lectures were given to a total attendance (estimated) of 698,200 people. During the last eight years the increase of attendance at the lectures had been more than sixteen-fold and in the number of lectures about ten-fold. Dr. Leipziger, the superintendent of this work, recently said: “There are thousands of men and women who find at these lectures stimulus and guidance, and who carry on by means of this stimulus their higher education with their every-day work.”

McCLURE'S MAGAZINE.

FROM the October number of *McClure's* we have selected the article by Mr. Stephen Bonsal, who was an eye-witness of the fighting before Santiago, for notice in our department of “Leading Articles,” and also the diary of the late Consul Ramsden at Santiago.

One of the most striking features of this number of *McClure's* is Mr. Edward A. Fitz Gerald's story of the climb to the summit of Aconcagua, the highest mountain in America. Mr. Fitz Gerald, who already had a high reputation as a mountain climber, was accompanied in his venture by Zurbriggen, his well-trieved guide, and two others. His account of the sufferings which the party endured at altitudes of from 21,000 to 22,000 feet ought to be sufficient to deter all inexperienced persons from attempting such an ascent. They not only had great trouble in breathing, but were overcome by nausea, and became so enfeebled that for a time their lives were in great peril. Unfortunately the summit of the mountain was enveloped in clouds and snow was falling, so that it was impossible to make observations of any value. But six days later the summit of Aconcagua was reached a second time by members of Mr. Fitz Gerald's party. On this occasion the weather was favorable, and it was possible to make interesting and important observations. These will be described in a second paper by Mr. Fitz Gerald, soon to be published in *McClure's*.

A very brief paper by Elsie Reasoner, entitled “What a Young Girl Saw at Siboney,” bears interesting testimony to the quiet courage of the American soldiers after the terrible fighting around Santiago, when many were brought to the hospitals in a dying condition.

Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Vanderlip contributes an article on “The Cost of the War,” in which he makes a comparison between the daily cost of our own Civil War and that of the Spanish-American War, showing that the latter was only about 50 per cent. that of the former, though of course only 25,000 men were engaged in the Spanish-American War, while in the Civil War several times that number were engaged. He maintains that the average daily cost of the Franco-Prussian War to the successful Germans was about \$4,000,000, or an average larger in proportion than the

cost of either our Civil War or the recent Spanish-American War.

There is an interesting sketch of "The Two Admirals," Porter and Farragut, based on memoranda furnished by the son of Admiral Porter. It is not very generally known, we believe, that Porter, when a midshipman, was imprisoned in Morro Castle, in Havana, as a result of participation in the war between Mexico and Spain, in which his father commanded the Mexican navy. To his dying hour it is said to have been Porter's dearest wish to command a fleet which should wipe Morro Castle and Spanish rule from this quarter of the earth.

Mr. William Allen White contributes a pleasant "Appreciation of the West," apropos of the Omaha Exposition. The trans-Mississippi life, he thinks, must be a strange life save to the kinsmen of the old Angles and Saxons. "To Frenchmen, to the Spaniard, to the Arab, it must seem odd to find several millions of people working six days in the week on farms, in offices, at benches, on railroads, in stores, and to know that in the whole domain, covering more territory than the half of Europe, is no place where class lines are drawn, where either the prince or the pauper abides. Every tub stands on its own bottom, and if there is any caste, the spendthrift is the only outcast and the dishonest debtor is the only man from whom the people flee as from the unclean."

THE LADIES' HOME JOURNAL.

ELSEWHERE we quote from the paper on "The Personal Side of Richard Wagner," by Houston S. Chamberlain, appearing in the October number of the *Ladies' Home Journal*.

This number contains Gen. A. W. Greely's personal narrative of his long fight for life in the arctic regions.

Mr. William Perrine describes John Wanamaker's famous Bethany Sunday-School in Philadelphia. This writer says that the weekly teaching of the Bible lesson has become for Mr. Wanamaker perhaps the chief pleasure of his later years. "There are few clergymen who surpass him in this style of discourse. Indeed, his natural gifts for it were so obvious in his youth that at one time he was induced to consider seriously the question of studying for the ministry. It is fresh, breezy, practically suggestive, brightly and sometimes eloquently expressed, accompanied by anecdotes and also by striking images or metaphors in which lately his mind seems to have become luxuriant."

It would seem as if "The Anecdotal Side of Mark Twain" had been thoroughly exploited in the newspapers and magazines during the past thirty years, but it is claimed in behalf of the stories contributed to this number of the *Journal* by the friends of the great humorist that they are all "now published for the first time." One of the quaintest of these tales relates to the consul-general at Frankfort, Germany, and explains how his official head was saved by the intervention of Mr. Clemens, aided and abetted by no less a personage than Miss Ruth Cleveland, to whom Mr. Clemens addressed a note in which he said all that needed to be said about the case, and what is more important, succeeded in carrying his point.

"The Boy of Ten Phenomenal Fingers," Joseph Hofmann, is sketched from life by Mary B. Mullet. Some quotations from Hofmann's sayings indicate that he is something of a philosopher as well as an artist.

"'People wonder how I will play when I have seen more of life,' he said, smiling a little scornfully. 'Life and music are not the same things, and life has no direct influence necessarily on music. Music of the highest kind does not depict life—that is, not the outward details of living. It should not be so that you can say to yourself: "This music represents a man who is going for a walk in the woods. Now he gets up; now he puts on his hat; now he opens the door; now he is going downstairs." That is not music. There may be in music the spirit of a walk in the woods, the feeling of it all. Now, if I am capable of being touched by that spirit it will appeal to me in the music, even though I may never have taken such a walk. If I did not have within me the capacity of being touched by that spirit I might walk in the woods all my life and yet remain insensible to it.'"

MUNSEY'S MAGAZINE.

THE most prominent feature of *Munsey's* for October is the installment of "War Time Snap Shots," a series of photographs illustrating the different episodes of the Santiago campaign, with many portraits of the participating officers. The serial history of the war with Spain, by Richard H. Titherington, is also begun in this number. The history is illustrated from rare prints and maps.

Theodore Schwarz contributes a brief study of "Bismarck's Place in History." "New York's Riverside Park" is the subject of an illustrated article by Thomas Cady, and an article written just before his death by the late Maj. Moses P. Handy outlines the attractions and importance of the Paris Exposition of 1900.

In an article on "The Future of the English Language" Prof. Brander Matthews declares that the dominant influence in deciding what the future of English shall be must come from the United States. "The English of the future," he says, "will be the English that we shall use here in the United States; and it is for us to hand it down to our children fitted for the service it is to render."

"This task is ours, not to be undertaken boastfully or vaingloriously or in any spirit of provincial self-assertion on the one hand or of colonial self-depreciation on the other, but with a full sense of the burden imposed upon us and of the privilege that accompanies it. It is our duty to do what we can to keep our English speech fresh and vigorous, to help it draw new life and power from every proper source, to resist all the attempts of pedants to cramp it and restrain its healthy growth, and to urge along the simplification of its grammar and its orthography, so that it shall be ready against the day when it is really a world language."

THE NEW ENGLAND MAGAZINE.

THE opening article in the October number of the *New England* is an illustrated description of the famous "Arnold Arboretum" at Jamaica Plain, near Boston. This park of two hundred and twenty-two acres forms a part of the municipal park system, and is at the same time an outdoor school of arboriculture, a botanical museum, and a department of Harvard University. It is a unique institution. The arrangement under which the arboretum is maintained is thus described:

"The arboretum as we know it is due to a sort of

partnership entered into by Harvard University and the city of Boston. In consideration of its value as a part of the park system and its location with relation to the other parks, a contract was drawn up which provided that the city should construct all the roads and paths through the place and maintain them in good order, and should police the grounds, while the university assumed the entire care and maintenance of the remaining portion. The contract further provides that the arboretum shall be maintained in this place for nine hundred and ninety-nine years, the city having taken the land by right of eminent domain and having leased it back to the university for that picturesque term. According to the director, Prof. Charles Sprague Sargent, of the chair of arboriculture at Harvard University, and author of 'The Sylva of North America,' trees have never been planted with better promise of undisturbed old age. The arboretum will eventually contain every species and variety of tree and shrub that will flourish in this climate. Much of the planting has been done, and the trees have been given the most favorable conditions possible for their perfect growth and development."

The recent efforts to secure the preservation of the Adirondack forests in New York State are described in an illustrated article by Cuyler Reynolds. Mr. W. D. Lighthall contributes an illustrated article on the city of Montreal.

LIPPINCOTT'S MAGAZINE.

IN the October *Lippincott's* Mr. Fred. Perry Powers writes on "War and Trade." He indulges in this rather bellicose intimation to other powers:

"The maxim that trade follows the flag covers more error than truth. It is oftener the case that the flag follows trade. But if foreign nations are going to exclude us from trade with China and Africa on the same terms as their own subjects, we have got to make a way for trade by sending the flag with its usual accompaniments of breech-loaders. If the United States and England would not be driven out of Chinese trade by the gradual extension of Russian and French frontiers, they will have to keep the door open by inserting the muzzle of a cannon into it. England has got her cannon mounted at Wei-Hai-Wei and Hong Kong; Manila is not so near as would be desirable, but it will do very well as a place for our guns."

In a discussion of "Declarations of War," as regards the order of procedure Mr. Lawrence Irwell says:

"Steam and the electric telegraph have now made communication so rapid and the state of organization is now so complete that two nations cannot approach a rupture without being fully aware of it. The withdrawal or dismissal of a minister is ample warning of how matters stand. Written declarations, proclamations, and manifestoes are chiefly valuable as bringing under the notice of nations other than the disputants the existence of a state of war which demands their observance of the rules of neutrality; but any act of war, not preceded by declaration, raises a presumption of the fact of war which neutrals must not disregard."

Mrs. Helen C. Candee writes on "Oklahoma Claims," Louise M. Hadley on "Artillery, Ancient and Modern," George J. Varney on "Military Balloons," Dr. Charles C. Abbott "In Defense of Desolation," and Nina R. Allen on "Gray Eyes in Fiction."

THE BOOKMAN.

WE have quoted elsewhere at some length from the article on "Bismarck as an Editor" in the October *Bookman*.

In this number Mr. Norman Hapgood begins his department entitled "The Drama of the Month," which promises to be an interesting and a helpful survey of theatrical developments in New York City.

Melville Joyce contributes the first installment of a paper on "The Dawn of the Russian Novel." Of Russian realism he says:

"The Russians have adapted the modern realistic or naturalistic form of novel, around which so many storms have raged, to new and great uses; and it is to their credit that they, backward in all else and indebted to the west of Europe for every intellectual stimulus, have produced and fashioned a marvelous instrument of culture and progress. Nothing in either the literatures of France, Germany, or England can equal this particular product of the Russian soil. The novel in these countries has not had the same function to fulfill—that is, to enlighten, comfort, counsel, and reform. 'To amuse' is not even taken into consideration."

In the series on "Living Continental Critics" this month's article is devoted to Anatole France. The writer, Mr. Frederick Taber Cooper, is enthusiastic over M. France's style. "With the one exception of Maurice Barrès," he says, "there is no living French writer who so uniformly gives the impression that we are reading exquisitely smooth and faultless French prose, certainly none who can more safely be taken as a model."

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY.

THE October *Atlantic Monthly* opens with two essays on the relations of England and America, the first by Carl Schurz, entitled "The Anglo-American Friendship," in which he supports quite thoroughly the views of Mr. James Bryce, both as to the general plan and the specific steps to be taken first; and the second by A. V. Dicey, entitled "England and America," who writes as enthusiastically in favor of the general plan of an Anglo-American union; but he considers it unlikely that the present generation will ever witness the reunion of the whole English people. It is impossible, however, he says, to forego the dream or the hope that a growing sense of essential unity may ultimately give birth to some scheme of common citizenship.

The second installment of the "Unpublished Letters of Carlyle" appear in this number and confirm the belief that they constitute a very considerable literary find. Mark H. Liddell writes an essay on "Botching Shakespeare," in which he shows how the average reader interprets the Elizabethan words to suit his own thoughts rather than their own meaning, and he asks seriously: "As his language grows more dim to our sense and we continue to be careless about learning it, will not the time come when Shakespeare will be little more than a great name in our literature?"

Prince Kropotkin concludes "The Autobiography of a Revolutionist" in this number, and there are, beside the serials, a bird and flower sketch by Bradford Torrey and a characteristically fine essay by Woodrow Wilson on Walter Bagehot, whom he writes of under the title, "A Wit and a Seer." Horace N. Fisher discusses "The Development of Our Foreign Policy," and comes to the

conclusion concerning the Philippines that "whether we like it or not, of all the nations of the world to-day the United States is the only power which can take these islands and develop them without disturbing the political-commercial equilibrium in the far East." Kuno Francke writes on "Bismarck as a National Type," and Irving Babbitt discusses "The Correspondence of George Sand."

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

IN our department of "Leading Articles" we have quoted from the Hon. John Barrett's discussion of the Philippines problem, from Mr. M. W. Hazeltine's paper on the disposition of Cuba, and from Mr. C. A. Conant's exposition of the economics involved in "imperialism," each of which appears in the September number of the *North American*.

Writing on "Leprosy and the Hawaiian Annexation," Dr. Burnside Foster says that probably not less than six thousand of the inhabitants of the new territory are afflicted with this horrible malady, that a leprosy commission should be named by our Government to make a census of Hawaiian lepers and to see that all inflicted persons are segregated, and that measures should at once be taken to educate the population in regard to the dangers of infection and the precautions to be taken.

Sir Richard Temple makes a strong presentation of facts which tend to demonstrate the superior strength of an Anglo-American combination as compared with a European combination. In the event of any necessity arising for testing force as between two such combinations the question would be one of sea force rather than of land force.

"In any conceivable attempt to invade England, the matter would be one wholly of sea force. In any attempt to invade India or China, the matter would be one of land force primarily in the front, but fundamentally one of sea force. On neither ocean could the American coast be even approached. For Britain, the great advantages would be the keeping open of the Atlantic for her food supply by the coöperation she would have from the eastern side of the United States and the aid she would receive from the western side of the United States in the protection of their common interests in China and the far East. For the European combination the question would be how they could maintain their colonial possessions in Africa, or Asia, or Australasia in the face of an Anglo-American combination."

Señor Castelar's second paper on Bismarck is far from complimentary to the dead statesman. The writer declares that Bismarck's work was founded upon contradictions in both domestic and foreign policy. For example, after having moved heaven and earth to acquire territories in Africa and thus make Germany a great colonial power, he found himself compelled to exchange an empire in Zanzibar for an insignificant islet in the German Ocean.

"His experience was similar in regard to his personal power, so tenaciously and persistently defended by him against all and everything. He championed the old principle of the imperial will as the basis of the state and as the foundation of the law, regarding the legislature as simply a consulting body. He made the *Kaisers* his gods, and he flattered them to such an extent that he was able to induce them to seize the crown from the altar and place it upon their own heads as

though by divine right. But there came a day when imperial power, in order to assert its assumed divinity and omnipotence, sacrificed upon its altars no less a victim than the chancellor himself."

In this number is begun the publication of correspondence between Bismarck and Motley. Motley's first letter is dated at Vienna, in 1862, and relates chiefly to the American Civil War then in progress.

Richard Burton contributes an essay on "Literature for Children," John J. Clancy, M.P., writes on "The Latest Reform in Ireland," and Dr. C. M. Blackford, Jr., describes the modern agencies and methods of sea-exploration.

THE FORUM.

FROM the September *Forum* we have selected the Hon. John R. Procter's article on "Isolation or Imperialism" and the Hon. Frank A. Vanderlip's summary of the "Lessons of Our War Loan" for quotation in another department.

Professor Hergesell, who is president of the International Aeronautical Commission, describes the function of the balloon in warfare. He says that a well-equipped and carefully organized aeronautic troop would have been of the greatest value to the American army in the war with Spain.

"Had some of the American vessels engaged in blockading the harbors of Cuba been equipped with a complete kite-balloon outfit, the task of investment would have been greatly facilitated, the enemy's fortifications would have been immediately exposed to view, and the position and number of the Spanish boats at once definitely ascertained."

Mr. Frederick Palmer, who has recently returned from Dawson City, writes on "The Pilgrimage to the Klondike and Its Outcome." He says that the Klondike pilgrims have learned that a fortune cannot be made in a hurry any more easily there than elsewhere, but the future of the region as a great gold-producing country seems assured; the new trading companies promise cheaper food and cheaper transportation, and capital, skill, and machinery combined will be able to work profitably claims which are almost untouched at present.

In a paper on "Democratic Art" Prof. Oscar L. Triggs says:

"Aristocratic art is typical: it lays aside the common attributes and seeks the type-forms. Democratic art is individual and real: it accepts the personal view and invests common attributes with meaning. The one gives unity to the beautiful: the other expands and diversifies it. The one, being reminiscent, is static: the other, being prospective, is dynamic. The one harmonizes what is given: the other suggests what is to be. The note of the one is despair: that of the other is triumph and joy. The one is bound: the other is free."

Prof. Josiah Royce recommends the employment of trained "consulting psychologists" as adjuncts of city school systems. He says that good, all-round psychologists, versed in the new methods of investigation, may be obtained, these days, at from fifteen hundred dollars a year upward. This is a hint to school superintendents. Such a functionary would assist teachers in the observation of school-room data.

Mr. Frederick V. Colville, of the United States Department of Agriculture, contributes a suggestive article on "Our Public Grazing Lands," in which he

proposes that such lands be leased by the Government, under the supervision of resident officials in each State responsible to a central official in Washington.

The Hon. Truxton Beale writes on "Our Interest in the Next Congress of the Powers," Mr. Wallace McCamant on "The Significance of the Oregon Election," Mr. W. J. McGee on "The Course of Human Development," Mr. J. A. Latcha on "Gold and Other Resources of the Far West," and Gustav Kobbé contributes a criticism of the plays of Arthur Wing Pinero.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

In the *Nineteenth Century* the first place is given to a poem by Mr. Stephen Phillips, in which, greatly daring, he ventures to challenge comparison with the great masters of song by choosing as his theme "Endymion." Higher praise could not be given to the poem than to say that its author has no reason to regret the audacity of his choice. It is the best poem that has appeared in periodical literature for a very long time.

MR. FROUDE AS WRITER AND HISTORIAN.

Mr. Frederic Harrison, in a paper entitled "The Historical Method of J. A. Froude," says in effect that it is difficult, if not impossible, to praise Mr. Froude too highly as a man of letters for the fascination of his style and for his freedom from the seven deadly sins of letters; but, on the other hand, for his slatternly inaccuracy and inveracity and lack of judgment as a historian nothing too bad can be said.

A JEWISH KINGDOM IN PALESTINE.

Mr. Oswald Simon, writing on "The Return of the Jews to Palestine," raises a strong protest against political Zionism. He maintains that the movement has not the support of the orthodox rabbis, and that while it depends for its success upon an appeal to religious enthusiasm, it is engineered by men who have no religious convictions. His view is that the Jews have a far wider mission than that of founding a fifteenth-rate state in a corner of Syria, which is not large enough to hold more than the population of Wales. He says:

"The message of religious truth has come out of Zion and is to spread throughout the four quarters of the globe. Israel is a standing priesthood to minister to mankind. It is an order which was founded in Zion, but its mission is not a local one. It is universal. Any scheme which narrowed the confines of Judaism to one geographical locale would be a retrogression—and indeed a stifling of the fuller aspirations of the faith."

Hence his word to the Zionist leaders is:

"Colonize in Palestine and elsewhere by all means, but the words nation and state for the Jewish people should never be heard unless and until it can be such a nation and such a state as shall harmonize with the ideals of their faith and be worthy of their remarkable origin."

A ROMAN CATHOLIC ON PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANITY.

Mr. W. S. Lilly asks the question, "What Was Primitive Christianity?" and devotes twenty pages to answering this question. Briefly summarized, his answer amounts to this, that primitive Christianity before Paul consisted of conventicle *illuminati* who were leading a community living at Jerusalem, and who but for Paul would have gone out like the Essenes and left

no trace behind. After Paul it experienced a great change, but still everything was spontaneous, unconstrained, and self-devoted, having much more in common with a Methodist class-meeting than with the modern Church. He admits as frankly as any Protestant controversialist could desire the fact that both in polity and in doctrine primitive Christianity differs entirely from the organized Christianity now known to the world. He traces the resemblance between it and the Roman Church chiefly in the fact that it was distinguished by the swift development of dogma and the more gradual evolution of polity.

ONE RESULT OF THE SIBERIAN RAILWAY.

Mr. C. A. Moreing, describing a recent business tour in China, contributes one of the best and most practical papers written on this subject. Mr. Moreing's view is distinctly anti-Russian. He declares that both France and Russia are irretrievably committed to the principle of a disguised protectorate, and are opposed to the integrity of China and to equality of opportunity. We cannot attempt to summarize all his observations, but must refer to what he considers as one of the consequences of the Siberian Railway:

"I cannot refrain from pointing out here that a great change in the flow of trade must certainly result from the approaching completion of the Siberian Railway. But as it will bring Tien-tsin as near to us as Bombay now is and Shanghai as near as Calcutta, it must materially increase the British stake in China and Japan."

He concludes his article by protesting in the strongest manner against allowing the Chinese or the Russians to cancel the contract for the construction of the railroad to Newchwang.

EMIGRANT EDUCATION.

Mr. G. J. Holyoake writes sensibly and well as to the need of teaching those who are to emigrate what kind of a country it is to which they are going and where they will find the best market for their labor. Mr. Holyoake is a strong advocate of emigration. He says:

"If workmen have just cause of dissatisfaction with employers, and reasonable, respectful, and patient representation thereof is disregarded, they need not petition, nor supplicate, nor remonstrate, nor utter a resentful word, but arrange to go away. All the redress lies there. Good ships wait in the docks, good diet is secured by merciful care of the state, the rates are low, the passage out is through the royal splendor of the ocean and its uncontaminated air. Beyond lie lands waiting to be owned."

A REVIVAL OF VITALISM.

Vitalism, upon which Dr. John Haldane, lecturer on physiology at Oxford, writes, is closely allied to the belief in the existence of a spirit or soul in man as distinct from the mere sum of animal energies. This is Dr. Haldane's own definition of vitalism:

"To all the forms which vitalism at different times assume the doctrine was common that in a living organism a specific influence is at work which so controls all the movements of the body and of the material entering or leaving it that the structure peculiar to the organism is developed and maintained. This assumption completely differentiated what is living from what is not living, and implied that true principles of explanation in biology can be reached only by a study of life itself, and not of inorganic phenomena."

THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW.

WITH the exception of Dr. Dillon's paper on "The Coming of Carlism," noticed elsewhere, the contents of the September *Contemporary Review* do not call for special remark.

THE YANG-TSE VALLEY AND ITS TRADE.

Mr. Archibald Little, who has lived forty years in China, describes the region that is supposed to be the sphere of British interest. The river is about 3,000 miles long, and 2,000 of these are navigable. Another thousand miles of its principal affluents are also navigable, so that we have a waterway of 3,000 miles in length flowing through the most populous regions on the earth's surface. Great Britain and her colonies do about two-thirds of the £10,000,000 imports and exports in this region, but Mr. Little says that their proportion is steadily waning owing to the competition of Germany and the United States :

"It is no exaggeration to say that, given a stable and progressive government, affording encouragement to capitalists with security for their investments—resulting in improved means of communication and a corresponding development of its natural resources—the Yang-tse Valley will increase its trade by leaps and bounds, and the £30,000,000 of to-day will be £300,000,000 to-morrow."

CHRISTIAN LEGENDS OF THE HEBRIDES.

Miss A. Goodrich Freer contributes a charming article under this head. Miss Freer spent a good deal of time in the outer Hebrides, and has taken down from the lips of the natives a mass of folk-lore, out of which she selects a number of curious legends, in which those bearing upon the life of Jesus and his mother Mary have been localized—naturalized, so to speak, in Hebridean surroundings. Miss Freer says :

"I have selected a few stories bearing on the life, especially the childhood, of our Lord, not, as might at first appear, to illustrate the ignorance, but rather the reverence, the natural piety of the islanders, who, though left for generations without books, without teachers, have so taken the pictures of the holy life into their hearts and lives that while the outline remains in its original purity, the painting has been touched with local color, and the eastern setting of two thousand years ago has been translated into terms of the daily life of the simple dwellers of the outer Hebrides."

These stories were transmitted orally for generations, corrected neither by teachers nor by book, but they seem to have preserved with great success the essential spirit of the gospels.

PHILOSOPHY AND THE NEWER SOCIOLOGY.

Professor Caldwell writes a weighty article under this title. We shall not attempt to summarize it. It is sufficient to quote the professor's conclusion :

"And just as surely as out of the tentative cosmology and practical philosophy of the Greeks there came in time the rounded idealism of Plato and Aristotle, so out of the various efforts that are to-day being made to systematize the social activities of man in the light of the elemental instincts of his nature as man, as the heir of the ages and æons of the universe, will there come a new idealism and a realm of moral truth that will on the one hand overturn the naturalism and the sensualism of the hour, and on the other give new life to speculative philosophy itself. Nor would the gain that phi-

losophy might reap from sociology be greater than the gain that sociology might reap from philosophy."

A SALVATIONIST'S CRITICISM OF THE SALVATION ARMY.

Mr. John Hollins, an unpaid private in the ranks of the Salvation Army, ventures to express an opinion that the privates in the ranks of the army should have more voice than they have at present in the counsels of the army. If they had, he thinks, they would direct their attention to the need for more thoroughness and the adoption of a wise method of probation in the case of new converts. He also thinks that they would abate the severe over-pressure which causes officers to break down ; but the most sweeping reform which he thinks they might adopt relates to the financial administration. He says :

"A 'minimum wage' ought to be guaranteed to every officer ; but perhaps the true way out of the difficulty would be to amalgamate small corps that are reasonably contiguous ; to work others by means of one officer to a corps instead of two, having some central quarters where several officers could reside together ; to greatly extend the circle system, by means of which several small societies are worked by a pair of officers traveling from place to place ; and finally to use the most capable of the local members in a much greater measure than is at present the case for itinerant work."

THE PROSPECTS OF CONSTITUTIONALISM IN JAPAN.

A Japanese, Mr. Tokiwo Yokoi, writing upon "New Japan and Her Constitutional Outlook," expresses a belief that constitutionalism is destined to triumph at an early date in his country :

"We must remember that the Japanese Diet is but eight years old, and no political party is more than twenty years old. Yet in Japan things move with astonishing rapidity. And the change from a transcendental cabinet to one in which the ministers are avowedly or tacitly responsible to the majority in the Diet will take place sooner than many think. At any rate, it does not seem to be wide of the mark to suppose that before another generation passes away Japan will feel as easy and natural under constitutional government as France or Germany does to-day."

THE FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW.

IN the *Fortnightly Review* for September Mr. Wentworth Moore gives us three more chapters of his political serial, "The Individualist," the maliciousness of which is not quite so apparent as in the first installment. The articles relating to Bismarck, Carlism, and boys' clubs are noticed elsewhere.

WHAT SHOULD BE DONE IN THE SOUDAN ?

Maj. Arthur Griffiths writes enthusiastically concerning General Kitchener's advance on Khartoum. Speaking of the future after Khartoum is taken, Major Griffiths says :

"By far the safest course is to fortify and strengthen our own position. It will be necessary, in the first place, to keep British troops in the Soudan, a strong backing of British bayonets as an outward and visible proof of the still stronger empire behind. A next indispensable step will be the expansion of the present nucleus serving the Khedive under British officers into a substantial local army. The adhesion of the black soldier is soon gained and is generally above proof. After the Atbara battle numbers of black prisoners

took service with us at once. An effective battalion was formed of them, seven hundred strong; and now, well drilled and disciplined, these men are taking part against their former masters in the present advance."

Major Griffiths admits that the occupation of Khartoum is not likely to be a remunerative enterprise, but indirectly it may tend to relieve the pressure at the Egyptian treasury:

"Egyptian finance may well be spared the grievous burden of a large standing army. For the lower province and all parts of the upper that have been brought under firm government a strong body of police and *gendarmerie* will surely suffice."

ENGLAND INSIDE THE MONROE DOCTRINE.

Theodore Andrea Cook, writing on "The Original Intention of the Monroe Doctrine," quotes a hitherto unpublished letter from President Monroe to Jefferson, together with other letters from the correspondence between Monroe and Madison, which go to show that the Monroe doctrine originally in the opinion of its framers involved an Anglo-American alliance:

"From the letters just quoted, and especially from No. VII., it must follow that the Monroe doctrine was clearly meant by its writer, with the concurrence of Madison and Jefferson, to lay down a combined policy which England and the United States were to follow on the continent of America as against all other powers, a policy which might just as well have been given out by England, but was announced from Washington to avoid any appearance of dictation by the mother country. For the Monroe doctrine is by no means incompatible with an expansion as great as that which has attended the nation by whose suggestion it was originally framed. The war with Spain may be the beginning of that expansion, and the beginning also of a deeper sympathy between the two English-speaking races, which will not be limited either to the American continent of a Monroe or to the British empire of a Canning. The progress and the peace of seventy-five years have been added to them both."

THE GENIUS OF M. DE HEREDIA.

Mr. J. C. Bailey writes a very enthusiastic article upon this subject. Judging from Mr. Bailey's essay, M. de Heredia is one of the greatest poets of all time. His work reminds the reader of Greek sculpture. It is characterized by supreme simplicity and flawless workmanship. Mr. Bailey speaks of M. de Heredia's work as a triumph of poetic inspiration, and he has no hesitation in declaring that words have hardly ever been used with such tremendous effect as in his sonnet upon Egypt:

"Life, as he sees it, is neither a school of morals nor a hot-house of sentiment; what he sees in it is the most splendid of pageants. He has achieved with signal success in poetry what has been so often attempted in vain, and more than in vain, in painting, a series of historical cartoons."

OTHER ARTICLES.

Mr. Albert D. Vandam gossips as usual from a very full *répertoire* concerning "The Spy Mania and the Revanche Idea." He says:

"For years not a single foreign spy has been caught in France, while on the other hand two French ones were caught in Germany, besides an Alsatian woman at Metz. Wilhelm II. commuted the sentences of the

former, if I remember rightly, at Carnot's tragic death. Nevertheless, France continues to suffer from the spy mania."

Charles Bright pleads for an all-British or Anglo-American Pacific cable, and illustrates his paper by a map of the cables of the world.

THE NATIONAL REVIEW.

IN the *National Review* for September the Washington correspondent takes great credit to himself and to his magazine for what has been done in winning over the more hostile section of the American press to approval of cordial relations with Great Britain. The chief feature of the magazine is, however, the translation of the letters of the unfortunate Dreyfus to his wife. There are letters written by Captain Dreyfus to his wife between December, 1894, and March, 1898. There are also two written to his counsel shortly before and just after his degradation. The letters are touching and are entirely consistent with the theory that the unfortunate officer has been the victim of a monstrous miscarriage of justice.

THE MOROCCO QUESTION AND THE WAR.

Mr. W. B. Harris, who has as much right as any man to speak with authority upon the affairs of Morocco, seems to be impressed with an extraordinary hallucination. He imagines that Spain, beaten out of the far East and out of the West Indies, is likely to get a small war on her own account in Morocco. He says:

"Fortunately there is little chance of the peace of the country being disturbed, though the action of Spain must be carefully watched. Possessed as she is of several fortified bases on the north coast, and especially Ceuta and Melilla, it would be no difficult matter for her to create a disturbance in order to gain popularity at home, or to keep on the throne—or rid themselves of—the present dynasty, and to find some occupation for the 200,000 men who will shortly be returning to Spain. The only way in which such a policy on her part can be prevented from taking place is by a firm and trustworthy understanding between the French and British foreign offices to brook no interference in Morocco. If Italy and Germany would join, so much the better, and there is little doubt about their doing so, as one and all are desirous of maintaining the *status quo*. A note from these joint powers to the Spanish Government, to be presented the moment there were any signs of a 'Morocco policy' in Madrid, should nip the movement in the bud. Neither France nor England has any desire for an active policy; rather their sole aims are identical there at present.

"Unfortunately the two powers most interested in the Morocco question have damaged their prestige in the eyes of the native government—France by a policy by which she has gained nothing, but rather lost ground; and England by the illegal acts of the representatives of a trading company, on whose board of directors appears the name of an ex-ambassador."

In his article on "An Anglo-Russian Understanding" Mr. H. W. Wilson says in regard to the possibility of Russia's acquiring coaling-stations on the ocean route between Odessa and Port Arthur:

"We may expect to see Russia in the near future acquire coaling-stations on the line of the far East. On the Arabian coast she may get what she wants from Turkey, or she might obtain from France a lease of a

port on the Tajura Gulf. The Abyssinian coast-line is in the hands of Italy. A second station might be obtained on the Sumatra coast, where Russians have been very busy surveying of late. Two years ago there was much discussion in the Russian press as to the purchase of one of the small islands on this coast from the Dutch or from the Sultan of Achin. These two coaling-stations would enable the new Russian ships to voyage to the East without using British ports. The coal endurance of Russia's latest battleships and cruisers is enormous."

A STUDY IN SCHOOL-CHILDREN.

Miss Catherine Dodd, of Owens College, Manchester, describes an experiment which she made at the beginning of the year in order to test the conceptions which children attach to the words which they are in the habit of using. She says:

"Last March I put the following question to 105 primary-school children between the ages of ten and fourteen: 'What is a policeman, a postman, a soldier, a king, a professor, a member of Parliament, a negro, a school board?'"

She found, as might be expected, that children, both from town and country, were very well aware of the functions of the first three, that they had a tolerably good idea of a king, but when they came to describe a professor, a member of Parliament, a school board, they were hopelessly at sea. There seems to be close association in the childish mind between a professor and a conjuror. As for a member of Parliament, their leading idea is that he makes laws for his country and that he has something to do with the Queen. Miss Dodd's practical conclusion is:

"We want in our primary school a living scheme of instruction which will exercise the thinking powers of the child's mind. The chief items in such a scheme should be language, history, and object-lessons."

AMERICA'S EXPORT TRADE.

Mr. A. Maurice Low, in his monthly letter on American affairs, draws special attention to the immense strides which America has taken of late years in foreign trade. The exports of American manufactures are for the first time in excess of the imports of manufactured articles. In 1888 John Bull bought from Uncle Sam goods valued at £72,000,000. Last year he spent £108,000,000 in the American market. This did not include British dependencies:

"In 1888 the value of iron and steel manufactures exported from the United States amounted to, in round numbers, £3,500,000; while the imports were valued at nearly £10,000,000, Great Britain having the bulk of the trade. This year the figures were reversed, the exports aggregating £14,000,000 and the imports £2,500,000."

MR. HOOLEY AND HIS METHODS.

In an article entitled "Company Promoting à la Mode," Mr. W. R. Lawson descants upon the methods by which Mr. Hooley contrived to achieve such notoriety, the sources of which are now being so ruthlessly examined in the Bankruptcy Court. Mr. Lawson says it is the provincials who are the chief victims of the company promoter:

"London contributes a very small percentage of the subscriptions to new companies, not a tithe, in fact, of what comes from the provinces. Its share in the Dunlop and Bovril reorganizations was particularly small, and its losses through them are less than those of some third-

class provincial towns. When a Hooley comes along, with his retinue of directors in coronets and city editors in gold chains, he captures them wholesale. Not because they are so innocent and unsophisticated, but because there is money-making in the air, and the sight is too fascinating for them."

THE SCIENTIFIC WORK OF LORD RAYLEIGH.

Prof. Oliver Lodge devotes a long and interesting article to an attempt to explain to the general reader why the scientific world holds Lord Rayleigh in such high esteem. The general public knows Lord Rayleigh is the man who discovered argon, one of those substances which appear to have been about us all our lives, but which science with all its instruments has hitherto failed to identify. Professor Lodge says that argon was "not only a new element, but in all probability, as it turns out, one of an unsuspected series of elements; and not a rare or inaccessible one, either, but one of which every large room contains about a hundred-weight, an element of which forty tons rest on every acre of the earth's surface."

After describing in some detail Lord Rayleigh's other achievements, Professor Lodge says:

"It is this faculty for grasping and marshaling every relevant fact, by whomsoever discovered, seeing all their bearings and inter-relations, and supplementing them by direct and beautifully designed experiments wherever they are deficient, this extraordinary lucidity of thought in difficult and otherwise controversial questions which, more than all his other achievements, has gained for Lord Rayleigh the admiration and gratitude of physicists."

THE UNITED SERVICE MAGAZINE.

THE *United Service Magazine* for September has several papers of general interest. The most elaborate essay, and that which will most probably be regarded as most useful and practical from the professional point of view, is Surgeon Captain Will's article on "The Recruit and His Physical Training," which contains some interesting figures as to the extent to which the physical development of the recruit can be improved by good feeding and gymnastics.

In the papers on "Our Naval Heroes" the third of the series is devoted to Admiral Viscount Bridport, an old salt who put in sixty-four years of actual service before he struck his flag in 1880. Mr. W. G. F. Hunt, R.N., puts in a good word for the privateer, and enforces his point by telling stories as to the fashion in which British privateers in the old days assisted in holding the seas for the king. Between 1742 and 1800 no fewer than 1,510 ships, mounting 18,000 guns and manned by 118,000 men, were captured by British ships on the high seas; but Mr. Hunt, although he says that a large proportion of these captures were made by privateers, omits to say how large. He concludes his article by a congratulatory chuckle over the fact that for a period of fifty-eight years England's enemies lost every week on an average, year in and year out, 1 ship, 12 guns, and 80 fighting men. Of the 1,510 ships, 42 were Dutch, 190 Spanish, and all the rest French.

The article the readers outside the services will turn to with most interest is Mr. C. S. Clark's gossip paper on "Some American Admirals and a Few Other Sailors." The paper bristles with anecdotes concerning the men whose names have been in every mouth as the

commanders of the American fleets during the recent war. In discussing the various exploits performed by subordinate officers during the campaign, Mr. Clark gives the palm to an officer of the name of Gillis, who captured a stray torpedo and rendered it harmless :

"The torpedo had been fired from the destroyer *Penton*, and, with force almost expended, was coming slowly but surely toward the anchored torpedo-boat *Porter*. Gillis sprang overboard, swam to the torpedo, turned the nose away from the *Porter*, and screwed up the firing-pin tightly so that it would not operate. Then, treading water, he saluted Lieutenant Fremont and reported : 'Sir, I have to report I have captured a torpedo.' 'Bring it aboard, sir,' replied Fremont; and Gillis actually did so, swimming with it to the ship and fastening tackles to it."

Mr. E. H. Parker's paper concerning "The Arsenals of China" is full of details as to the money expended on various arsenals. There is a paper on musketry and tactics and another suggesting improvement in canteen management.

BLACKWOOD'S MAGAZINE.

THE tone of most of the articles relating to the Spanish-American War which have appeared in *Blackwood's* since the beginning of hostilities has been anti-American. The September number forms no exception to the rule. Hannah Lynch, from whose paper on "The Spaniard at Home" we have quoted in our department of "Leading Articles," affects to believe that the war was "brutally forced" on Spain. She sneers at "American humanity," declaring that the Americans would imitate Spanish cruelties if the circumstances were favorable, but in a foot-note she admits the injustice of her wholesale accusations under compulsion of "the tale of America's magnanimity and generosity,

so recently recorded," referring, presumably, to our treatment of the Spanish prisoners at Santiago. "As an enemy America has won her spurs in the realm of chivalry." Before this admission was made she had said that "the Indian brave and the nigger know something of American humanity," and she predicted that the blacks of Cuba would fare no better should they fall into our hard hands.

Under the caption, "The End of an Old Song : Confessions of a Cuban Governor," General Polavieja's recently published account of his administration in Cuba is reviewed. The reviewer seems convinced that Spain has made a disastrous failure of her attempt to govern Cuba, but he finds no reason for supposing that the United States understands what her mission in Cuba is to be, "or realizes what is meant by the honorable obligation she has assumed."

"The Looker-On," in his comments of the situation, says :

"Though the United States have all the makings of a great naval and military nation, and may be expected to have mighty fleets and a large, well-disciplined army a few years hence, America is not a considerable fighting power yet. Of course I mean in comparison with the greater European powers; which, if they must be defied, may yet be defied a little too soon.

"It should be remembered that the story of the war has been told altogether from the one side, and that almost all report of its causes, conduct, and consequences has been colored by one set of sympathies. The best, no doubt, but liable to unfair excess. The Spaniards might complain, for example, that after being exhorted by every print in England for weeks to abandon a conflict which only an absurdly obstinate pride would carry on, they had no sooner done so than they were pitied on one side and jeered at from another for their pusillanimous contentment in defeat."

THE CONTINENTAL REVIEWS.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES.

WE have noticed elsewhere the article on American finance by M. Lévy in the first August number of the *Revue des Deux Mondes*.

THE EUROPEAN CONCERT.

Comte Benedetti's article on the European concert has been widely noticed in the foreign press. It is not a little curious that it should have appeared so soon after the death of Bismarck. M. Benedetti is evidently alarmed at the extent to which Germany has acquired a footing in Turkey, having drawn into her net practically all the Turkish railroads. He retraces the miserable story of the Armenian massacres and the Cretan imbroglia, and draws from all this the conclusion that the European concert is a fiction, a conception which is sterile and possibly dangerous. He does not, however, recommend his government to go out of it, for it is in any case a sort of observatory from which one sees better what is going on in Europe than one would from outside.

LEGAL TIME.

M. Dastre continues his series of papers on official time. He shows that the exact local time of any place is only suitable to the needs of observatories and of

scientific men. For the practical purposes of life it is impossible, and the best proof of this is that it has been successively abandoned by every country which had adopted it. Of course, if human beings were content to remain always in the same place and never moved about at all, there would be no inconvenience in every place having its own natural time; but modern requirements demand the imposition of an artificial time, more or less differing from the true time, according to the sun, in each place. It is extraordinary, indeed, that France had to wait until 1891 before she had the convenience of one national time—namely, the time of Paris—all over the country. The Orient express from Paris to Constantinople affords a curious example of different state times. Before the reform of the clocks it passed through eight different times in its course through France, Alsace, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Servia, Bulgaria, and Turkey. M. Dastre gives the credit for this reform to Mr. Sandford Fleming, the famous engineer of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Mr. Fleming found that on that great line there were no fewer than seventy-five different times in use, and so he brought about the General Railway Time Convention. At the Geographical Congress at Vienna in 1881 he brought forward his proposal for simplifying the time

of the whole world. His system consists of dividing the globe into twenty-four sections and assigning to each of them the mean time of its meridian.

THE HARVEST OF THE SEA.

The principles of scientific agriculture, which have already been applied with so much success in various countries, have led those interested in the fishing industry to apply them to the cultivation of the sea, or rather of the fishes in the sea, as M. de Varigny reminds us in the second August number. It is curious that so recently as 1869 a French official did not hesitate to declare that pisciculture was of no value. That, however, has not been the experience of those who have followed him. It has been found, not to go too much into detail, that by cultivating the eggs of various fishes and protecting them from the creatures that feed upon them in a natural state it is possible to, so to speak, plant fishes in places where they have not previously been found, and so help to render cheaper and more abundant a particularly healthy article of diet.

THE PARISIAN WINE-SHOP IN POLITICS.

M. Talmeyr has an amusing paper on the influence of the wine-shop on French politics. The keeper of the wine-shop exercises upon the Parisian man in the street apparently much the same influence that the British publican exercises upon his *clientèle* of middle and lower class voters. Indeed, the French dispenser of drinks probably has more influence, because there is not in France the same outlet for political excitement in the shape of public meetings as there is in England; and therefore the informal gatherings at the wine shops form, for the majority of Parisian voters, their only school of political thought.

NOUVELLE REVUE.

WE have noticed elsewhere the anonymous article in the second August number on the "Two Policies of Russia." There is nothing else in Madame Adam's review of first-class importance, but there is a good deal that is of considerable interest.

A FRENCH FEMINISTE.

The Comtesse de Magallon contributes a study of Mlle. Victoire Daubié, which forms not the least interesting portion of the history of the woman movement in France. In 1859 the Academy of Lyons opened a sort of competition for the best way of (1) raising the wages of women to the level of those of men when their work is equivalent, and (2) opening to women new careers and procuring for them work to replace that which they have lost by the competition of men and by various changes in customs and usages. The prize of this somewhat formidable competition was won by Mademoiselle Daubié. She was born in 1824, of an old Lorraine family. Her health was delicate in childhood and she was excused regular lessons, but her thirst for knowledge was so great that she escaped the watchfulness of her relations and insisted on working with such ardor that she had, at an early age, acquired all the intellectual equipment of a grown-up woman. She then went on to learn Latin with one of her brothers, who was a *curé*, and she took advantage of a visit to Baden to learn German. In fact, all her life she was learning, and the evening before her death, in 1874, was spent in preparing a thesis for her doctorate.

Mademoiselle Daubié had a sort of apostolic fervor

and devotion in the cause of her sex. She gave up the idea of marriage in order to be more free, and she appears to have possessed an indefinable personal magnetism which enabled her to enroll a little army of faithful followers under her banner. The age, the beginning of the second empire, was not favorable for any movement having for its object the elevation of woman, whose function in the world Napoleon had stated with his customary brutality. The mass of women in France worked for miserable pay and in a kind of dumb misery, which touched Mademoiselle Daubié to the heart. She demanded for the working or business woman, the employee or the teacher, those ordinary civil rights of which it seems extraordinary that they should ever have been deprived. She devoted herself to the abolition of the system of "letters of obedience" which were granted to nuns, and conferred upon them the right of teaching, quite regardless of their degree of competence. But it was not until after the war of 1870 that these letters of obedience were abolished, and it was arranged that no woman should devote herself to teaching unless she could obtain a certificate. But Mademoiselle Daubié was far from intending an anti-religious campaign, and she would have been the first to protest against the secular tone which the enemies of the Church gave to her movement.

Though she seems to have been in favor of the extension of the franchise to women, she does not appear to have possessed a very democratic idea of popular suffrage as a political principle. Indeed, she considered that only those persons should be granted the suffrage who are worthy of it on the ground of capacity and morality! In the report which she presented to the Academy of Lyons she said: "Woman will become in society whatever she will be capable and worthy of being." The working classes, in her view, suffered from two great drawbacks, ignorance and centralization. Mademoiselle Daubié proposed to remedy the first by the spread of education and the second by the reconstitution of the family, which had been somewhat broken up by the conditions of modern industry.

THE MARQUIS VISCONTI-VENOSTA.

In the first August number M. Montecorvoli has a study of Rudini's foreign minister, the Marquis Visconti-Venosta, who is regarded as one of the few really great statesmen of modern Italy. It will be remembered that he was one of the arbitrators between England and America in the Bering Sea fisheries question, and it was a little after that that he became foreign minister. His achievements in that office perhaps stand out by contrast with the general inefficiency of Italian ministers, but it is pretty clear that he is a man of considerable ability and—what is, perhaps, of more importance in Italy—of honesty and loyalty. As an orator he is distinguished for his restraint and diplomatic reserve, as well as for the literary form of his speeches, while he seems to possess by instinct the art of satisfying a questioner and at the same time telling him nothing real.

THE BEND OF THE NIGER.

M. Loliée has an article, based on the papers of Captain Voulet, on the attractions of Mossi, one of the places which the Anglo-French agreement assigns to France. He says that Mossi is a most important acquisition. The inhabitants of this country, having long enjoyed a comparative immunity from attack,

have come to believe their country inviolable and their own race superior to that of their neighbors. The country, we learn, is rich and thickly populated. The native women are in an extremely down-trodden condition, and apparently their only pleasure in life is to obtain copper rings with which to encircle their arms and ankles. They are repulsively ugly, and although they have to a certain extent abandoned the custom of tattooing, they ornament their faces with a slight incision, straight or diagonal, down the nose and across the cheeks, or else they decorate their faces with designs in blue.

REVUE DE PARIS.

THERE is unusually little of general interest in the *Revue de Paris* for August. An anonymous Lieutenant X. treats the Spanish-American War, so far as it concerns the Philippines, in the form of a diary. Though not deficient in picturesque incidents and illustrated by some fairly good maps and pictures of the sunken Spanish fleet, the article does not call for detailed examination.

M. Gabriel Tarde, in concluding his article on the growth of public opinion, observes that to discover or to invent a new and great object of hatred for the use of the public is still one of the most sure methods of becoming a king in journalism. This is undoubtedly true in France. M. Tarde considers that the danger of the new democracy is the increasing difficulty of escaping from the obsession of a fascinating agitation. He thinks that the intellectual and artistic heights of humanity can only be preserved from the destructive hands of the democracy, who are unable to estimate them at their true worth, by united resistance. It is exceedingly difficult to tell what this means, but if by it M. Tarde wishes to convey that all the clever people in the world should unite to resist the encroachments of democracy, he is certainly a very sanguine man.

THE ITALIAN REVIEWS.

THE Italian reviews offer singularly few points of interest this month. Professor Vidari writes lengthily and gloomily concerning the present condition of Italy in the *Nuova Antologia*. The *Rassegna Nazionale* (August 1) devotes a few pages to proving—what surely does not stand in need of demonstration—that it is quite impossible for a belief in the necessity of the temporal power ever to be elevated into a dogma of the Church binding upon the faithful. The *Riforma Sociale* contains a lucid exposition from the pen of Signor Conigliani of Gladstone's financial policy. The author dwells specially on his attitude toward the income tax, and does full justice to his keenness of vision and amazing resourcefulness. Speaking of his general characteristics, the author asserts that his greatest

merit lay in this, that whereas the teachings of accomplished facts were never wasted upon him, yet the brutality of facts never deprived him of his vision of the ideal. In the *Civiltà Cattolica* (August 20) appears a study of the gunpowder plot in accordance with the new views concerning that historic event recently published by Father Gerard, S.J.

THE SPANISH MAGAZINES.

THERE are several articles in the Spanish magazines dealing in various ways with America and with Cuba, but they are generally reminiscent. In the *Revista Contemporanea* Señor de Toca writes on the diplomacy and colonial policy of Spain in respect of her American empire in the seventeenth century. A golden opportunity was lost, at the time of that crisis, for the foundation of "Greater Spain." Such an empire, he says, is more easy of realization than Greater Britain: "but the first consideration is to win the hearts of the people of the Hispano-American races."

The most interesting article in this magazine is not signed. The writer tells us how the cause of Spain in Cuba should be set forth and dealt with. Spain has made a mistake in treating—and in permitting the powers to so regard it—the Cuban insurrection as a mere dispute between a power and its colony, as a common incident of interior politics; whereas Cuba is an international question of the highest importance both to the powers of Europe and to all the republics of the American continent. Spain should never have given the United States the opportunity of assuming their present (pretended) rôle of deliverer; she should have approached the European powers and arranged to act in concert with them and the American republics—the great republic not even having a preferential voice in the deliberations.

By its position Cuba is undoubtedly of international importance; the balance of power will be shaken by its falling into the possession of a greedy and powerful country. Even England, the friend of the United States, must see that. The European powers, if approached diplomatically, would have acted—to save the balance of power—an Spain would have acquiesced gracefully and generously in their decision, provided that civilization and Christianity should not suffer. For they were introduced by Spain, and their maintenance is a point of honor with her. It would have cost Spain a pang to give up the island had the powers decided to imitate what was done in the case of Switzerland; but she would have agreed for the sake of others.

In *España Moderna* Emilio Castelar foresees great danger to the Spanish-American republics from the possession by the United States of so large an army and navy, and predicts that the United States will lose their democratic character and become an empire.



THE PASSING OF THE HERO.—From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin).

THE NEW BOOKS.

BISMARCK BEHIND THE SCENES, AS SHOWN IN DR. MORITZ BUSCH'S "SECRET PAGES."*

EVEN great diplomats, skilled in the artful use of silence and masters of self-control, must give vent in words to their real feelings and opinions now and then, in the presence of some trusted friend or associate or in the guarded privacy of the family circle. The great, benignant, and patient George Washington himself was not always on his perfect behavior, and relieved himself in private not infrequently by letting off steam with a wild roar through the safety-valve. What a shocking thing it would be to have a large book issued next week to be called "Some Secret Pages of the History of Gladstone," and to be composed of the most faithful jottings-down at the moment by some private secretary or inner member of his domestic or political household of every unguarded expression relative to eminent personages of his own or other countries. It is well known, for instance, that there were times when Gladstone's relations with Queen Victoria were exceedingly difficult, and when the august widow of Windsor treated the Liberal prime minister in the most provoking and objectionable manner. Is it to be supposed that throughout those trying years Mr. Gladstone always in private, as in public, spoke of the Queen in

terms of humble devotion or glowing praise? Anybody may think so who so prefers, since we have no evidence to the contrary. What if this book of secret Gladstone memoirs were to reproduce everything that the great statesman ever said in his life about Disraeli or Salisbury? The suggestion is enough. Such a book would be immensely interesting, and it would throw some side lights certainly upon the course of British political history. We should read it with curiosity, and not without some instruction, if it were available. But we may be permitted to be very thankful that no Boswell or Moritz Busch was ever kept in William Ewart Gladstone's pay. Being human, the English statesman doubtless expressed his opinions now and then with warmth and freedom; but no man's private expressions have any proper concern for the public until their private character has been lost by publication.

Dr. Moritz Busch entered the employ of Bismarck just upon the eve of the breaking out of the Franco-Prussian War. Busch had been something of a traveler and had written several books. He was also a clever journalist. He was recommended to Bismarck as a man who knew how to "work the newspapers," as an American politician would say. It was for this sole purpose that Busch was employed by Bismarck pretty constantly through a period of some twenty years. Bismarck had formed the mental habit of absolutely identifying himself and his own masterful plans and policies with

* Bismarck: *Some Secret Pages of His History*. Being a diary kept by Dr. Moritz Busch during twenty-five years' official and private intercourse with the great chancellor. With portraits. 2 vols., 8vo, pp. 525-585. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$10.

the true welfare and progress of the German nation. He would appear never to have had the slightest misgiving as to the validity of this theory of himself. He held it to be a fundamental axiom in German politics that it was essential for the German welfare that Bismarck's will should be done in Germany, and as far beyond the limits of Germany as possible. Any means to the fulfillment of his ends seemed to him to be justifiable. Any hesitation on the part of any man, whether the Emperor or a lesser personage, about the adoption of Bismarck's policies and the approval of his methods, seemed to Bismarck the sign of weakness, stupidity, or something worse. Thus opposition to Bismarck was the unpardonable sin and good ground for relentless hatred. It is necessary to have this Bismarckian theory of Bismarck clearly in mind in order to get the bearing of Dr. Busch's two elaborate volumes. The value of Dr. Busch to Prince Bismarck, apart from Busch's wonderful facility and knack in working the newspapers, consisted in Busch's complete acceptance of the above-mentioned theory. Busch went so far as to call Bismarck his Messiah and to indulge in something approaching a blasphemous idolatry. This attachment on the part of Busch was no passing whim, but the absorbing passion of a lifetime. Busch liked whatever Bismarck liked; but especially and above all did Busch violently loathe whatever was hateful to Bismarck.

Prince Bismarck will stand as one of the gigantic personalities of human history. His intellectual life was not so rich and many-sided as that of Mr. Gladstone, but he was certainly a man of varied genius and of many phases. A good deal of the variety of Bismarck's great mind and nature is of necessity reflected in the jottings that Moritz Busch was in the habit of making from day to day, after having heard Bismarck's table-talk, or after a frank and confidential political discussion growing out of Busch's relationship to the chancellor or press secretary. But we must remember

OUR CROWN! (FRANCE'S FUNERAL OFFERING.)

From *Le Rive* (Paris).

that Busch is not a many-sided genius, and that Bismarck was never at any pains to reveal himself entirely to the gentleman whom he hired to influence the German and foreign newspapers on behalf of Bismarck's political policies. Busch wrote one book about Bismarck in the late 70s and another in the early 80s. These were pretty carefully edited, Bismarck himself having secretly revised the proofs. It is convenient to find much of the material used in those books reproduced in the two large volumes now given to the public, together, of course, with a large amount of interpolated material which could not be used while Bismarck was alive and a mass of later data.

It is not our purpose at all in this notice to thread together fragmentary quotations from this amazing collection of notes upon Bismarck's private conversations. It must suffice to indicate the nature of the work. Dr. Busch makes it reasonably clear that Bismarck had given him full permission to print anything that he chose after his death. It is not worth while to raise any question about the good taste of the performance, since there is not the slightest attempt to maintain even a show of respecting anybody's feelings. Indeed, Dr. Busch's chief desire would seem to be to lunge as fiercely as possible at anybody who had ever dared to cross the path of his adored chief. It must be said, on the other hand, in justice to Dr. Busch, that there is no attempt to place Bismarck in a false light, nor to minimize, nor yet to apologize for anything whatsoever.

The Bismarck revealed to us in these memoirs is the man who purposely set the clever diplomatic trap into which the French stumbled in 1870, in order to bring on

TO THE RUBBISH-HEAP!—From *Le Orelot* (Paris).

a war for which he knew that Germany was prepared while France was not. While he was putting the French in a false position and forcing them into a war in which they should appear before the world as the unjustifiable aggressors, he was engaged at home in the noble game of endeavoring to goad his reluctant King into something like a resolute mood and a proper feeling of enthusiasm for a war which that rather wooden and unimaginative gentleman had no appetite for. As respects this great period of war-making and empire-building,

himself. But if Prince Bismarck despised the Emperor Frederick, the feeling of antipathy was wild when contrasted with his deadly hatred of the Empress, Queen Victoria's eldest daughter, whom he always considered to be his worst enemy. Royal women always bothered him a good deal, the old Queen and Empress Augusta having been a thorn in his side for a great many years.

The story of the chancellor's dismissal by the present Emperor and of his relations to the younger William is not so full of new facts and material as the political gossip of Europe might have desired. It is, however, sufficiently frank and straightforward. Bismarck in the earlier days had regarded the young William as his own disciple. It was only after William chose to dispense with the services of Bismarck that the old chancellor discovered how hot-headed and rattle-brained and altogether dangerous a young man had come to the imperial throne.

Dr. Busch's volumes are a perfect encyclopedia of anecdote and comment upon the two great Bismarckian decades from 1870 to 1890. A great deal of material relating to the earlier periods of Bismarck's career is inserted in the form of letters and papers that the Prince had allowed Busch to copy for any future use he might desire to make. When the worst had been said about the cantankerousness and bitterness of much of the material collected in these volumes, it will remain true that they give evidence, at least, that there was nothing whatever in Bismarck's career that he desired to conceal, and that he was entirely willing that posterity should form its opinion of him in the light of the whole truth.

Most students of German history and of the career of Bismarck will be inclined to say after reading the Busch volumes that, while their fund of information has been enormously increased, they have found no reason to materially modify their estimate of the character of Bismarck, nor their opinion as to his methods of achievements. It has long been well known

GERMANY FORGIVES—FRANCE, NEVER!
From the *Amsterdammer* (Holland).

Bismarck, as reported by Busch, is a good deal disturbed lest the King whom he, Bismarck, had made Emperor of united Germany should cheat history and obtain a little personal credit for some of the achievements in arms or in statesmanship of the years 1870-71. This work of Dr. Busch's is particularly meant to show that Bismarck alone conceived everything, planned everything, and achieved everything; and that his royal master was a sort of lay figure—an annoying incumbrance, now and then—with a stupid way of retarding necessary proceedings, and otherwise without much claim upon the good-will or gratitude of German posterity, except in so far as he showed one great virtue—namely, that of expressing now and then his humble appreciation of the unparalleled services of Bismarck.

As for "Unser Fritz," Germany was quite mistaken in supposing that he had done anything very valiant or noteworthy in the war; and Bismarck has great pleasure in being able to show by the narration of various incidents that the Crown Prince was rather a flabby, helpless sort of person, who never really did anything to justify his existence. The only redeeming circumstance about the brief reign of the Emperor Frederick was his retention of Bismarck as chancellor. Even this apparently sensible and suitable conduct on the part of Frederick was rendered of small avail for saving his position in history by reason of the publication after his death of his diary. That diary, as everybody will remember, was devoted in the main to a setting forth of the trials and tribulations that the Emperor and Empress Frederick suffered at the hands of a certain Prince Otto von Bismarck. Plenty of space in these Busch revelations is accorded to Bismarck's contemptuous opinion of the diary and of the Emperor Frederick

that he made constant use of the newspapers, in order to exploit his views and to influence public opinion. Dr. Busch shows us how the whole thing was carried on in detail. Not much, however, that it is necessary to construe as dishonorable is shown in this journalistic activity of the great German statesman.

It is not to be supposed that so masterful and ambitious a chancellor as Bismarck, conscious of having created an empire, should have had a very exalted notion of the abilities of the successive sovereigns whose servant he was supposed to be. The world has never for a

and America—indeed, in every nook and corner of the civilized world they will be read and discussed with keen interest. No man except the first Napoleon has in modern times laid his hands with such force and significance upon the map of Europe as Bismarck; and all countries have directly or indirectly been affected by his strong policies.

Such unguarded and frank memoirs as these, given to the public at the very moment of a great statesman's death, are altogether a new thing in biographical

THE REVENGE OF THE DEAD.—From *Figaro* (Paris).

(This cartoon might well be printed on the title-page of Dr. Busch's book.)

chapter of these volumes of Dr. Busch's. Through all his active and turbulent years of political life, in the course of which he brought on three great wars, nothing would have suited his private inclination so much as to retire to his landed estates, there to engage in the peaceful pursuits of agriculture.

There is no need to encourage students of modern history and politics to read these memoirs of Dr. Busch, nor yet to discourage their perusal. In any case they will be eagerly devoured in Germany, France, England,

There is little reason to believe, however, that any systematic or complete manuscript was left by Prince Bismarck, and probably nothing will ever be published which can approach these volumes of Busch in their quality of reflecting literally and faithfully the manner, language, mental habit, and general point of view of the great German statesman.

It is hardly necessary to explain that the cartoons reproduced from foreign papers that appear herewith have no connection with Dr. Busch's revelations. To interpolate them, however, does not seem impertinent, in view of the character of the book under review. They are all of them remarkable and have, of course, appeared since Bismarck's death. ALBERT SHAW.

RECENT AMERICAN PUBLICATIONS.

MILITARY AND NAVAL WORKS.

Military Europe. By Nelson A. Miles. 4to, pp. 122. New York: Doubleday & McClure Company. \$1.50.

In this volume General Miles gives "a narrative of personal observation and personal experience" during a visit made last year to the different countries of Europe for the purpose of studying military conditions generally and the war between Greece and Turkey especially. The publishers have illustrated General Miles' very interesting account with many portraits, pictures of troops and naval views. All of the pictures are remarkably clear and well printed. The frontispiece portrait of General Miles himself is especially noteworthy.

War Memories of an Army Chaplain. By H. Clay Trumbull. 12mo, pp. 421. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$3.

Rev. Henry Clay Trumbull, widely known throughout the country for his exceedingly able and valuable work as editor of the *Sunday-School Times*, was a war chaplain of wide experience during the war with the South, and he has written a volume packed full of interesting reminiscences, anecdotes and reflections that bring back to us the war period from a fresh standpoint. Perhaps nobody knows as much about real army life as the regimental chaplain.

The Yankee Navy. By Tom Masson. 8vo, pp. 124. New York: Life Publishing Company. \$1.

This is an entertaining account of our navy's achievements, well written and attractively illustrated. The concluding chapter brings the story up to date, i.e., to the end of the war with Spain, but how the battleship *Oregon* and her doings could fall to receive mention in the record of Cervera's defeat at Santiago passes our comprehension.

With Dewey at Manila. Edited by Thomas J. Vivian. Paper, 12mo, pp. 100. New York: R. F. Fenno & Co. 25 cents.

This is the story of the American victory on the first of May as told in the notes and correspondence of an officer on board Admiral Dewey's flagship, the *Olympia*. The narrative is well written and the information about the contending squadrons apparently authentic. The book is suitably illustrated.

The Navy in the Civil War: The Blockade and the Cruisers. By James Russell Soley. 12mo, pp. 257. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.

The Navy in the Civil War: The Atlantic Coast. By Daniel Ammen. 12mo, pp. 283. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.

The Navy in the Civil War: The Gulf and Inland Waters. By A. T. Mahan. 12mo, pp. 267. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.

Fifteen years ago the house of Scribners dealt with the naval operations of the United States Government during the period of the Civil War in three excellent little volumes, the names and authors of which are listed above. It is well worth while to have these books on the market again in a new edition. At this time, all the literature of the American navy finds eager readers, and these little volumes have standard value.

HISTORY.

The Historical Development of Modern Europe. Part II.—From 1850 to 1897. By Charles M. Andrews. 8vo, pp. 474. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$2.50.

In the second and concluding volume of his work on modern European history Professor Andrews deals with such themes as the rise of the Second Empire in France, the Crimean War, the establishment of Italian unity, the rise

of Prussia under Bismarck, the Eastern question, the founding of the French Republic and the German Empire, the growth of Russia, and the vicissitudes of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The author has not attempted to write a minute chronicle of events, but rather to single out those phases of French, German, Italian, and English history that have a direct bearing on the historical development of continental Europe as a whole.

Men and Manners of the Eighteenth Century. By Susan Hale. 12mo, pp. 326. Meadville, Pa.: Flood & Vincent. \$1.

Miss Hale has attempted in this volume not so much a study of literature in itself as a study of real life through the medium of literature. Thus the eighteenth century is revealed to us through the novels, diaries, and letters of the time as happily selected by Miss Hale. With such skill have the quotations been made that the book, from beginning to end, is a singularly attractive presentation of English life a century ago.

Twenty Centuries of English History. By James Richard Joy. 12mo, pp. 318. Meadville, Pa.: Flood & Vincent. \$1.

This history is too much condensed to make "easy reading." The outline of the story is given, with references to collateral reading.

TRAVEL.

The Rainbow's End: Alaska. By Alice Palmer Henderson. 12mo, pp. 296. Chicago: Herbert S. Stone & Co. \$1.50.

This is a breezy and entertaining account of a woman's journeyings in Alaska and the Klondike country. The book is packed with information and with good advice to those contemplating a fortune-seeking voyage to that part of the world.

Through China with a Camera. By John Thomson. 8vo, pp. 298. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. \$5.

In this volume nearly one hundred interesting photographs taken in China by Mr. Thomson are reproduced. The author's comments on modern Chinese conditions are timely and important.

POLITICS AND ECONOMICS.

The Control of the Tropics. By Benjamin Kidd. 12mo, pp. 101. New York: The Macmillan Company. 75 cents.

Mr. Kidd's little volume, which can be read in an hour, is worth more than many a pretentious work of ten times its bulk. It ought to be read all over the United States, because it lays down, in the light of historical experience, the true administrative principles upon which the United States should proceed in the practical work of making itself useful in the Philippines and in dealing successfully with the West Indies. Mr. Kidd—who, by the way, is now visiting this country and is engaged upon an important new work—holds that the development of civilization requires an ever-increasing economic efficiency in the naturally rich tropical regions, and that such efficiency can only be secured by political and administrative control from the temperate zones. Good instances of what he means are afforded by the work that England is doing in Egypt, and the better phases of English rule in India. We commend the book to all thoughtful minds as highly pertinent to the current discussions of the American policy of expansion.

America's Foreign Policy. By Theodore Salisbury Woolsey. 12mo, pp. 304. New York: The Century Company. \$1.25.

Professor T. S. Woolsey, who holds the chair of international law in the Yale University Law School, has from

time to time contributed to the *Yale Review*, the *Yale Law Journal*, and other periodicals, certain noteworthy essays dealing with particular questions of American diplomacy and foreign relations. These articles are now reprinted in a volume entitled "America's Foreign Policy." In view of the manner in which the book was written, it must be said that the chapters have a unexpectedly consecutive character, forming a volume possessing a good deal of coherence. The principal criticism that suggests itself is the ephemeral character of several of the chapters, which have already been rendered obsolete by the swift movement of events. What Professor Woolsey wrote last May, for instance, about the future of the Philippines could hardly be written to-day, in the light of the actual situation.

The State. By Woodrow Wilson. Revised Edition. 8vo, pp. 691. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. \$2.

In this new edition of Professor Wilson's well-known text-book on "The State" the author has embodied all recent constitutional and legislative changes in the various governments described. It is interesting to note that this valuable work has been highly appreciated by educators the world over. A few months ago a Japanese edition, published in Japan, was put on the market. It is said that for some years past Cambridge University, England, has used Professor Wilson's book as a standard treatise, and it is used by more than two hundred American colleges.

Socialism and the Social Movement in the 19th Century. By Werner Sombart. Translated by Anson P. Atterbury. With Introduction by John B. Clark. 12mo, pp. 216. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$1.25.

This is a valuable *résumé* of the modern socialistic movement by a German university professor. It is a study of socialism as it actually exists, rather than a digest of socialistic speculations. It should be read by all who would inform themselves regarding the European and international movements of these latter days.

Problems of Modern Industry. By Sidney and Beatrice Webb. 8vo, pp. 294. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. \$2.50.

In this volume the authors of "Industrial Democracy" and other works on related subjects discuss various questions connected with the London sweating system and industrial conditions in general. Several of the chapters had already appeared in the form of magazine articles.

Natural Taxation. By Thomas G. Shearman. 12mo, pp. 268. New York: Doubleday & McClure Company. \$1.

Next to Henry George himself Mr. Thomas G. Shearman has long been recognized as perhaps the ablest advocate of the single tax on land values. The distinctive purpose of his little book on "Natural Taxation," of which a new and enlarged edition has just been published, is to show that the scheme of the single tax is merely a simple and natural proposition in economics entirely capable of scientific application. All of Mr. Shearman's illustrations are drawn from ordinary business life, and the book as a whole is addressed to practical business men rather than to theorists.

Cotton. By C. P. Brooks. 8vo, pp. 362. New York: Spon & Chamberlain. \$3.

This volume deals with the successive steps in the cultivation of cotton, its preparation for the market, and manufacture. The author has made a thorough study of the whole subject. A chapter is devoted to the by-products, such as cotton-seed oil and meal. The work is fully and carefully illustrated and altogether makes an exhaustive presentation of an important industrial topic.

Falling Prices and the Remedy. By Lyman F. George. 12mo, pp. 239. Boston: George Book Publishing Company. \$1.

The author of this work makes an argument for a government issue of legal-tender paper money in sufficient volume to insure, through the rise in prices, "the material well-being of the wealth-producing and laboring classes of the nation." He assumes that such an increase in prices as would follow an expansion of the currency would result in the accumulation of wealth by "the masses."

RELIGION AND ETHICS.

The Hope of Immortality. By the Rev. J. E. C. Well-don. 12mo, pp. 356. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$1.50.

The distinguished head master of Harrow School addresses this essay on a well-worn theme to the intelligence and information "not of theological experts especially, but of educated men and women in general." In the development of his argument he keeps in view the agnostic reader who rejects authority but who is "ready to face the facts of human nature and life."

The Christian Revelation. By Borden P. Bowne. 16mo, pp. 107. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. 50 cents.

Professor Bowne's purpose in this discussion of the current theories of biblical inspiration is to lead his readers away from abstract speculation and, as he expresses it, "to treat of concrete matters concretely." That is to say, he regards the abstract question as to the inerrancy of the Scriptures as practically irrelevant, holding that the value of the Bible, like that of all knowledge, must be determined "not by abstract theories of what it must be, but rather by study of what it proves itself to be in the religious life of the world."

The Death and Resurrection of Jesus Christ. By Edmond Stapfer. Translated by Louise Seymour Houghton. 12mo, pp. 290. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.25.

In the series of essays by Professor Stapfer on the person, authority and work of Jesus Christ the third and concluding volume is devoted to the history of Christ's death and resurrection. These studies by Professor Stapfer have emphasized fresh views of many episodes of the gospel story, and the whole subject is presented in a novel and attractive form. The author's purpose is to state historic facts rather than to indulge in dogmatic conclusions.

History of Dogma. By Adolph Harnack. Translated by Neil Buchanan. Vol. IV. 8vo, pp. 353. Boston: Little, Brown & Co.

The fourth volume of the English translation of Harnack's great work corresponds with the concluding portion of the second volume of the original. It covers the development of Christian doctrine from the Council of Nice to the ninth century.

The Christian Pastor and the Working Church. By Washington Gladden, D.D. 8vo, pp. 499. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$2.50.

This is essentially a practical book, dealing with such topics as "The Call to the Pastorate," "The Church Organization," "The Sunday-School," "The Midweek Service," "The Social Life of the Church," "Woman's Work in the Church," "The Young Men and Women," "The Pastor and the Children," "Missionary Societies and Church Contributions," "Revivals and Revivalism," "The Institutional Church," "The Care of the Poor," etc. Dr. Gladden's experience for many years as a successful pastor certainly qualifies him to speak with authority on these various subjects. The book ought to have special value for all young clergymen and active church workers generally. The book is issued in the series known as "The International Theological Library," although, as Dr. Gladden explains in his preface, the subject treated is applied Christianity, and not theology in any proper sense of the word.

Missions and Politics in Asia. By Robert E. Speer. 12mo, pp. 271. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. \$1.

This book contains a series of timely studies, by one of the secretaries of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, of the present political attitudes of the nations of the far East, considered with special reference to the advancement of Christian missions. Especially suggestive are his chapters on China and Japan.

John G. Paton: Missionary to the New Hebrides. An Autobiography. Vol. III. 12mo, pp. 99. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. 50 cents.

This supplementary volume continues the story of Dr. Paton's life from 1886 to the present time. His famous journeys in behalf of the cause of missions are described at length.

History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Alabama, 1763-1891. By Walter C. Whitaker. 12mo, pp. 317. Tuscaloosa, Ala.: Published by the Author. \$1.25.

In this history of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Alabama several topics of general interest are treated, as for example, the establishment of a Brotherhood of the Church, similar to the modern Brotherhood of St. Andrew, in Mobile as long ago as 1855; the attitude of Southern dioceses during the period of reconstruction, just after the Civil War; the attempts of the church to deal with the negro problem, and the early institution of an order of deaconesses by Bishop Wilmer. There are portraits of Bishops Cobbs and Wilmer and an excellent index.

Bible Characters: Gideon to Absalom. By Alexander Whyte, D.D. 12mo, pp. 245. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. \$1.25.

This is the second series of Dr. Whyte's character sketches of biblical personages. In this volume are described the characters of Gideon, Samson, Ruth, Samuel, Saul, David, Jonathan, Solomon, Absalom, and several minor figures in Bible stories. David requires four chapters, devoted, respectively, to his virtues, his vices, his graces, and his services. The sketches are easily and brightly written and calculated to impress spiritual lessons.

Essays on the Principles of Morality, and on the Private and Political Rights and Obligations of Mankind. By Jonathan Dymond. 12mo, pp. 506. Philadelphia: Friends' Book Store.

Jonathan Dymond, the author of this work, died as long ago as 1838. The "Principles of Morality" has been abridged and reprinted by the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends, and is prefaced by a brief biography of Dymond. The book is interesting, as embodying a complete and well thought out system of moral philosophy. The writer accepts the will of the Deity as the only ultimate standard of right and wrong and assumes "that wherever this will is made known human duty is determined; and that neither the conclusions of philosophers, nor advantages, nor dangers, nor pleasures, nor sufferings, ought to have any passing influence in regulating our conduct."

Guide to True Religion. By P. Woods. 12mo, pp. 301. Baltimore: John Murphy & Co. \$1.

A treatise on religious faith and practice written from the Roman Catholic point of view.

Jewish Services in Synagogue and Home. By Lewis N. Dembitz. 12mo, pp. 487. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America. \$1.75.

The Book of Leviticus: A New English Translation printed in colors exhibiting the composite structure of the Book, with explanatory notes. By S. R.

Driver and H. A. White. 8vo, pp. 107. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. \$1.25.

Sin and Holiness, or What It Is to Be Holy. By Rev. D. W. C. Huntington. 12mo, pp. 288. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. \$1.20.

In this our World. By Charlotte Perkins Stetson. 16mo, pp. 217. Boston: Small, Maynard & Co. \$1.25.

What are You Doing Here? A Consideration of the Meaning and Aims of Life in Journeying through the World. By Abram Conklin. 16mo, pp. 106. Boston: James H. West. 50 cents.

Daniel's Great Prophecy. The Eastern Question. The Kingdom. By Rev. Nathaniel West, D.D. 8vo, pp. 307. New York: The Hope of Israel Movement, 128 Second St. \$1.

Christian Science and its Problems. By J. H. Bates, Ph.M. 16mo, pp. 141. New York: Eaton & Mains, 50 cents.

The Mistakes of Ingersoll. By Rev. Thomas McGrady. 12mo, pp. 344. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. \$1.

The Seed Basket for Preachers and Teachers: Being a Collection of 800 Sermon Outlines, Seed-Corn, Sunday School Addresses, etc., etc. 18mo, pp. 100. New York: Wilbur B. Ketcham. 50 cents.

Christ in the Daily Meal: or, The Ordinance of the Breaking of Bread. By Norman Fox, D.D. 16mo, pp. 188. New York: Fords, Howard & Hulbert. 50 cents.

Sunny Life of an Invalid. By C. Howard Young. 16mo, pp. 291. Hartford, Conn.: Published by the Author. \$1.

The Panacea for Poverty. By Madison C. Peters, D.D. 12mo, pp. 207. New York: The Bloomingdale Church Press. \$1.

BIOGRAPHY.

The Story of Gladstone's Life. By Justin McCarthy. 8vo, pp. 516. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$6.

Mr. McCarthy's "Story of Gladstone's Life" was noticed in the Review at the time of its appearance last winter. In the second edition, which has just appeared, the author has completed the story, narrating the details of the closing months of Gladstone's life. Several important illustrations have also been added, among these a view of the great statesman's last resting-place in Westminster Abbey.

Life of Napoleon the Third. By Archibald Forbes. 8vo, pp. 355. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. \$3.50.

Archibald Forbes, the war correspondent, has written a very readable biography of the last Emperor of France. The portions relating to the capitulation at Sedan have a fresh interest in connection with accounts of that episode that have been published since Bismarck's death.

LITERATURE AND ART.

Voyages and Travels of Sir John Mandeville. Edited by Arthur Layard. With Introduction by Jacques W. Redway. Eothen. By Alexander William Kinglake. With Introduction by Jacques W. Redway. 8vo, pp. 224 and 245. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

Memoirs of Benvenuto Cellini. Translated by John Addington Symonds. With Introduction by John C. Van Dyke. 8vo, pp. 432. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

In the series of "The World's Great Books" two more volumes have reached us. One of these contains in happy though novel juxtaposition old Sir John Mandeville's "Voyages and Travels," and Kinglake's "Eothen." Mr. Kinglake, who wrote the authoritative history of the Crimean War, had previously published anonymously in 1844 this book, "Eothen," which is a delightful account of travels in the Orient.

It has already become evident that the editors of this series do not propose to decide what are really "the world's great books" by taking a majority opinion of the readers of the one-cent New York newspapers. If they had called upon the public in that way to furnish a list of the best books, it is to be feared that not many of the replies would have included the "Memoirs of Benvenuto Cellini." We are very thankful to the editors for conducting this series in their own way. Cellini's "Memoirs give us some of that kind of clear insight into the life and point of view of the men who lived in Florence in the period of Italian renaissance that old Samuel Pepys gives us of a great epoch in English history, or that Moritz Buch has just now given us of the life and times of Bismarck.

Vondel's *Lucifer*. Translated by Leonard Charles Van Noppen. 8vo, pp. 438. New York: Continental Publishing Company. \$5.

Strangely enough, this volume, only recently published, contains the first English translation of the great Dutch poet's masterpiece. In an introduction to Mr. Van Noppen's work Professor Carpenter, of Columbia University, assures us that the question of Milton's indebtedness to Vondel is no longer to be considered an open one, but has resolved itself into an inquiry simply as to the amount of the influence exerted. However this may be, there is reason enough for the publication in English of such a classic as the "Lucifer," and it is fortunate that the work could be so artistically done. The book is illustrated with drawings by John Aarts, the eminent Dutch artist. Mr. Van Noppen is himself an American of Dutch descent, and his task has evidently been a labor of love. He prefaces his rendering of the poem with a sketch of Vondel's life and times and an interpretative essay on the "Lucifer."

The Bookman. Vol. VII., March, 1898—August, 1898. 8vo, pp. 536. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co.

If one were to draw conclusions from the portrait representation in its pages it would seem that the *Bookman* is giving an increasing amount of attention to the drama. In the last volume, for example, one of the most effective pictures is a reproduction of Mr. S. Arlent Edwards' admirable drawing of Miss Maude Adams as *Babbie* in "The Little Minister." There is also an excellent portrait of Mr. J. H. Stoddard, the veteran actor. But on the whole the *Bookman* uses most of its space for the treatment of purely literary topics and matters connected with the pursuit of letters as a profession.

The Music Dramas of Richard Wagner. By Albert Lavignac. Translated by Eether Singleton. 12mo, pp. 515. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. \$2.50.

We have in this volume a Frenchman's contribution to Wagnerian literature. The book is expository rather than critical. It is interesting because of its point of view and the author's determination to induce as many as possible of his countrymen to follow in his own footsteps and make the yearly pilgrimage to Bayreuth. There are portraits of Wagner, his son Siegfried, and the great Bayreuth conductors, including the late Anton Seidl.

SCHOOL AND COLLEGE TEXT-BOOKS.

Goldsmith's *Vicar of Wakefield*. With Notes and Introduction by William Henry Hudson. 16mo, pp. xxxii, 264. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. 50 cents.

From Chaucer to Tennyson. (Chautauqua Reading Circle course, 1898-99.) By Henry A. Beers. Illus., 12mo, pp. 325. Meadville, Pa.: Flood & Vincent. \$1.

First Lessons in German. By Sigmon M. Stern. 12mo, pp. 299. New York: Henry Holt & Co. \$1.

Der Praktische Deutsche. By U. Jos. Beiley. 12mo, pp. 251. New York: William R. Jenkins. \$1.

A Course in German Composition, Conversation and Grammar Review. By Wilhelm Bernhardt. 12mo, pp. 242. Boston: Ginn & Co. 90 cents.

Wilhelm Tell. By Friedrich Schiller. Edited, with Introduction, Notes and Vocabulary, by Arthur H. Palmer. 12mo, pp. 478. New York: Henry Holt & Co. \$1.

Schiller's Wilhelm Tell. With Introduction and Notes. By W. H. Carruth. 12mo, pp. 306. New York: The Macmillan Company. 50 cents.

Selections from Jean Paul Friedrich Richter. Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by George Stuart Collins. 12mo, pp. 163. New York: American Book Company. 60 cents.

Die Komödie auf der Hochschule. By Friedrich Heibig. Edited, with an Introduction and Notes, by Benjamin W. Wells. Boards, 12mo, pp. 143. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. 35 cents.

Die Freiherren von Gemperlein. By Marie von Ebner-Eschenbach. Edited, with an Introduction, Notes and an Appendix, by A. R. Hohlfeld. Boards, 12mo, pp. 137. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. 35 cents.

Der Zerbrochene Krug. By Heinrich Zschokke. Edited, with Introduction, Notes and Vocabulary, by Edward S. Joynes. Boards, 12mo, pp. 88. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. 30 cents.

Norwegian Grammar and Reader. With Notes and Vocabulary. By Julius E. Olson. 12mo, pp. 330. Chicago: Scott, Foresman & Co.

The Mason School Music Course. Book Two. By Luther Whiting Mason, Fred H. Butterfield and Osbourne McConathy. 12mo, pp. xiii, 111. Boston: Ginn & Co. 40 cents.

A Short Course in Music. Book One. By Frederic H. Ripley and Thomas Tapper. 8vo, pp. 144. New York: American Book Company. 35 cents.

Europe in the Nineteenth Century. (Chautauqua Reading Circle course, 1898-99.) By Harry Pratt Judson. Illus., 12mo, pp. 342. Meadville, Pa.: Flood & Vincent. \$1.

Lectures on Elementary Mathematics. By Joseph Louis Lagrange. Translated by Thomas J. McCormack. 12mo, pp. 172. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company. \$1.

An Advanced Arithmetic. By G. A. Wentworth. 12mo, pp. 415. Boston: Ginn & Co. \$1.

An Algebraic Arithmetic. By S. E. Coleman. 12mo, pp. 164. New York: The Macmillan Company. 60 cents.

New School Algebra. By G. A. Wentworth. 12mo, pp. 412. Boston: Ginn & Co. \$1.12.

Physiology, Experimental and Descriptive. By Buel P. Colton. 12mo, pp. 443. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. \$1.12.

Walks and Talks in the Geological Field. (Chautauqua Reading Circle course, 1898-99.) By Alexander Winchell. Revised and Edited by Frederick Starr. Illus., 12mo, pp. 353. Meadville, Pa.: Flood & Vincent. \$1.

- Plant Life.** By Charles Reid Barnes. 12mo, pp. 438. New York: Henry Holt & Co. \$1.12.
- Seed-Travellers.** Studies of the Methods of Dispersal of Various Common Seeds. By Clarence Moores Weed. 12mo, pp. 58. Boston: Ginn & Co. 30 cents.
- Botany: The Story of Plant Life.** By Julia MacNair Wright. 16mo, pp. 208. Philadelphia: The Penn Publishing Company. 50 cents.
- The Elements of Physics.** By Alfred Payson Gage. 12mo, pp. 381. Boston: Ginn & Co. \$1.20.
- Astronomy: The Sun and His Family.** By Julia MacNair Wright. 16mo, pp. 208. Philadelphia: The Penn Publishing Company. 50 cents.
- The New Education in Penmanship.** By L. H. Hausam. 12mo, pp. 138. Salina, Kans.: The Central Kansas Publishing Company.
- FICTION.**
- A Bachelor Maid and Her Brother.** By I. T. Thurston. 12mo, pp. 335. Boston: A. I. Bradley & Co. \$1.25.
- A Bride of Japan.** By Carlton Dawe. 12mo, pp. 268. Chicago: Herbert S. Stone & Co. \$1.50.
- A Damsel Errant.** By Amélie Rives (Princess Troubetzkoy). Illus., 24mo, pp. 211. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 75 cents.
- A Daughter of Two Nations.** By Ella Gale McClelland. Illus., 16mo, pp. 308. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. \$1.25.
- A Duel with Destiny, and Other Stories.** By Edith Townsend Everett. 12mo, pp. 162. Philadelphia: Drexel Biddle. 75 cents.
- A Fight for Freedom. A Story of the Land of the Tsar.** By Gordon Stables. 12mo, pp. 328. Boston: A. I. Bradley & Co. \$1.25.
- An Irish Patriot.** By Walter Fortescue. Paper, 12mo, pp. 412. New York: F. Tennyson Neely. 50 cents.
- Anita, the Cuban Spy.** By Gilson Willets. 12mo, pp. 405. New York: F. Tennyson Neely. \$1.
- Ariel; or The Author's World. A Metaphysical Story.** By Mary Platt Parmele. Paper, 12mo, pp. 79. New York: The Alliance Publishing Company. 25 cents.
- A Runaway Couple: A Story of New York Society.** By Oliver Lowrey. 16mo, pp. 454. New York: F. Tennyson Neely. 50 cents.
- As Having Nothing.** By Hester Caldwell Oakley. 12mo, pp. 330. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$1.
- At Aboukir and Acre. A Story of Napoleon's Invasion of Egypt.** By G. A. Henty. Illus., 12mo, pp. 331. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.50.
- Bijli the Dancer.** A novel of modern India. By James Blythe Patton. Illus., 12mo, pp. 344. Boston: L. C. Page & Co. \$1.50.
- Bonnie Mackirby.** An International Episode. By Laura Dayton Fessenden. 16mo, pp. 240. Chicago: Rand, McNally & Co. 75 cents.
- Both Sides the Border.** A Tale of Hotspur and Glendower. By G. A. Henty. Illus., 12mo, pp. 378. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.50.
- Cast Thou the First Stone. A Story of Spanish Intrigue and Treachery.** By Frances Marie Norton. Paper, 12mo, pp. 495. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Co. 50 cents.
- Cross Trails.** A Spanish-American Novel. By Victor Waite. Illus., 12mo, pp. 456. Boston: L. C. Page & Co. \$1.50.
- Dorothy Draycott's To-morrows.** By Virginia F. Townsend. 12mo, pp. 382. Boston: Lee & Shepard. \$1.50.
- Fortuna: A Story of Wall Street.** By James Blanchard Clews. 12mo, pp. 215. New York: J. S. Ogilvie Publishing Company. \$1.
- Gloria Victis.** By J. A. Mitchell. 12mo, pp. 269. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.25.
- Her Place in the World.** By Amanda M. Douglas. 12mo, pp. 355. Boston: Lee & Shepard. \$1.50.
- His Neighbor's Wife.** By Gilson Willets. Paper, 12mo, pp. 320. New York: F. Tennyson Neely. 50 cents.
- In Strange Quarters. A Story of Constantinople.** By Edwin Hodder. Illus., 12mo, pp. 312. Boston: A. I. Bradley & Co. \$1.25.
- Ionia; Land of Wise Men and Fair Women.** By Alexander Craig. Illus., 12mo, pp. 301. Chicago: E. A. Weeks Company. \$1.25.
- Ivy Meredith, Or A Season in the South.** By Celia Armagh. 12mo, pp. 273. Boston: A. I. Bradley & Co. \$1.25.
- King Circumstance.** By Edwin Pugh. 12mo, pp. 332. New York: Henry Holt & Co. \$1.25.
- Klondike Nuggets, and How Two Boys Secured Them.** By E. S. Ellis. Illus., 12mo, pp. 255. New York: Doubleday & McClure Company. \$1.
- Love Does It All. A "Life" Story.** By Ida Lemon Hildyard. 16mo, pp. 60. Boston: James H. West. 50 cents.
- Not All the King's Horses.** A Novel of Washington Society. By Katherine Elwes Thomas. 16mo, pp. 210. New York: The Cassell Publishing Company. 50 cents.
- Not In It.** By Anna Olcott Commelin. 12mo, pp. 96. New York: Fowler & Wells Company. 75 cents.
- Peggy of the Bartons.** By B. M. Croker. 12mo, pp. 442. New York: R. F. Fenno & Co. \$1.25.
- Philip Barton's Secret.** By Mrs. May Anderson Hawkins. Illus., 12mo, pp. 228. Cincinnati: Curtis & Jennings. 85 cents.
- Rose à Charlitte.** An Acadien Romance. By Marshall Saunders. Illus., 12mo, pp. 516. Boston: L. C. Page & Co. \$1.50.
- Seven Months a Prisoner.** By J. V. Hadley. 16mo, pp. 258. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 75 cents.
- Shantytown Sketches.** By Anthony J. Drexel Biddle. 12mo, pp. 67. Philadelphia: Drexel Biddle. 25 cents.
- Smoking Flax.** By Hallie Erminie Rives. 16mo, pp. 232. New York: F. Tennyson Neely. 50 cents.
- Sons of Adversity.** A Romance of Queen Elizabeth's Time. By L. Cope Cornford. Illus., 12mo, pp. 315. Boston: L. C. Page & Co. \$1.25.
- The Boys with Old Hickory. A Story of the War of 1812.** By Everett T. Tomlinson. 12mo, pp. 352. Boston: Lee & Shepard. \$1.50.
- The Disciple.** By Paul Bourget. Paper, 12mo, pp. 341. New York: F. Tennyson Neely. 50 cents.
- The Dull Miss Archinard.** By Anne Douglas Sedgwick. 12mo, pp. 287. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.25.

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- Bookbinding, Something New in, W. H. Edmunds, M.A.
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 Books of the Coming Year, D. September 18.
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 Boys, Take Care of the, B. P. Neuman, FR.
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 Bridge Construction, European and American, G. Lindenthal, EngM.
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 F. Knopff, and M. H. Spielmann, MA.
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 Child, Development of the Inner Life of the, Maria Kraus-Boclet, Kind.
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 China Painting: Landscapes in Monochrome, Marie Richard, AA.
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 Chinese Fiction, G. T. Candlin, OC.
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 Christian Legends of the Hebrides, A. Goodrich-Freer, CR.
 Christianity? What Was Primitive, W. S. Lilly, NC.
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 Church in the Navy, The, H. H. Lewis, Dem.
 Coinage, Curiousities of American, A. E. Outerbridge, APS.
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|---------|---|---------|--|---------|---|
| AP. | American Amateur Photographer, N. Y. | DR. | Dublin Review, Dublin. | NatM. | National Magazine, Boston. |
| ACQ. | American Catholic Quarterly Review, Phila. | ER. | Edinburgh Review, London. | NatR. | National Review, London. |
| AHR. | American Historical Review, N. Y. | Ed. | Education, Boston. | NCR. | New Century Review, London. |
| AJS. | American Journal of Sociology, Chicago. | EdRL. | Educational Review, London. | NEM. | New England Magazine, Boston. |
| AJT. | American Journal of Theology, Chicago. | EdRNY. | Educational Review, N. Y. | NW. | New World, Boston. |
| ALR. | American Law Review, St. Louis. | EngM. | Engineering Magazine, N. Y. | NC. | Nineteenth Century, London. |
| AMonM. | American Monthly Magazine, Washington, D. C. | EI. | English Illustrated Magazine, London. | NAR. | North American Review, N. Y. |
| AMRR. | American Monthly Review of Reviews, N. Y. | EM. | España Moderna, Madrid. | NR. | Nouvelle Revue, Paris. |
| AAPS. | Annals of the American Academy of Pol. and Soc. Science, Phila. | FR. | Fortnightly Review, London. | NA. | Nuova Antologia, Rome. |
| APS. | Appleton's Popular Science Monthly, N. Y. | F. | Forum, N. Y. | OC. | Open Court, Chicago. |
| ARec. | Architectural Record, N. Y. | FrL. | Frank Leslie's Monthly, N. Y. | O. | Outing, N. Y. |
| AA. | Art Amateur, N. Y. | GM. | Gentleman's Magazine, London. | OM. | Overland Monthly, San Francisco. |
| AI. | Art Interchange, N. Y. | GBag. | Green Bag, Boston. | PMM. | Pall Mall Magazine, London. |
| AJ. | Art Journal, London. | GMag. | Guntton's Magazine, N. Y. | PRev. | Philosophical Review, N. Y. |
| Art. | Artist, London. | Harp. | Harper's Magazine, N. Y. | PA. | Photo-American, N. Y. |
| AM. | Atlantic Monthly, Boston. | HM. | Home Magazine, N. Y. | PL. | Post-Lore, Boston. |
| Bad. | Badminton, London. | HomR. | Homiletic Review, N. Y. | PSQ. | Political Science Quarterly, Boston. |
| BankL. | Bankers' Magazine, London. | IJE. | International Journal of Ethics, Phila. | PRR. | Presbyterian and Reformed Review, Phila. |
| BankNY. | Bankers' Magazine, N. Y. | IntS. | International Studio, London. | PQ. | Presbyterian Quarterly, Columbia, S. C. |
| BW. | Biblical World, Chicago. | IA. | Irrigation Age, Chicago. | QJEcon. | Quarterly Journal of Economics, Boston. |
| BSac. | Bibliotheca Sacra, Oberlin, O. | JAES. | Journal of the Ass'n of Engineering Societies, Phila. | QR. | Quarterly Review, London. |
| BU. | Bibliothèque Universelle, Lausanne. | JF. | Journal of Finance, London. | RN. | Rassegna Nazionale, Florence. |
| Black. | Blackwood's Magazine, Edinburgh. | JMSI. | Journal of the Military Service Institution, Governor's Island, N. Y. H. | RefS. | Riforme Sociale, Paris. |
| BTJ. | Board of Trade Journal, London. | JPEcon. | Journal of Political Economy, Chicago. | RRL. | Review of Reviews, London. |
| Bkman. | Bookman, N. Y. | Kind. | Kindergarten Magazine, Chicago. | RRM. | Review of Reviews, Melbourne. |
| CanM. | Canadian Magazine, Toronto. | K. | Knowledge, London. | RP. | Revue de Paris, Paris. |
| Cass. | Cassell's Magazine, London. | LHJ. | Ladies' Home Journal, Phila. | RDM. | Revue des Deux Mondes, Paris. |
| CasM. | Cassier's Magazine, N. Y. | LH. | Letsure Hour, London. | RG. | Revue Générale, Brussels. |
| CW. | Catholic World, N. Y. | Lipp. | Lippincott's Magazine, Phila. | RPP. | Revue Politique et Parliaméntaire, Paris. |
| CM. | Century Magazine, N. Y. | LQ. | London Quarterly Review, London. | RSoc. | Revue Socialiste, Paris. |
| CJ. | Chambers's Journal, Edinburgh. | Long. | Longman's Magazine, London. | R. | Rosary, Somerset, Ohio. |
| CR. | Contemporary Review, London. | LuthQ. | Lutheran Quarterly, Gettysburg, Pa. | San. | Sanitarian, N. Y. |
| C. | Cornhill, London. | McCl. | McClure's Magazine, N. Y. | SRev. | School Review, Chicago. |
| Cosmop. | Cosmopolis, London. | Mac. | Macmillan's Magazine, London. | Scots. | Scots Magazine, Perth. |
| Cos. | Cosmopolitan, N. Y. | MA. | Magazine of Art, London. | Scrib. | Scribner's Magazine, N. Y. |
| Crit. | Critic, N. Y. | Men. | Menorah Monthly, N. Y. | SR. | Sewanee Review, Sewanee, Tenn. |
| Dem. | Demorest's Family Magazine, N. Y. | Met. | Metaphysical Magazine, N. Y. | Str. | Strand Magazine, London. |
| DH. | Deutscher Hausschatz, Regensburg. | MRN. | Methodist Review, Nashville. | SunM. | Sunday Magazine, London. |
| DeutR. | Deutsche Revue, Stuttgart. | MRNY. | Methodist Review, N. Y. | TB. | Temple Bar, London. |
| D. | Dial, Chicago. | MidM. | Midland Monthly, Des Moines, Iowa. | USM. | United Service Magazine, London. |
| | | MisH. | Missionary Herald, Boston. | WR. | Westminster Review, London. |
| | | MisR. | Missionary Review, N. Y. | WM. | Werner's Magazine, N. Y. |
| | | Mon. | Monist, Chicago. | WWM. | Wide World Magazine, London. |
| | | M. | Month, London. | WPM. | Wilson's Photographic Magazine, N. Y. |
| | | MunA. | Municipal Affairs, N. Y. | YR. | Yale Review, New Haven. |
| | | MM. | Munsey's Magazine, N. Y. | YM. | Young Man, London. |
| | | Mus. | Music, Chicago. | YW. | Young Woman, London. |
| | | NatGM. | National Geographic Magazine, Washington, D. C. | | |

THE AMERICAN MONTHLY REVIEW OF REVIEWS.

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW.

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Capt. Ezra P. Hornell.

Dr. William S. Conner.

Col. James A. Saxton.

Gen. John M. Wilson.

Gen. James A. Beaver.

Hon. Urban A. Woodbury.

Gen. Alex. McD. McCook.

Gen. Joseph Wheeler.

Gen. Joseph Wheeler.

Gen. Greenville M. Dodge,
Chairman.

COMMISSION INVESTIGATING THE WAR DEPARTMENT.

(Gen. Joseph Wheeler testifying.)

THE AMERICAN MONTHLY

Review of Reviews.

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THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD.

The Political Situation. The political campaigns which will culminate on November 8 have been unusually mild and good-tempered, and the managers have had hard work to dispel a certain sluggishness of atmosphere. This of course applies to the average state of things rather than to particular localities. In certain Congressional districts there is pending a spirited struggle, while in some of the State contests for governorships or for the control of Legislatures there has been an immense expenditure of effort on both sides. It is expected, however, that the voting in general will show even more falling off than is usual in the November elections that come midway between Presidential contests. The Republicans are hoping for a continued control of the House of Representatives. They have, at least, the advantage of being harmonious in their support of the administration, and practically a unit in their adherence to certain main points of doctrine and policy. They are even more resolutely for sound money than they were two years ago. It is believed that upon financial issues the Republicans will, in the western half of the country, quite readily hold their own. The charges of bad management so strongly urged against the War Department will have been a large factor in such reverses as may be in store for the Republican party on election day. There has been a somewhat general expectation that Secretary Alger would resign—not at all by way of confession of failure as an administrator of the War Department, but in order to relieve the Department in its further necessary and important operations from the controversies which are now doing so much harm. Political gossip has declared that Governor Pingree, of Michigan, who is running for another term, will appoint Secretary Alger to the Senate, to fill out the unexpired term of Senator Macmillan, who is to be made ambassador to England or in some other way honored by high appointive office. This, of course, is mere rumor. It has been hoped in

DR. DAVID J. HILL,
First Assistant Secretary of State.

New York that Mr. Choate might be sent to London, to succeed the present Secretary of State. Mr. Hay has entered quietly and efficiently upon his new work at Washington, while Dr. David J. Hill, ex-president of Rochester University, has been appointed First Assistant Secretary of State to succeed Mr. Moore, who is secretary of our Peace Commission at Paris.

Military Versus Naval Administration. The army of the United States must incur great responsibilities during the coming year. It is a thousand pities, under these circumstances, that there should be any distrust of the administration of army affairs. The navy, happily, is entirely free from the jealousies and strivings that make the country so apprehensive about the army. If the half dozen men in administrative and military authority who

GEN. JOHN M. WILSON.

GEN. GRENVILLE M. DODGE.

GEN. JAMES A. BEAVER.

are responsible for those conditions that disturb the public mind will not find a way immediately to prevent their personal differences from demoralizing the whole army, the President should interpose and supersede all of them with new men about whose disinterestedness there is no question. There was some discussion touching the honors due respectively to Admirals Sampson and Schley for the destruction of Cervera's fleet. That discussion was outside rather than inside the navy, however, and in order to put a stop to it a number of naval officers were appointed to investigate the whole subject and make a report that would assign to each ship in the fleet its proper credit. The board has completed its work and has agreed upon the facts. Admiral Sampson, as commander of the fleet, must have full credit for the plans which resulted so successfully—a credit that Admiral Schley never for a moment withheld. It is shown, on the other hand, that the *Brooklyn*, Admiral Schley's flagship, was in the fight from beginning to end and was all the time in close range of the Spanish guns, as has been asserted. History will accept the findings of this naval board as entirely conclusive. Neither in the naval service itself nor in the Navy Department at Washington does there seem to be any friction that amounts to enough to be worth mentioning. Why should not the army, which has before it the great task of occupying and administering Cuba—and the still greater task, probably, of occupying and administering the Philippines—be brought speedily into the same condition of harmony that one finds in the navy? If any individuals stand in the way they should have patriotism enough to withdraw promptly.

The Pending Inquiry.

The President's decision to secure an investigation of certain services connected with the War Department was found somewhat difficult to execute, for the reason that nearly all the men originally asked to serve upon the investigating board declined the duty. Nine acceptances were finally secured, however, from the following gentlemen: Gen. Grenville M. Dodge, Iowa (president); Col. James A. Sexton, Illinois; Col. Charles Denby, Indiana; Capt. Evan P. Howell, Georgia; ex-Gov. Urban A. Woodbury, Vermont; Brig.-Gen. John M. Wilson, Chief of Engineers, U. S. A., District of Columbia; Gen. James A. Beaver, Pennsylvania; Maj.-Gen. Alexander McD. McCook, U. S. A. (retired), Ohio; and Dr. Phineas S. Conner, Ohio. Inasmuch as Congress will almost certainly institute an investigation of its own, the work of the present board must be looked upon as preliminary. The commissioners are all of them men of distinction and high character, who would not for a moment accept places upon a board of this kind as accessories to any whitewashing scheme. The manifest intention of the commission is to be entirely fair and just. Its methods thus far, however, would indicate that its attitude is lenient, and that it proposes to throw the burden of proof very strictly upon any one who may have an accusation to make. The witnesses it called at the outset were mostly men who had received high honors at the hands of the War Department, and who showed a loyal disposition to approve of almost everything, and to brush aside complaints and criticisms. The methods of an investigating committee ought not to be those of a judicial tribunal. In the administration of justice it

HON. URBAN A. WOODBURY.

DR. PHINEAS S. CONNER.

CAPT. EVAN F. HOWELL.

is assumed that things are right until they are proved to be wrong. In the investigation of charges and complaints, on the other hand, it is the usual plan to assume that there is a good deal of foundation for the charges, and to give real encouragement to those who have grievances, so that they may not be frightened or discouraged in telling what they know. A great organization like the War Department and its bureaus is always in a position to defend itself alby and ingeniously. Criticisms and complaints, on the contrary, come from scattered and unorganized sources, and unless the investigating committee shall set itself to some extent against the War Department, throwing the burden of proof upon those against whom the complaints are made, there can hardly be any hope of get-

ting at the real state of affairs. Meanwhile we have liberty of the press in this country, and the public will conduct its own investigation. Mistakes of the past cannot be undone, but the country has a right to expect that such mistakes will not be repeated in the future. There is much reason, indeed, to think that certain lessons of experience will not have been lost upon the War Department. The commissioners, after some days of inquiry at Washington, began a tour of the principal camps, going first to Jacksonville, where a large body of men was in readiness for the impending occupation of Cuba. If the troops that are to sail in the present month are not properly transported, clothed, fed, and supplied with medical and hospital facilities, there can be no further stretch of patience.

COL. CHARLES DENBY.

GEN. ALEX. M'D. M'COOK.

COL. JAMES A. SEXTON.

Support the President Till the War is Ended. Congress in unanimously supporting the President at the outbreak of the war, expressed the overwhelming views of the people of the entire country. The elections this month ought to show all the rest of the world that the Americans are not fickle-minded and that they are still supporting the administration. The dilatory tactics of the Spaniards in the peace conference at Paris and in the evacuation conference at Havana are to be viewed with a good deal of seriousness. It might prove very unfortunate if at this critical juncture the elections should seem to turn against the President and his policy. "Algerism" as a public issue is not understood in foreign parts, and if "Algerism" should defeat the Republican party this fall the result would be interpreted abroad as a condemnation of the war and its larger results. This would make the final settlement with Spain considerably more difficult, for it would encourage the Spanish diplomats to protract the negotiations still more tediously, while seeking in every direction to draw other European countries into the controversy. The term "Algerism" is not here used to convey reproach

or condemnation, for it is not our function to pass judgment in advance of an opportunity to weigh all the facts. But, justly or unjustly, "Algerism" has been made an issue in politics. The war will not be completely ended until peace is signed and declared; and the work now in hand by our representatives at Paris is of critical

Photo by Davis & Sanford.

HON. TIMOTHY L. WOODRUFF,

Lieutenant-Governor of New York.

importance. While actual fighting was the order of the day, the country stood by the President regardless of party. But it is hardly less important that this show of unanimity should be maintained while negotiations are pending. Our commissioners at Paris seem to have been managing our case admirably thus far, and high grounds of patriotism justify the loyal upholding of Mr. McKinley's hands. His address at Omaha last month was broad, statesmanlike, and eloquent, and he seems to have grown with his great tasks. His Western tour was a continual ovation.

The most striking of the State campaigns is in New York, where the popular demand for the nomination of Theodore Roosevelt was successful in the State Republican Convention. The friends of Governor Black worked loyally to secure his renomination, but the great majority of the practical politicians, including Senator Platt himself, were of the opinion that Black's renomination would mean an inevitable defeat, and that the only hope

HON. FRANK S. BLACK,
Governor of New York.

HON. AUGUSTUS VAN WYCK.

(Democratic nominee for governor of New York.)

for the Republican party lay in putting the name of Roosevelt at the head of the ticket. Governor Black has in many ways earned a good official reputation, but, on the other hand, he has been responsible for the men who have wastefully—if not corruptly—expended nine millions of dollars upon the improvement of the State canals without having performed half the work that it was proposed to make this amount of money accomplish. And there are other things in Governor Black's administration that are vulnerable. Mr. Roosevelt has been tried and tested in various public capacities, and nobody who knows anything whatever about him doubts either his courage or his honesty. He has promised in his speeches throughout the State to deal with the canal administration and all other State questions with searching regard for efficiency and with a disposition to punish rascals, regardless of party names, wherever he may find them. The Hon. T. L. Woodruff, of Brooklyn, was renominated for the office of lieutenant-governor. The Republican ticket is regarded as unusually satisfactory. Colonel Roosevelt's stump-speaking has been the feature of the campaign, its simple directness and cogency reminding one strongly of Abraham Lincoln's method in his early Illinois campaigns.

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COL. THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

(Republican nominee for governor of New York.)

**Mr Croker's
Ticket**

The Democratic State Convention of New York was absolutely in the hands of two or three men. First and foremost was Mr. Richard Croker, the autocrat of Tammany Hall and of the Greater New York, who aspires to extend his autocracy to the whole State. Ex Senator Hill, who had been under a political eclipse for two or three years, made his reappearance at the convention with a sufficient show of strength to find his wishes at many points respected by Mr. Croker. A number of men had been mentioned for the office of governor, but none of them very conspicuously, and there was no marked indication of a popular favorite. After much secret deliberation Mr. Croker decided to give the nomination to Judge Augustus Van Wyck, a brother of Robert A. Van Wyck, Mayor of New York City. The name of Augustus Van Wyck had never been publicly mentioned, so far as we are aware, in connection with the office of governor, yet the convention raised no question when the decision was reached by the leaders, but unanimously ratified the selection. Mr. Elliot Danforth was nominated for the lieutenant-governorship. Judge Augustus Van Wyck has borne a good reputation as a member of the State judiciary, although his ad-

of '96. The sound-money Democrats on the one hand and the silver Democrats on the other have each claimed that this situation in New York is favorable to their own position on the money question. In our judgment, the Western silver men are right in considering that the failure of the New York Democratic convention to say anything against the silver plank of the national platform is to be construed as a virtual acceptance of that plank. We should, therefore, look upon Judge Van Wyck's victory and the election of a Democratic Legislature (which would, of course, give Senator Murphy another term) as a distinct gain for the cause of the Bryan Democrats. The extreme radical wing of the Democrats of New York who had demanded a specific indorsement of the Chicago platform made an effort to put a separate ticket into the field, but their plans were frustrated.

Previous to the holding of the Republican convention, a number of independent voters took steps to circulate petitions throughout the State in order to secure the printing of the names of their independent candidates on the official ballot paper. Their choice for governor was Colonel Roosevelt. It did not seem to him wise, however, nor equitable to his fellow candidates on the Republican ticket, to have his name printed at the head of two mutually opposed columns on the ballot sheets. He therefore declined the independent nomination, while very properly hoping

Photo by Price.

MR. RICHARD CROKER.

(From his latest photograph.)

vancement is said to have been due originally to the favor of Mr. Hugh McLaughlin, for so many years the Democratic boss of Brooklyn politics, and now in his old age a sort of Brooklyn satrap under Mr. Croker as sultan. Judge Van Wyck's letter of acceptance dealt wholly with State issues, particularly with the canal scandals. As against Van Wyck's candidacy, it is urged that the selection was made entirely by political bosses who would expect to dominate his administration if he were elected. It is also contended that there would be some disadvantages in having brothers at the same time occupying the two highest executive posts in the State of New York—by reason especially of the charter arrangements having to do with the mayor's right to veto certain legislation.

Questions
at
issue.

Colonel Roosevelt has not dodged the State issues, but he has insisted that national questions cannot properly be ignored in this campaign, inasmuch as the people of New York are electing not merely a governor and State ticket, but also thirty-four Congressmen and a Legislature which must choose the successor of Senator Murphy. The Democratic State platform ignores the silver question, and neither indorses nor rejects the Chicago platform

MR. HUGH M'LAUGHLIN.

(Under boss of the borough of Brooklyn.)

*The Stir-Up in
Pennsylvania
Politics.*

The campaign in Pennsylvania has taken its shape from several tremendous onslaughts against the further domination of Senator Quay's machine. The Hon. John Wanamaker, as the head and mouth-piece of the Business Men's League, has made a series of addresses containing a great number of specific charges of corruption and fraud against the Quay machine. From another direction the Rev. Dr. Silas C. Swallow, who is running for the governorship on a ticket supported by the political reformers as well as specifically by the Prohibitionists, has collected a great mass of

MR. THEODORE BACON, OF ROCHESTER.

to secure as many as possible of the votes of independent-minded men. The vacancy on the ticket was filled by the substitution of the name of Mr. Theodore Bacon, of Rochester, a distinguished citizen of eminent qualifications. As these notes were written, it would appear probable that very few voters will think it their duty this year to exclude both Roosevelt and Van Wyck from their choice. It is also evident that the great majority of those sources from which large campaign contributions come, including the brewing interests and the franchise-holding corporations, are contributing to the Democratic funds and are working to defeat Roosevelt. President Seth Low supports the Roosevelt ticket.

*Politics
and the
Bench.*

More than three thousand lawyers of New York City early in the campaign signed a petition to the political

parties to give a renomination to Judge Daly, of the Supreme Court, whose second fourteen-year term is expiring. Although Judge Daly is a Democrat, the Republican party promptly acceded to the request of the Bar Association, and also nominated other judges as requested by the organized lawyers. Tammany, on the other hand, at Mr. Croker's dictation, refused to comply with the request of the Bar Association. It is specifically claimed that Mr. Croker's determination to defeat Judge Daly is due to his inability in times past to control certain appointments that pertain to Judge Daly's court. The proposal to keep the judiciary free from the taint of the spoils system has added a new factor to the local situation.

HON. JOHN WANAMAKER.

evidence on his own account which he is using with powerful effect in every portion of the State. A third line of attack has taken the form of the arrest of Senator Quay and several of his close associates on a charge of conspiracy in the use of State funds for purposes of private speculation in connection with the People's Bank of Philadelphia, which failed some months ago and which had been favored, through political influences, with large deposits of State money. State and municipal government in Pennsylvania is most alarmingly corrupt. It disgraces American civilization. The apathy of the average Pennsylvania voter and his blind adherence to party names have long been proverbial. Nevertheless,

Attorney-General Griggs. The Democrats of New Jersey, on September 28, nominated Hon. E. W. Crane for governor, and they decided to stick to State issues in the campaign, dodging the silver question, as the New York Democrats also did at Syracuse on the same date. An attempt to force recognition of the Chicago platform failed, as in several other Eastern States.

*In New
Hampshire.*

The Democrats of New Hampshire held their convention early this year and nominated Charles F. Stone for governor. The Republicans, at Concord, on September 13, held a convention that was considered at the time to be the most exciting ever known in the State. The questions at issue had to do with such matters as granting trolley franchises, free railroad passes, and the like. Senator Chandler's reform candidate, Franklin Worcester, was defeated, and the nomination was secured by Frank W. Rollins, of Concord. The New Hampshire Republicans declare for the gold standard, an increase of the army and navy, the construction of the Nicaragua Canal, and the general annexation of all the islands that are under discussion. The New Hampshire Demo-

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HON. MATTHEW S. QUAY.

the people of Pennsylvania as a whole are right-minded, even though it is hard to stir them up, and there are some indications that they are at last awakening. The election of Dr. Swallow would be one of the best omens for political reform and progress that could possibly be named. The Democrats of Pennsylvania, like those of New York, have this year confined their platform strictly to State issues. Their candidate for governor is George A. Jenks. He is reported to be a man of sincerity and force, who is opposed to corrupt machine government, no matter what party name it exploits. It is supposed that a great many of the more independent Republicans will support Mr. Jenks in order to defeat the Quay machine. But there may be some danger that Dr. Swallow and Mr. Jenks will so divide the anti-Quay vote as to give Stone a plurality success.

*The Contest
in
New Jersey.*

When Governor Griggs, of New Jersey, went into the Cabinet as Attorney-General his place was taken by the President of the Senate, Mr. Foster M. Voorhees, in accordance with the Constitution of the State of New Jersey. Mr. Voorhees a month ago was regularly nominated for governor by a Republican convention at Trenton, which adopted a platform highly complimentary to the administration, and which was raised to a pitch of great enthusiasm by an eloquent address from

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COL. WILLIAM A. STONE.

(Republican nominee for governor of Pennsylvania.)

Massachusetts State Campaign. The Vermont Legislature has lost no time in reelecting Senator Redfield Proctor for another six years—a fact upon which Vermont and the whole country are to be congratulated. The reduced Republican majorities shown in the Maine and Vermont elections several weeks ago would indicate a reaction that may be expected to affect the other New England States. Gov. Roger Wolcott, however, is so deservedly popular in Massachusetts—where he has been unanimously renominated by the Republicans—that it is scarcely conceivable that he could be defeated. The Democratic convention was held at Worcester on October 4, Mr. George Fred Williams being in undisputed control of the situation. Mr. Williams, it will be remembered, is the strongest New England exponent of “Bryanism.” He was probably the author of the resolutions adopted at Worcester, which emphatically reaffirm the Chicago platform of two years ago on the money question, and which, among other things, attack very severely the military administration during the recent war. Mr. A. B. Bruce was nominated for governor. The Republican State Convention met at Boston two days later. It adopted a strong sound-money plank, and would have indorsed the so-called “expansion policy” almost as heartily as the Californians themselves but for the conservatism of Senator Hoar. The plank as adopted represented a compromise between the opinions of Senator Lodge and his older colleague. It is to be noted that the Massachusetts

REV. SILAS C. SWALLOW, D.D.

(Prohibition nominee for governor of Pennsylvania.)

crats stand almost alone in their emphatic and overwhelming refusal to indorse the Chicago platform. Other Eastern Democrats dodge silver.

Issues in Connecticut.

The Connecticut conventions, which were held in September, nominated George E. Lounsbury for governor on the Republican ticket and Daniel N. Morgan on the Democratic ticket. Mr. Lounsbury is a prominent local Republican who is reputed to be in control of a well-organized machine. His most prominent opponent was the Hon. John Addison Porter, secretary to the President, who has strongly advocated political reform in the party methods of his State. The Democratic candidate, Mr. Morgan, was Treasurer of the United States under President Cleveland. Mr. Morgan's prospects would seem to be reasonably good. On the money question the Connecticut Democrats are for “Jeffersonian bimetalism”—indorsement of the Chicago platform being avoided—while the Republicans are for the gold standard in very explicit terms. Both platforms make allusion to the army scandals, the Democrats denouncing the administration with much asperity. The Republican platform urges the construction of the Nicaragua Canal as an immediate necessity.

HON. GEORGE E. LOUNSBURY, OF CONNECTICUT.

Republicans declare that "the building of the Nicaragua Canal, controlled and operated by the United States, is now imperative."

formerly member of Congress, as the standard-bearer for the Democracy. Both are men of recognized ability and more than usual experi-

HON. ROGER WOLCOTT.

(Republican nominee for governor of Massachusetts.)

*Campaigning
in the
Northwest.*

In Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, and Iowa there are no gubernatorial contests this year, although there is plenty of political activity over other issues. They have begun to think in Michigan that Hazen S. Pingree is a fixture on the political throne. Mr. Pingree has certainly never catered or cringed to any man or element, and yet seems to be master of the situation in his State. He was unanimously renominated for governor—even his enemies reluctantly bearing testimony to the amazing vigor and efficiency with which he has performed those duties that fall to a governor's lot in war-time. Mr. Pingree's success lies in his demonstrated devotion to public interests. The platform declares for the gold standard, and willingly leaves it to the national authorities to settle such territorial questions as have arisen in consequence of the war. The Democratic ticket is headed by a Mr. Whiting, who will hardly be able to poll the normal strength of his party against the all-conquering Pingree. Naturally the Michigan Republicans indorse Mr. Alger and rebuke his critics. In Wisconsin Governor Schofield has been renominated by the Republicans, and Hon. H. W. Sawyer is the Democratic candidate. Sound-money Democrats, like General Bragg, are supporting the Republican ticket, and the majority for Schofield will be large. A spirited campaign in Minnesota is led by Hon. William Henry Eustis as Republican candidate for governor on the one hand and by the Hon. John Lind,

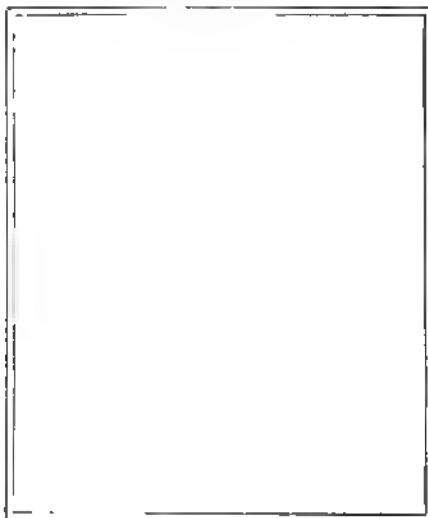
HON. H. S. PINGREE.

(Republican nominee for governor of Michigan.)

ence. Mr. Eustis represents enthusiastic and ardent Republicanism, while Mr. Lind stands for Democratic radicalism of the Bryan type.

*Beyond
the
Missouri.*

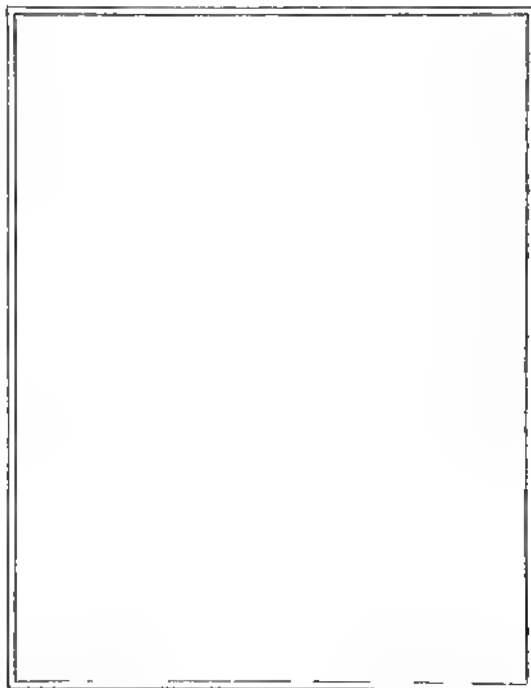
The present governor of Nebraska, Mr. Holcomb, was elected two years ago by a fusion of the Populists and Democrats. The Republicans this year are determined, if possible, to regain their lost ascendancy. Their candidate is Judge M. L. Hayward.



HON. A. B. BRUCE.

(Democratic nominee for governor of Massachusetts.)

The opposition is united in supporting Hon. William A. Poynter, who stands, of course, for "Bryanism" and the Chicago platform. In Nebraska it is still contended that the silver issue is the one great question, and that Mr. Bryan will be the Presidential candidate in 1900. Political seasons are long in Kansas, because everybody has convictions and there is so much to be said. Nobody has ever yet been able to boss the Kansas voters. The Populists renominated Governor Leedy early in the summer, and the Democratic State Convention indorsed the full Populist ticket. The Republican ticket carries at its head the name of Hon. W. E. Stanley. Colorado Republicans are disposed to honor the Wolcott family, even as the Democratic autocrat of New York is advancing the fortunes of the Van Wycks. Their candidate for governor this fall is Henry R. Wolcott, a brother of the silver-tongued Senator. Parties are split into a perplexing number of factions this year in the State of Colorado, and while the Wolcott Republicans still avow themselves bimetalists, they are at furious odds with the faction that is led by Senator Teller. As for the non-regular, or out-and-out silver Republi-



HON. JOHN LIND.

(Democratic nominee for governor of Minnesota.)

*Southern
Political
Notes.*

The Republican ticket in Tennessee is headed by James A. Fowler. The platform demands the reform of the election laws of the State, advocates the policy of expansion, demands the Nicaragua Canal, and indorses the principles and practice of the administration. The Tennessee Populists are supporting for governor Judge Robert Newton Richardson. The Democratic candidate—who will presumably be elected—is Congressman Benton McMillan. A significant clause in the Georgia Democratic platform recites that "there is cause for congratulation in the fact that the patriotic uprising of the whole people has obliterated sectionalism from the politics of our country." The Democratic candidate for governor of Georgia is Allen D. Candler. In Alabama, where General Wheeler is a candidate for reelection to Congress from the northern district, the Republicans have declined to make any nomination against him, in view of his brave and patriotic services in the army. Hon. Hannis Taylor, ex-minister to Spain, is an independent Democratic candidate for Congress in the Mobile district, against the Hon. "Wash." Taylor, who now holds the seat. Gen. Fitzhugh Lee, though about to go to Cuba in command of an army corps, has avowed senatorial ambitions that will be at the mercy of the Legislature to be elected this month.

HON. WILLIAM HENRY EUSTIS.

(Republican nominee for governor of Minnesota.)

cans, they have had a quarrel among themselves, and one element, organized by a Mr. Broad, has its own ticket in the field, with Simon Guggenheim as its candidate for governor. The other element, promoted by Mr. Towne and sustained by Senator Teller, is working in fusion with the Democrats and Populists, with Charles S. Thomas, a Denver lawyer, as the candidate.

Photo by Bell.

HON. JAMES G. MAGUIRE.
(Democratic nominee for governor of California.)

The California Campaign. In the State of California every element of Republican opposition has been brought together in support of a fusion ticket, in which Democrats, Populists, and silver Republicans are all recognized. The well-known Democratic Congressman, James G. Maguire, is the fusion candidate for governor. Against him the Republicans have nominated Mr. Henry Gage, of Los Angeles, a man of great popularity in southern California, of whom it has long been said that he "could have anything he wanted"—although this is his first venture as a political candidate. Each man represents honestly and sincerely the platform upon

HON. HENRY T. GAGE.

(Republican nominee for governor of California.)

which he stands. Mr. Maguire is the very personification of the spirit of the Chicago platform of 1896. It might be said of him that he is a stronger adherent of "Bryanism" than Bryan himself. He has been particularly prominent as an adherent of the Henry George single-tax doctrine. The California Republicans have not the slightest doubt about certain matters of public policy. They know that they want an increase in the navy, with more shipbuilding on their coast; they demand the Nicaragua Canal, and they are annexationists without any misgivings. They are the ardent exponents of American destiny in the Pacific.

From snap-shots made last month by Mr. Bromely.

Scene of the battle-ground.

Showing the agency.

Another view of the battle-ground.

VIEWS OF THE LEBON LAKE BATTLE-GROUND AND PILLAGER INDIAN AGENCY.

A Bear Island "buck."

Bear Island Indian children.

Better class of squaw.

TYPES OF THE PILLAGER CHIPPEWAS ON BEAR ISLAND, LEECH LAKE.

Indian
Troubles
in Minnesota.

The outbreak of a small Indian war in Minnesota last month was most humiliating and regrettable. That particular group of Chippewas known as the Pillagers, who cling to their timber-land reserva-

tion on Leech Lake, are not particularly attractive representatives of the race of American Indians. But even the Pillagers have rights, and those rights have been most scandalously outraged. The Pillagers in particular, like the Chippewas in general, have been the victims of even more than their share of the wrongs that have been perpetrated against the wards of the nation through the diabolisms of the spoils system. Several bands of Chippewas have for some years past been in the process of gradual transfer from their barren timber land and swamp lake regions to fertile prairie lands, where eventually they will become the holders of good farm lands deeded to them in severalty. Meanwhile, provision has been made for the sale of more or less of the timber on their lands, under a plan which distributes the proceeds of such sales to the Indians after expenses have been deducted. This opportunity to deduct expenses has been used most shamefully to support a large number of incompetent men at high pay, selected through political pulls for the pretended work of appraising the timber. All sorts of conspiracies with lumber companies and other interested parties have resulted, and the helpless Indians have been victimized. This trouble about the timber has gone hand in hand with other genuine grievances of a kind to put the Pillagers in a very bad temper.

The Fight
at Leech
Lake.

The immediate cause of the fighting was the refusal of the Indians to aid United States deputy marshals to make certain arrests. It may be very necessary to enforce laws against liquor-selling on the reservations, but those laws have not been enforced in good faith. The very deputy marshals who have made many of the arrests in the past have

MAJ. MELVILLE C. WILKINSON, U. S. A., KILLED BY THE
PILLAGER INDIANS.

not infrequently been the men who have provoked the offenses for the sake of having the arrests to make. We are not for a moment justifying the Indians in resisting the deputy marshals, and much less are we justifying them for lying in ambush against United States troops. The difficulties had reached a stage where it was undoubtedly necessary that troops should proceed from Fort Snelling to the scene of the trouble. The disaffected Indians were on an island near the north end of Leech Lake. Troops led by General Bacon, with Major Wilkinson as next in command, proceeded to the island. They were engaged in preparing a meal, with no idea of immediate hostilities, when a soldier accidentally discharged a gun. Immediately a deadly fire was poured into the camp of the troops by the Indians lying in ambush. Some six or seven soldiers were killed and about twice as many wounded. Among those whose lives were sacrificed was Major Wilkinson himself. He had only a short time before returned from participation in the Santiago campaign. There was some fear least the disaffection of the Pillagers should extend throughout the 7,000 or 8,000 Chippewas, but the danger was soon averted and order has been entirely restored. The Chippewas have been the proverbial friends of the white men. It is always remembered in Minnesota that in the great Sioux uprising of 1862 the Chippewas remained faithful to their professions of friendship toward the whites. It begins to look as if the administration of the Indian Bureau of the Department of the Interior could never be reformed, and that the whole thing had better be abolished. Some way must be found to rescue the Indians from the rascality of political agents.

An Industrial War in Illinois. Very much more serious than the Indian war in Minnesota was the industrial war in the coal-mining region of Illinois that culminated in the battle of Virden, fought on October 12. About two weeks earlier there had been fighting at the coal-mining town of Pana, in the adjoining county, the general causes being the same. As to the earlier facts which led up to the trouble, the *Chicago Times-Herald* of September 29 contains a clear statement apropos of the riots at Pana on September 28, when two battles were fought in the streets between colored and white miners, rifles being freely used and many of the negroes and two of the deputy sheriffs wounded. The statement is as follows :

The miners' strike in Pana, which led to the outbreak, began in April last, when the coal operators refused longer to pay the scale agreed upon at the Columbus convention. They claimed that they must cut

wages or go out of business. The miners promptly laid down their tools and all efforts to settle the controversy were futile. The miners at length offered to arbitrate, but this proposition was rejected by the operators. During the summer the State board of arbitration went to Pana at the request of the miners and made an investigation. The operators refused to participate, and when the board reported a compromise scale slightly less than the Columbus scale they declined to abide by it. They purposed to pay their own figure or keep the mines idle. Both sides were firm and matters remained unchanged until a month ago, when the operators determined to resume mining with negroes imported from the South. There has been trouble in Pana since the first car-load of negroes arrived, but until last night no serious outbreak of violence. Stockades were built at the Penwell and Springside mines, and the negroes were housed within them. Deputies were sworn in by the sheriff to protect them. The situation became so threatening that the sheriff made a call on the governor for troops to preserve order, but after extensive correspondence by wire the executive declined to send the aid asked for and censured the operators for bringing Southern negroes to the mines. For two weeks the situation has been reported as critical, the bearing of the blacks being such as to exasperate the people of Pana, as well as the strikers, with whom they sympathized, and it has been said that only a pretext has been needed to precipitate a conflict.

The strike at Virden was of the same nature as that at Pana, and the operators determined to meet the strikers by the same means. The strikers, on the other hand, were armed and were reinforced by large numbers of sympathizers from other shut-down mines located in the general region. There were probably more than a thousand armed strikers at Virden. The coal company having determined to import colored miners from Alabama against the threats of the strikers, a stockade was built around the mines and a fortified tower was erected. The local authorities were confident that the arrival of the negro substitutes from the South would be the signal for serious trouble. Accordingly, they called upon the governor of the State to send troops to maintain the peace. Governor Tanner refused, and warned the coal companies against making trouble by importing outside labor into the State. Whereupon the company took the matter into its own hands, employed its own private army, made up largely of Chicago expolicemen, and established its garrison of sharpshooters in the fortified tower. Armed guards were also placed upon the engine and car platforms of the special train which brought in a large body of negro miners. Here testimony is in conflict, but the burden of evidence seems to show that the shooting was begun by the guards on the train, whose firing was immediately followed with deadly effect by the company's sheltered sharpshooters in the tower. These sharp-

shooters picked off their men from among a large body of miners in a field adjoining the stockade. It does not appear that this particular body of miners was to any extent engaged in the battle, although other miners at the south of the stockade, as we understand it, closer to the railroad

wrong in forming themselves into armed bodies, and in doing so they forfeited most of the sympathy to which they might otherwise have been entitled. Coal-mining, both in this country and in England, is a business that seems to need some exceptional regulation by law. In hardly any other industry have strikes been so protracted and turbulent. To consider these Illinois troubles as primarily racial is an utter mistake. The fact that the imported miners are negroes rather than white men is merely incidental.

GOV. JOHN R. TANNER, OF ILLINOIS.

train, fired a great many shots. The Chicago papers report that 11 men were killed and 23 wounded in the battle, which lasted about twenty minutes. Governor Tanner was induced to change his mind and at once took steps to send troops to the scene of the trouble.

*Rights and
Wrongs of
the Matter.*

The right and wrong of it all cannot be set forth until the facts have been maturely investigated. Technically, the mine operators were within their lawful rights in bringing the negro miners from the South. The negroes themselves had a right under the Constitution of the United States to go from one State to another and to accept the work which other men had refused. Governor Tanner assumed a very serious responsibility in refusing to send State forces to maintain order where so dangerous a situation was known to exist. Nevertheless, it is hard to have any sympathy or patience with the coal companies. For many years past the history of the treatment of coal miners in Illinois has been one dark recital of treachery and oppression. It would seem that the men have been willing at any time to submit their claims to fair arbitration. The strikers were

*Sophistries
of the
Wiseacres.*

This unfortunate affair in Illinois has in certain quarters been used as a warning to us against any attempt to extend American influence or control. We are instructed by the wiseacres that inasmuch as we have difficulties now and again in matters of domestic administration, we should make a grave mistake in supposing ourselves capable of dealing any better than the Spaniards with the government of Cuba or the Philippines. One of the many sophistries employed by those who are denouncing the present foreign policy of our Government depends upon the very shallow trick of confusing the use of the plural first personal pronoun. It is declared that because "we" have difficult questions to deal with at home, "we" have neither time nor ability to deal with problems away from home. That is to say, because Governor Tanner, forsooth, had to deal in October with a bloody riot connected with a mining strike, we are to infer that Gen. Leonard Wood has neither time nor ability to administer Santiago; and inasmuch as Governor Clough, of Minnesota, has been giving himself much concern about the Chippewa Indian troubles in the Leech Lake region, we are again to infer that Admiral Dewey, General Merritt, General Otis, and others are not fit to deal with affairs at Manila. It is perfectly true that we have many questions and problems arising in one part or another of the United States that call for careful handling. But it is also true that we shall have such questions to deal with in any case, and it is probably true that we shall deal with them the better for giving ourselves a wider experience and for accepting courageously such outside tasks of administration as may reasonably fall to our lot. For example, it is likely that we shall deal more rather than less wisely with the negro question in the United States by reason of the experiences of the recent war, in which negro troops conducted themselves so admirably. There are already evidences in many quarters that the effect of the war upon our political and administrative life at home is destined to be wholesome to a very gratifying degree.

Mr. Whitelaw Reid. Mr. Moore, Secretary. Senator Frye. Senator Davis.
 Senator Gray. Mr. W. R. Day.

AMERICAN MEMBERS OF THE PEACE COMMISSION NOW IN SESSION AT PARIS.

*Spanish
Delays in
Cuba.*

The peace protocol under which hostilities between the United States and Spain came to an end provided for the immediate withdrawal of the Spanish troops from Cuba. The earlier arrangement, by which the surrendered Spanish army of Santiago was transported back to the peninsula at the expense of the United States, had been embodied in the terms of the surrender to General Shafter. The protocol signed by Secretary Day for the United States and Ambassador Cambon of France, by authority of the Madrid government, had reference in its clause about the evacuation of Cuba to the one hundred thousand soldiers, more or less, remaining at Havana and distributed throughout Cuba excepting the easternmost part of the island, which had already become, *de facto*, an American possession. Our readers will remember that the President of the United States promptly appointed the American members of the two evacuation boards to meet the corresponding Spanish members and arrange for the prompt delivery of Porto Rico and Cuba to our troops. The Porto Rican board had no trouble at all in working out the details, and the world was in due time informed that just as soon as the ships could be provided the whole island would be turned over to its new possessors. The date fixed for the sailing of the last ship-load of Spanish troops from Porto Rico was October 18, on which date the American flag was to be raised everywhere in the island. Unfortunately, no such prompt announcement of arrangements for evacuating Cuba was forthcoming from the commissioners at Havana. Our Government at Washington began to grow uneasy and to send per-

emptory messages to our commissioners, insisting that further delay would not be tolerated and that arrangements must be completed.

*We Take
Possession
in December.*

Finally, since no results of any kind seemed to be produced as a consequence of the sessions of the commissioners at Havana, it was authoritatively announced at Washington that December must see the last of Spanish rule in Cuba, and that—whether or not the Spanish soldiers had been completely withdrawn by that date—the United States would assume full authority and control. On the other hand, it was announced from Madrid, by what seemed to be unmistakable authority of Premier Sagasta and his cabinet, that Spain would not let go of Cuba, nor begin evacuation, nor permit the commissioners at Havana to cease their tactics of delay, until after the peace commissioners at Paris had completed their work and signed a treaty. This, of course, is nothing less than a repudiation of the protocol—an indication on its face that the preliminary peace agreement at Washington was signed as a trick on the part of Spain, in order to gain time, in the hope of giving such a turn to the ultimate negotiations as to drag the European powers into the controversy. The distinct object of the war from the beginning was to expel the Spaniards from Cuba. The United States could not, of course, under any circumstances have signed a preliminary treaty of peace, except upon Spain's unconditional promise to withdraw completely from that island. The clause of the protocol dealing with Cuba called for an immediate evacuation, which should not be conditioned in any sense upon the

SPANISH MEMBERS OF THE PEACE COMMISSION NOW IN SESSION AT PARIS.

decisions that the commissioners might reach at Paris respecting the future of the Philippines or various matters of detail.

*Quibbling
Over the
"Cuban"
Debt.* Madrid has been putting forth the most flimsy sophistries against the binding nature of the Washington protocol, taking the ground that it was signed under circumstances of such severe stress that it could be morally disregarded in so far as possible. The Spaniards, of course, expect to clear out of Cuba. But, on the other hand, they are well aware that if they chose even yet to make resistance, they could involve the United States in a bloody and costly campaign. They have no intention, it is true, of actually provoking a renewal of hostilities, yet they are undoubtedly instructing General Blanco and their other high officials in Cuba to yield little or no ground until the Spanish commissioners at Paris have made every possible effort to gain concessions from the United States. One of the main points upon which the Spanish commissioners have been insisting most strenuously during October (under daily instruction and advice from Madrid) has to do with the so-called "Cuban" debt, while another has to do

with the artillery and other munitions of war in Cuba, and with such articles of property as the floating dock at Havana. Our readers will not need to be told that there is no Cuban debt in any true sense, and that the topic affords no proper ground for negotiation. That is easily explained. The Spanish Government, in borrowing money in times past, has offered to the bondholders as additional security the inducement that certain bond issues would be regarded as a lien upon the taxes that Spain was at that time regularly extorting from the people of Cuba. The Cubans had nothing to do with borrowing the money nor with spending it, nor was it spent for their benefit. It was borrowed by the government at Madrid, covered into the Spanish treasury, and expended for various Spanish purposes. It would hardly be strictly correct to say that this so-called "Cuban" debt even represented the expenditure incurred by Spain in opposing the Cuban rebellions. A large part of it, of course, was spent in that way. It is called the Cuban debt simply because Cuban revenues were pledged for the payment of interest and the ultimate redemption of the principal. Neither the United States nor Cuba has any more rea-

son to be concerned with that particular portion of Spain's debt than with any other portion. While the instructions of our American commissioners who are now in Paris have not been made public, it is well known that, as respects this one point, they were instructed not to pay any attention whatever to the expected Spanish demands for assumption of the so-called Cuban debt. In so far as municipalities in Cuba may have incurred obligations for money spent in public improvements, that of course is an entirely different matter, to be considered strictly in the light of the facts.

*Other
Questions of
Detail.*

The question of artillery and munitions of war is a proper topic of negotiation. Our commissioners will naturally be very lenient with Spain in a matter of that kind. Where artillery is fixed, as in fortifications, it would seem to belong to the public property that must be yielded up with the abandonment of Spanish sovereignty. Field pieces, on the other hand, like small arms, might well enough be taken away by the evacuating army. Spanish pretensions of property rights in public buildings in Cuba are as absurd as possible, since all such buildings have presumably been paid for out of taxation of the Cuban people, and they pertain to the administrative services of the island. Provincial, municipal, and judicial work must go on in Cuba, whether the Spanish flag, the American flag, or the flag of Cuba Libre be the recognized emblem. Spain, therefore, has no more proper claim upon court-houses, school-houses, city halls, fire-engine buildings, and the like, than upon the streets and roads. Spanish quibbling about matters of this kind should not be tolerated. In being permitted to withdraw without paying a heavy war indemnity, the Spaniards may well be thankful that they have fallen into the hands of generous adversaries. They will make a very serious blunder if they try to play a game of hair-splitting over legal technicalities.

*Plans for
American
Occupation.*

Our Government has not, of course, been eager to precipitate the movement of a large army of occupation into Cuba until the rainy season was entirely ended and good weather and healthful conditions might be assured. The continuation of Spanish authority, therefore, in order to tide over what might have been an awkward interregnum, was by no means undesirable. The only thing to be severely criticised was the failure to make any definite plans of evacuation, and above all, the announcement from Madrid that such plans would be held back pending the negotiations at Paris.

The Government of the United States did not ask for undue precipitancy, but on the other hand it would not brook bad faith on Spain's part. The army which Gen. Fitzhugh Lee commands will have a highly delicate and critical task to perform in distributing itself for purposes of occupation throughout the area which the Spaniards are expected to abandon in the course of the next few weeks. Affairs at Havana since the signing of the peace protocol have been in an anomalous condition, and it will be a great blessing to the island to have the Americans come into authority. Mr. Robert P. Porter has lately visited the island for the sake of studying the tariff situation and commercial conditions in general, acting in an expert capacity as a special commissioner sent by the Government of the United States. Undoubtedly the American occupation will be signalized by immediate changes in existing Spanish tariff rates, and the commerce of Havana and the whole island will immediately feel the benefits of such tariff modifications. At present American visitors have been allowed by the Spaniards to land at Havana, but they have been obliged to conduct themselves with circumspection. The sharpest kind of press censorship is still maintained, and the last days of Spanish administration are not signalized by methods which will temper with the slightest tinge of regret the genuine pleasure that Cubans and Americans alike will feel when the last transport sails for Spain.

*What General
Wood has Done
for Santiago.*

General Wood, who was given the military command of the city of Santiago, has already demonstrated in the most brilliant way what good administration can do for a region like Cuba that has suffered for centuries from hideous misgovernment. Our governor found the city indescribably filthy. He promptly opened the clogged drains; organized a street-cleaning service; enforced compulsory rules for the removal of garbage and domestic waste; established a disinfection corps in connection with an efficient medical service; put the hospitals into good working condition; cut the death-rate down 75 per cent.; averted a yellow-fever epidemic that was considered inevitable; restored, repaired, and greatly improved the water-supply; organized an efficient general police system, discarding the hateful Spanish uniforms; cleaned up the water front and devised plans for the dredging and permanent sanitation of the harbor; established a strictly regulated relief service for the benefit of the thousands of half-starved people who returned to the city from the places to which they had withdrawn in the period of hostilities; restored

the administration of justice under his own immediate direction, opened the schools and took the children off the streets, and in a variety of other ways brought order out of confusion. It is not necessary at this point to digress by way of personal praise of General Wood, who has proved himself one of the most effective men that this war crisis has brought to the front. It is enough here to say that he has set the standard at Santiago, and that what has been done there must not only be continued and completed, but must, either by General Wood himself or some one else, be accomplished at Havana and at every other important town in the islands formerly administered by Spain that may come under the responsibility of the Government of the United States. Brig.-Gen. Leonard Wood is one of those effective, clean-cut, highly trained Americans who can deal conclusively with any task that presents itself, and who are not swerved from the path of high duty by any selfish or private considerations whatsoever. There is nothing factional nor partisan in his administrative make-up, and there will be no taint of jobbery where he is intrusted with control. If we are to administer the Philippines we must seek precisely such agents and must intrust them with large discretion. It is extremely fortunate that General Wood, who is a distinguished physician as he is also a renowned soldier, has shown the War Department exactly what an American military government of conquered Spanish territory can accomplish for the welfare of the innocent inhabitants.

*Porto Rico
Annexed.*

The assumption of full control in Porto Rico on October 18 found Major-General Brooke in full command. His instructions would seem not to have been very minute and his discretionary power was extensive. Brig.-Gen. Frederick D. Grant was placed in command of the capital town of San Juan and the surrounding district. We had been in possession of Ponce and the southern coast towns for some time, and the native Porto Ricans, who greatly predominate in Ponce and most parts of Porto Rico outside of the capital city, had received the Americans with undisguised enthusiasm. In San Juan, on the contrary, the great bulk of the population is Spanish, and the pro-Spanish sentiment has been prevalent. It is to be said to the credit of these people, however, that they have shown very little ill-will toward Americans, and that they have accepted the new régime with unexpected good grace. The departing Spaniards, according to reports, exerted themselves to leave as little as possible in the way of military supplies

or public property for the benefit of their successors. Gen. Fred. Grant will not find so desperate a situation in San Juan as Gen. Leonard Wood found in Santiago. Nevertheless, there is wide room for sanitary and administrative reform in the Porto Rican capital, and General Grant will be wise if he determines to make for

BRIG.-GEN. FREDERICK D. GRANT.

himself a brilliant record as an administrator. His experience as police commissioner in New York City ought to give him some especial qualifications for assuming control of the affairs of the principal seaport and municipality of our new island possession.

*Destination of
the "Iowa"
and "Oregon."*

Mr. Henry Norman, the usually well-informed English journalist, makes the following statement in the October number of *Cosmopolis*:

So far from laying aside any of her ships because peace is secured, the United States is restoring them all to fighting trim as quickly as possible, dispatching two battleships, the *Oregon* and the *Iowa*, to Manila, and even retaining her naval volunteers on their vessels. All this points to one cloud on the horizon. Germany has a fixed policy with regard to a part of the Philippines, and she has declared her policy privately, but

frankly. American policy, so far as this has been decided upon, runs counter to it. One of the two countries will have to give way. It grows more and more difficult to see any solution except American dominion, in one form or another, of all the islands.

It is certainly true that the *Iowa* and the *Oregon* have been dispatched to the Pacific. They are now on their way down the east coast with a longer journey before them, in all probability, than the memorable voyage of the *Oregon* when she came from San Francisco by way of the Straits of Magellan to play her great rôle in the smashing of Cervera's fleet at Santiago. Although it is commonly supposed that the *Iowa* and *Oregon* are destined to join Admiral Dewey's fleet on the Asiatic station, they are merely said by the Navy Department to be on their way to the Pacific coast. For a good many weeks to come they can be reached by orders which may direct them to proceed to San Francisco to remain indefinitely, or which may send them on either to Honolulu or to Manila. That the Germans covet an island in the Philippines is entirely true. But that they have any intention whatever of obtaining it at the price of a serious quarrel with the United States we do not for a moment believe. A sufficient explanation of the activity of our navy is to be found in our extended foreign relations and interests and in the unsettled condition of affairs in various parts of the world. Henceforth we must divide our naval strength more evenly than heretofore between the Atlantic and the Pacific. American interests in China are very large, and those interests are to some extent imperilled by the rapid process of disintegration that the Chinese imperial government now exhibits. Our position in the Philippines, quite aside from any opposition that Germany might be disposed to make, would render it prudent for us to transfer a part of our excess of naval strength from the Atlantic to the Pacific. We are not likely to have any trouble with Germany, but the best possible way to make sure that there will be none is to be abundantly prepared to maintain our views.

Another
Object-Lesson.

If the *Oregon's* trip in the early months of this year advertised the necessity for an interoceanic canal on naval considerations, the present voyage of the *Iowa* and the *Oregon* will doubly advertise that necessity at a time when the reassembling of Congress is likely to bring to the front the question of the Nicaragua Canal. Fresh light on that subject will then be presented in the report of the special commission, which consisted of Admiral Walker, Prof. Lewis M. Haupt, and Col. Peter C. Hains, U. S. A. These gentlemen went to

THE NEXT MOVE.—From the *Herald* (New York).

Nicaragua with ample facilities provided by the Government to make a more thorough investigation than any preceding expedition into the engineering, financial, and commercial aspects of the whole question. They are now diligently completing their report. Their official views are not to be made public in advance of this report; nevertheless, an expedition like this, requiring the aid of many assistants, cannot be conducted upon lines of strict secrecy. Without, therefore, assuming to speak with any authority, we will venture to predict that the commissioners will feel themselves justified in declaring that the Nicaragua Canal is feasible, that its prompt construction will be desirable, and that its cost, under efficient and honest management, would be very moderate indeed.

The New
Panama
Pretensions.

In those palmy days of loot and bribery, when the Panama Canal Company was pouring vast streams of money into corruption-fund channels at the expense of innocent French investors, its evil methods were always in operation to prevent the success of the, honestly conceived American Nicaragua Canal enterprise. Just now, curiously enough, that scotched head is lifted to strike again. Within a few weeks the Panama Canal lobby seems to have made a mysterious reappearance in this country. Up to a certain date in September, nobody in the United States had for a long while heard a single word about the defunct Panama enterprise. But suddenly articles began to appear simultaneously in a large number of newspapers informing the American public that the reorganized Panama Canal Company is at work, on improved plans, with a great force of men, that the canal is largely completed already, that a relatively small amount of money will finish it, and that under the circumstances it would be folly for the United States to proceed

with the Nicaragua undertaking. Even a short memory suffices to remind us how often in the old Lesseps days we heard exactly this same story about improved plans, reorganized methods, and the imminent completion of the Panama Canal. Those stories were conceived in fraud; and the fresh ones now current have scarcely been set afloat by disinterested persons as part of the legitimate public news of the day.

A Seasonable Topic. We publish elsewhere two articles on the Nicaragua Canal, one dealing with it from the standpoint of international politics and the other from that of commerce. Professor Keasbey, who writes one of the articles, is the author of a noteworthy book that we have heretofore commended, entitled "The Nicaragua Canal and the Monroe Doctrine." Professor Johnson, who writes on "The Canal and Our Commercial Interests," has devoted much attention to the study of the economics of transportation. As to the political control of the Nicaragua Canal, there can be no question raised in any quarter except in England. But since England and the United States are now on terms of most excellent understanding, it will surely be easy for our new Secretary of State, Mr. Hay, to signalize his period of service at the head of our Foreign Office by giving England such assurances and reasonable guarantees as will gain Great Britain's hearty good wishes in our plan to cut the Nicaragua Canal as a part of our coast line.

Changes in China. The month of October has brought much interesting news from foreign parts, but nearly all of it has been in continuation of September topics. The most

BRITISH TROOPS ENTERING OMDURMAN
(Showing effect of shells upon the Mahdi's tomb.)

sensational dispatches have come from the capital of China. Most of the Peking reports have been untrue, but there is enough left that is momentous. The Emperor of China had entered upon a policy of reform and of modern innovation. The reactionaries were alarmed. The Emperor's mother succeeded in regaining her control of affairs. It was officially announced that the Emperor's health had failed to such an extent that he had retired from the active business of ruling, in favor of the Empress Dowager. The change has been accompanied by persecution of the Emperor's liberal advisers and by uprisings against Europeans in Peking and in other Chinese cities. The reported death of the Emperor has been disproved. The principal European governments have promptly increased the number of their armed guards at Peking, and there is much prospect of extensive European interference, on the ground of China's inability to protect foreigners. China's dismemberment becomes more and more certain.

France, England, and the Nile. England still rings with the echoes of Sir Herbert Kitchener's great victory at Omdurman and the complete crushing of the empire of the Dervishes. It is not easy to see any real danger in the reported strain between England and France on account of Major Marchand's expedition from the French Congo to Fashoda, on the Nile. General Kitchener found Major Marchand at Fashoda with seven or eight white men and a party of native Africans. His trip is to be viewed as an exploit in African travel rather than a political or international event. England has been needlessly assertive on the subject, inasmuch as the French have no possible claims on the Nile. The French pretensions have been put forth undoubtedly for the purpose of making a little play to the galleries at

THE ARTFUL DOWAGER.

EMPERESS DOWAGER OF CHINA (to the "Son of Heaven"): "Reform, indeed! I'll reform you! Go and stand in the corner till I tell you to come out!"—From *Punch* (London).

home, thus diverting French public opinion from the Dreyfus case and other domestic difficulties. The month disclosed some steps toward a military conspiracy to inaugurate a revolution in France, but nothing is likely to come of it.

*Crete
Resolved
at Last.*

The Sultan has yielded to the pressure of England—backed by Russia, France, and Italy—and the chronic disorders of Crete are to cease at last. The Turkish troops will probably all have left the island by the time these notes are printed. Not only are Turkish troops henceforth forbidden in Crete, but the Moslem inhabitants must give up their arms. Prince George of Greece will be governor, although the Sultan will retain a merely nominal sovereignty. Some form of autonomy is ultimately to go into effect, but for a time the civil and military offices will all be held by Europeans in lieu of the dispossessed Turks. In the line of accomplished tasks for the progress of humanity, this solution of the Cretan situation is perhaps the most important news of the month. Now for Armenia.

*Germany
in the
East.*

The Emperor of Germany entered duly upon his much-advertised journey to Jerusalem. At Constantinople and everywhere else in the Turkish empire where his majesty was expected the Sultan had spared

THE LATE THOMAS F. BAYARD, OF DELAWARE.

no expense to do his imperial friend high honor. Further reports fully confirm the earlier announcement of an Anglo-German agreement by which England is left to acquire control of Delagoa Bay, and Germany has turned the cold shoulder upon President Kruger of the Transvaal. This counts much more for British aims in South Africa than the overthrow of Sir Gordon Sprigg's ministry in Cape Colony could possibly count on the other side. Germany still hopes for an island in the Philippines and is watching the Chinese situation with keen interest.

*Obituary
Notes.*

In the obituary list the most eminent name is that of Thomas F. Bayard, for many years a Democratic Senator, afterward Secretary of State in Mr. Cleveland's first administration and ambassador to England in Mr. Cleveland's second term. The most eminent personage in the European list was Queen Louise of Denmark, who had often been facetiously called "the mother-in-law of Europe," on account of the fact that one of her daughters married the late Czar of Russia and another is the Princess of Wales. The King of Greece is one of her sons. American literature has lost two worthy representatives in Col. Richard Malcolm Johnston and Mr. Harold Frederic.

Dowager Empress of Russia. Duchess of Cumberland.
Queen Louise. Princess of Wales.

THE LATE QUEEN LOUISE OF DENMARK, WITH HER
DAUGHTERS.

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS.

(From September 21 to October 30, 1898.)

THE UNITED STATES AND SPAIN—ENDING OF THE WAR.

September 21.—Admiral Cervera arrives in Spain.

September 23.—The commission appointed by President McKinley to investigate the War Department is completed.

September 24.—General Shafter takes command of Camp Wikoff at Montauk Point, L. I....The commission to investigate the United States War Department organizes by electing Gen. Grenville M. Dodge as chairman; the other members are Maj.-Gen. Alexander McDowell McCook, retired, Ohio; Brig.-Gen. John M. Wilson, Chief of Engineers, U. S. A., District of Columbia; ex-Gov. Urban A. Woodbury, Vermont; ex-Gov. James A. Beaver, Pennsylvania; Col. Charles Denby, Indiana; Col. J. A. Sexton, Illinois; Capt. Evan P. Howell, Georgia, and Dr. Phineas S. Conner, Ohio.

September 27.—The peace commissioners of the United States hold sessions in Paris.

September 28.—Secretary Alger reports to President McKinley on his observations in the army camps.

September 30.—General Merritt's report on the operations about Manila is made public.

October 1.—The American and Spanish peace commissioners hold their first joint conference in the French Foreign Office at Paris....A board of United States officers is appointed to select sites for camps in Cuba.

October 5.—General Merritt consults with the American peace commissioners at Paris regarding the situation in the Philippines.

October 6.—The deaths of 4 American soldiers from small-pox and 8 from typhoid fever are reported from Manila.

October 7.—After deciding on the points to be considered, the American and Spanish peace commissioners adjourn their sittings to October 11....President McKinley informs the American evacuation commissioners that the Spanish military forces must leave Porto Rico by October 18 and Cuba by December 1....A decree promulgated by General Blanco permits Spanish soldiers to remain in Cuba.

October 10.—The Navy Department publishes an explanation of the delay of the sailing of transports from Tampa for Santiago.

October 11.—The peace commissioners resume joint sessions at Paris....The American flag is hoisted over public buildings at Manzanillo, Cuba.

October 12.—The United States battleships *Oregon* and *Iowa* sail from New York for Manila.

October 13.—Chaplain McIntyre, of the *Oregon*, is found guilty of improperly criticising his superior officers and sentenced to dismissal from the navy.

October 14.—In the joint session of the peace commissioners at Paris the reply of the American commissioners to the Spanish propositions concerning the Cuban debt is read and discussed.

October 17.—The commissioners to investigate the War Department go to Jacksonville, Fla., to inspect

the army camp there and take testimony....The transport *Minnewaska* brings the Sixteenth Pennsylvania into the port of New York from Porto Rico.

October 18.—The American flag is formally hoisted at San Juan, Porto Rico, and the United States takes full possession....Peace jubilee exercises are held in Chicago.

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HON. JOSEPH SIMON.

(The new Senator from Oregon.)

October 20.—The War Department investigating commission completes the taking of testimony in Jacksonville, Fla., and proceeds to Atlanta, Ga.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—AMERICAN.

September 21.—Connecticut Democrats nominate Daniel L. Morgan for governor on a platform declaring for "bimetallism."

September 22.—New Jersey Republicans nominate Foster M. Voorhees for governor.

September 24.—Montana Republicans indorse the St. Louis platform of 1896 and the gold standard.

September 27.—New York Republicans nominate Theodore Roosevelt for governor and Timothy L. Woodruff for lieutenant-governor.

September 28.—New Jersey Democrats nominate Elvin W. Crane for governor.

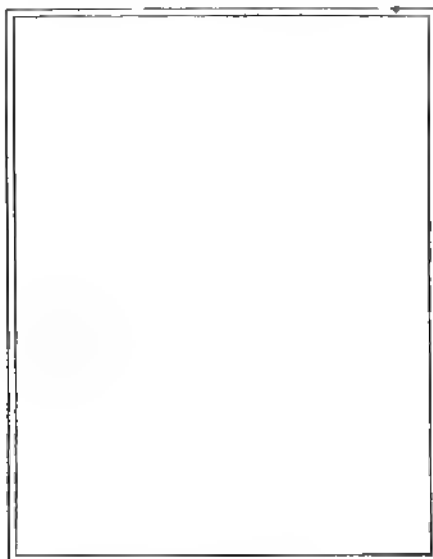
September 29.—New York Democrats nominate Augustus Van Wyck for governor and Elliot Danforth for lieutenant-governor; the platform ignores the silver question.

September 30.—Col. John Hay assumes the duties of Secretary of State at Washington.

October 3.—President McKinley appoints David J. Hill, of New York, Assistant Secretary of State, to succeed John Bassett Moore.

October 4.—Colorado Middle-of-the-Road Populists nominate Simon Guggenheim for governor.

October 5.—At the Georgia State election a constitutional amendment providing for the election of judges



MON. JOHN F. CARROLL.

(New executive head of Tammany Hall.)

and solicitors of the Superior Court by the people is adopted.... Captain Wilkinson, Third United States Infantry, and 6 soldiers are killed by Indians at Leech Lake, Minn.; additional troops are ordered out.

October 6.—Massachusetts Republicans renominate Governor Wolcott.... Edward C. Smith is inaugurated as Governor of Vermont.

October 7.—Republican members of the Oregon Legislature nominate Joseph Simon for United States Senator, the name of Henry W. Corbett having been withdrawn.

October 8.—State officials of Mississippi appeal to the Federal Government for aid in relieving yellow-fever sufferers.

October 12.—At Virden, Ill., 13 coal miners are killed and 25 wounded in a riot caused by the importation of negroes to take the places of strikers; troops are sent to the scene.... Ex-State Treasurer Hayward, of Pennsylvania, and Senator Quay are held for trial on the charge of misusing public funds.... John F. Carroll assumes direction of Tammany Hall as the deputy of Richard Croker.

October 17.—Colonel Roosevelt begins a campaign tour of the eastern and northern counties of New York State.

October 18.—The Vermont Legislature reflects United States Senator Redfield Proctor for a full term.... The industrial commission appointed by President McKinley organizes and adjourns to meet at Washington on November 15.

October 20.—Theodore Bacon makes public his acceptance of the independent nomination for governor of New York.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—FOREIGN.

September 21.—The French minister of war orders the prosecution of Colonel Picquart on charges of forgery in connection with the Dreyfus case.... The government of Nicaragua advances the duties on many articles 100 per cent.

September 22.—An imperial edict issued at Peking announces the abdication of the Emperor of China in favor of the Dowager Empress.

September 23.—The German Emperor and Empress open the new harbor at Stettin.... The Swiss Federal Council orders the expulsion of 36 anarchists.... George N. Curzon is raised to the British peerage.

September 24.—General Kitchener, commanding the Anglo-Egyptian expedition, returns to Omdurman, having established posts at Fashoda and on the Sobat River.

September 26.—The French Cabinet applies to the Court of Cassation for a revision of the Dreyfus case.... The Austrian Reichsrath reassembles at Vienna.

September 27.—The Dowager Empress of China rescinds the recent reform edicts.

September 29.—In the Canadian elections prohibition is carried by a small majority.

September 30.—The Austro-Hungarian prime minister is defeated by 10 votes in the Reichsrath, but the opposition decides to suspend obstruction.

October 6.—In a collision between strikers and police in Paris one of the strikers is killed.

October 11.—In the Cape Colony Assembly the government is defeated on a vote of confidence.

October 12.—The Norwegian Storthing is opened.... General Roca takes the oath of office as President of the Argentine Republic.... The German Emperor and Empress leave Berlin on their journey to Palestine.

October 14.—The discovery of a military plot to overthrow the French Government is announced in Paris.... Nine Italian anarchists are arrested in Alexandria, Egypt, on suspicion of plotting to kill the Emperor of Germany.

October 18.—Seven Mussulmans, convicted of the murder of British soldiers, are hanged at Candia, Crete.

October 20.—The Korean cabinet resigns.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

September 23.—Diplomatic relations between Italy and Colombia are severed.... Chile issues an ultimatum to Argentina on the boundary question.

September 26.—The International Peace Congress opens at Turin.

September 27.—It is announced that the great powers will blockade Cretan ports if the Sultan refuses their demands.

October 2.—Argentina rejects four proposals made by Chile for the settlement of the Altagama question.

October 8.—The official correspondence between Great Britain and France respecting the Upper Nile is made public.

October 10.—The Canadian-American Commission adjourns to meet at Washington on November 1.

October 11.—Turkey consents to evacuate Crete, but asks for modifications of the terms imposed by the powers.

October 20.—France demands of China reparation for the murder of missionaries and a guarantee for the future.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH.

September 21.—A monument to Champlain, the founder of Quebec, is unveiled in that city.

September 23.—At Brownsville, Pa., many miners are entombed in a coal mine as the result of a gas explosion and 8 are killed instantly.

September 27.—A storm near Buffalo, N. Y., kills 6 persons, injures many others, and damages property to the extent of \$350,000.

October 1.—Fire in Colorado Springs causes a loss of \$1,000,000.

October 2.—A severe hurricane on the coasts of Georgia and South Carolina causes great loss of life and property....Fire at Hankow, a treaty port on the Yang-tse-Kiang River, China, destroys more than a square mile of the city; hundreds of lives are lost.

October 4.—The United States battleship *Illinois* is launched at Newport News, Va.

October 5.—The general convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States meets in Washington, D. C.

October 7.—Sixty thousand workmen, including many on the exposition buildings, go on strike in Paris.

October 12.—President McKinley makes an address at the peace jubilee exercises in connection with the Omaha Exposition.

October 14.—The Atlantic Transport steamer *Mohegan* goes ashore off the Lizard, and 116 of the 161 persons on board are lost.

October 17.—The University of Chicago confers on President McKinley the degree of doctor of laws.

October 19.—President McKinley reviews the Chicago peace jubilee parade and speaks at a banquet.

October 20.—President McKinley and his party start on the return journey from Chicago to Washington.

OBITUARY.

September 23.—Col. Richard Malcolm Johnston, the novelist, 76....John M. Toucey, formerly general manager of the New York Central Railroad, 70....Robert Roberts, English religious writer.

September 25.—Sir Patrick Wellington Talbot, sergeant-at-arms of the British House of Lords, 81.

September 26.—Fanny Davenport (Mrs. Melbourne McDowell), the actress, 48....Lieut.-Gov. Malcolm Colin Cameron, of the Canadian Northwest Territories, 66.

September 27.—Hon. T. J. Byrnes, premier of Queensland, 39....George W. Phillips, actuary of the Equitable Life Association, 72.

September 28.—Hon. Thomas Francis Bayard, formerly Secretary of State and ambassador to Great Britain, 70.

September 29.—Queen Louise of Denmark, 81....William Kingsford, Canadian historian, 79.

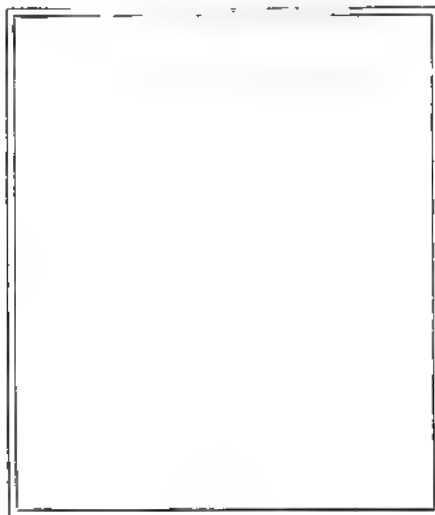
September 30.—Madame Carnot, widow of the President of France.

October 6.—Prof. Nathan C. Brooks, former president of the Baltimore Female College, 77.

October 7.—Sherman Hoar, prominent in Massachusetts politics, 88....Blanche Willis Howard von Teufel, American novelist....Ex-Mayor Abraham Oakley Hall, of New York City, 73.

October 9.—Rear Admiral John Carson Febiger, U. S. N., retired, 77.

October 10.—Ex-United States Senator Benjamin Stark, of Oregon and Connecticut, 78....Justice Manley C. Green, of the Appellate Division of the New York Supreme Court, 55.



THE LATE SHERMAN HOAR,
Of Massachusetts.

October 12.—Colvin Fairbank, a well-known anti-slavery worker, 83....John Malcolm Forbes, president of the board of directors of the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad, 85....Charles L. MacArthur, editor of the *Troy Northern Budget*, 75.

October 14.—Dr. N. S. Lincoln, a well-known physician of Washington, D. C., 70.

October 16.—Edward J. Henley the actor, 37.

October 18.—Chief Engineer Philip Inch, U. S. N., retired, 62....John Winslow, a leading member of the Brooklyn (N. Y.) bar, 73.

October 19.—Harold Frederic, American novelist and newspaper correspondent, 43....John Milton Gregory, formerly president of the University of Illinois and one of the first United States Civil Service Commissioners, 76.

October 20.—Ex-Gov. Charles N. Sheldon, of South Dakota.

COLONEL ROOSEVELT AND OTHERS IN CARICATURE.

"AND TEDDY [ROOSEVELT] COMES MARCHING HOME."—From *Judge* (New York).

THE New York cartoonists in campaign times are under the necessity of looking at politics from the editorial standpoint of their respective papers. So it happens that Mr. Bush, of the *World*, and Mr. Davenport, of the *Journal*, have been using their weapons of humor and satire against the candidacy of Colonel Roosevelt, while Mr. Nelan, of the *Herald*, has made clever drawings which reflect the rather dubious and lukewarm position of that convictionless metropolitan newspaper. These three cartoonists cannot possibly bring themselves to the point of any personal animosity against Colonel Roosevelt, for, since all of them are predisposed toward brave, manly, vigorous, and honest leaders in politics, they cannot help liking and admiring the redoubtable colonel of the Rough Riders. Looking for the vulnerable point in the political situation, therefore, they find little in Colonel Roosevelt's personal record to attack, and they naturally seize upon the circumstances of his nomination and emphasize the fact that Colonel Roosevelt is Mr. Platt's candidate. A reasonable answer to that charge is to be found in the cartoon from *Judge* at the top of this page, which shows that Mr. Roosevelt is not only Platt's candidate, but the candidate of Seth Low and the independent Republicans, quite as truly. Mr. Roosevelt's personal popularity is what nominated him, and Mr. Platt

and the other politicians were simply wise enough to recognize the availability of the hero of San Juan hill. If Mr. Platt will give us more candidates like Roosevelt he will be the noblest of Warwicks.

INFORMATION FOR THE COLONEL.
From the *Herald* (New York).

Mr. Bush's reference to Mr. Roosevelt as the missing link was suggested by a remark in a speech by the witty lawyer, Mr. Joseph H. Choate. Last year the breach between the regular Republicans, following Mr. Platt, and the independent Republicans, including Mr. Choate, Seth Low, and those shown in the right of the picture, was seemingly irreconcilable. But they are all supporting Mr. Roosevelt this year with great enthusiasm, and in that sense he has supplied "the missing link."

In the early part of the campaign the Republicans were over-confident. Suddenly they discovered that the apathy of the party might mean defeat, and Mr. Roosevelt took the field to stir things up. Hence Mr. Nolan's cartoon. Mr. Davenport's presentation of Roosevelt as a rope-walker attempting to carry Boss Platt at one end of his pole and the independent element at the other is a clever conception from the point of view of those who are working on the other side.

"WE HAVE DISCOVERED IN MR. ROOSEVELT THE MISSING LINK."—From the *World* (New York).

The candidate of Mr. Room.

OTRANO DE BESORRAC.—From the *World* (New York).

And trembled with fear at his frown."
From the *Journal* (New York).



EDITING THE COLONEL.—From the *World* (New York).

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of editing Roosevelt's speeches.

YAN WICK CHORUS: "My! But he's good to our family!"
From the *Herald* (New York).



WHIP BEHIND!—SAGASTA TRIES TO STEAL A RIDE.—From the Tribune (Minneapolis).

R.C. Swenson

SOLD!

OOM PAUL (disgusted): "Why, I can't get to the sea at all."
From Punch (London).

COOK'S CRUSADER.

IMPERIAL KNIGHT TEMPLAR (the German Emperor to Saladin): "What! The Christian powers putting pressure upon you, my dear friend! Horrible! I can't think how people can do such things!"—From Punch (London).



FRANCE AND ENGLAND ON THE UPPER NILE—MAJOR MARCHAND'S CRITICAL POSITION AT FASHODA.
From Fair Game (London).

THE Y. M. C. A. "ROUGH RIDERS" TENT AT WEST TAMPA.

THE ARMY AND NAVY "Y. M. C. A."

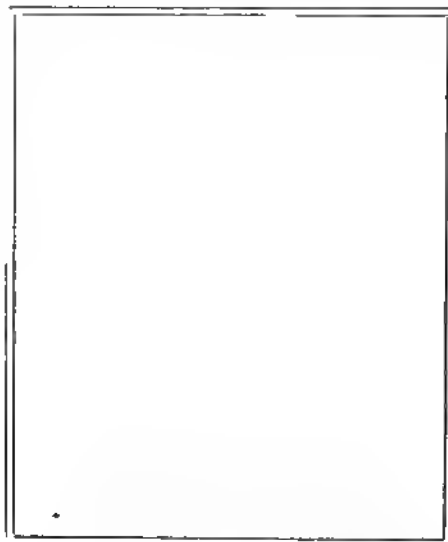
BY ALBERT SHAW.

PHILANTHROPY sometimes gropes uncertainly, sometimes blunders mischievously, and very often wastes resources through failure to adapt means to ends in a simple, direct fashion. In a multitude of cases, moreover, philanthropy overlaps, through the needless multiplication of agencies working independently of one another and competing with one another as viciously as if their objects were selfish rather than altruistic. Whether or not in the industrial world the compact, unified organization of the great trusts which are superseding the competitive system is in every respect advantageous, it may be asserted very safely that system, harmony, and essential unity are advantageous in almost every way in philanthropic work. In the confusion of claims and appeals on the part of all sorts of agencies it is always a relief to find some particular line of good work about which there can be no possible doubt, whether as to the objects that it has in view or the efficiency, economy, and practical wisdom of its methods in the pursuit of those objects.

If I were asked to name a special philanthropic work that seemed to me at the present moment to answer such a description for the people of the United States, I should unhesitatingly recommend the work of the Army and Navy Christian Commission. Its objects are entitled to the earnest approval of all right-minded people. Its methods are well-devised and practical. Its organization enables it to use its methods with a very high degree of efficiency and economy.

The United States Christian Commission, which rendered services of so notable a character during the period of the Civil War, was organized in 1861 by the Young Men's Christian As-

sociation. Even then, in the early days of the Young Men's Christian Association movement, that organization afforded the nucleus for a work of great magnitude in the camps and on the battle-fields. The Christian Commission of the Civil War period worked hand in hand with the United States Sanitary Commission, both of



GEORGE H. STUART, OF PHILADELPHIA.
(President of the Christian Commission of 1861-65.)

these marvelous organizations finding particular spheres of their own, while deriving their support in the main from the same generous and unfailing sources. The Sanitary Commission of that period might be summed up as the administrative system under which the great outpouring of the

practical sympathy and helpfulness of the women of the entire North found the way to make the most timely and serviceable distribution of relief through all the camps and fields where Union men were placed.

The Christian Commission, like its notable affiliated society, also derived its principal inspiration and support from the women of the country, although its machinery was set in motion by the leaders in the Young Men's Christian Association work. The great business of the Sanitary Commission was to supplement at every possible point the work of the Government in caring for the health of the soldiers. The money value of the various supplies, materials, and services contributed by the people of the United States through the Sanitary Commission for the benefit of the Union soldiers during the five years of the war period was about \$25,000,000. The services of the Christian Commission were of a kind which did not run so heavily into money values. It is estimated, nevertheless, that this organization expended, through the generosity of its supporters, not less than \$6,000,000 in the war period. Whereas the Sanitary Commission cooperated mainly with the medical and commissary departments, furnishing all kinds of surgical, medical, and hospital supplies and almost incalculable quantities of provisions of all sorts, as well as articles of wearing apparel, the Christian Commission might be regarded as more especially a means by which the efficiency of the army chaplains was vastly varied and multiplied. For instance, the Christian Commission, through its hundreds of agents in camps and on battlefields, concerned itself with the moral and religious well-being of the soldiers, served as a connecting link between the sick soldier and his distant friends, helped to identify and bury the dead, and in a very great number of other ways rendered services the usefulness of which became universally recognized.

If in 1861 the Young Men's Christian Association furnished a ready-made organization that could initiate a vast work of Christian philanthropy, to be supported by churches of all denominations through the war period, it

needs hardly to be said that such a work, once begun, had to find its own system and methods. For in those days the Young Men's Christian Association was in its infancy, and its mechanism could not have sufficed for the carrying on of so great an enterprise as that which the Christian Commission prosecuted. In 1898, however, the situation was very different indeed. Not only was the Young Men's Christian Association prepared to initiate promptly an Army and Navy Christian Commission for the immediate purposes of the war with Spain, but it was also in position to use its extensive and almost ideal machinery for the efficient management of the work.

The Young Men's Christian Association, as we find it now, would commend itself to any man conversant with the conduct of large enterprises as one of the most thoroughly and ably organized institutions of any nature whatever that could possibly be named. Not only is it well established in every city and town of the country of any considerable size—where one generally finds a paid secretary who is a man of versatile talents and unusual executive ability—but for each commonwealth there is a State organization with its effective man at the head, and, finally, there is a national central committee through which all the State and local organizations can be brought into quick and harmonious cooperation. This widespread organization is not merely a theory, but it is a well-

Executive Mansion.

Washington, Dec. 12, 1861.

*Rev George H. Stuart
Chairman of Christian Commission*

My dear Sir:

Your letter of the 11th inst and accompanying plan both of which are returned as a convenient mode of connecting the with them, have just been received—Your Christian and benevolent undertaking for the benefit of the soldiers, is too obviously proper and praiseworthy, to admit on differences of opinion— I sincerely hope, your plan may be as successful in execution as it is in just conception

*Your Obedt Servt
Abraham Lincoln*

EXECUTIVE MANSION.
WASHINGTON.

August 26, 1898.

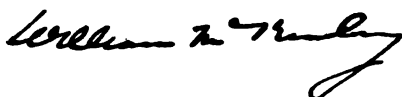
John J. McCook, Esq.,
Chairman Executive Committee
Army and Navy Christian Commission,
New York City.

My dear Sir:

I have noted with much pleasure the admirable work the Army and Navy Christian Commission, organized by the International Committee of Young Men's Christian Associations has been accomplishing for the physical and social welfare of our soldiers and sailors.

Hoping that the good work may be continued. I am,

Faithfully yours,



PRESIDENT M'KINLEY'S INDORSEMENT OF THE CHRISTIAN COMMISSION WORK.

developed, working fact. When, therefore, the necessity of an Army and Navy Christian Commission was perceived at the opening of the war, the leaders of the Young Men's Christian Association knew at once how to proceed. They were all the better prepared for service among soldier boys by reason of the fact that they had successfully developed two or three other special branches of their work. For example, they had carried the Young Men's Christian Association organization into the colleges of the country, had adapted its methods to students as a special class, and had found it feasible to maintain a differentiated college department. They have also been no less successful in establishing a railroad department, carried on for the benefit of the hundreds of thousands of young men employed on the railroad lines of the country, and giving special consideration to the problems growing out of the nature and conditions of their railroad work. Throughout all of its work, furthermore—for students and railroad men, as well as for all others—the Young Men's Christian Association has, during the past decade or more, greatly expanded its operations on what may be called the material side. It had

discovered that it could best aid in the moral and spiritual development of young men when it recognized the necessity for an all-around development. It began, therefore, to supply means for recreation, for intellectual progress, and for physical development through the well-appointed gymnasium and like agencies.

Thus, when the war broke out, the experience of the leaders in the Young Men's Christian Association movement made it easy for them to have a clear-cut conception of the work that lay in their line and needed to be promptly undertaken for the benefit of the soldier boys. We were expanding the regular army and were calling volunteers into the service of the country so that we were soon to have about 250,000 young men massed in State or general camps. In our Civil War about one-third of the soldiers were legally "infants"—that is to say, had not yet reached the legal age of manhood. More than half of all those who wore the blue were under twenty-four. While it is not possible now to make exact comparisons, it is probable that the young men who enlisted in 1898 for the war against Spain averaged quite as young as those who were engaged in the Civil War. There is some reason, indeed, to believe that they averaged somewhat younger. The Civil War was of proportions so herculean that it taxed heavily the whole vigor and manhood alike of North and South, and the fact of being married did not suffice, in the opinion either of the public authorities or of the community at large, to exempt men from joining the regiments and going to the front. In the war of 1898, on the other hand, taking the country as a whole, a given population had only one soldier to furnish where in the war of 1861-65 it had at least fifty men to furnish. Under these circumstances it was commonly agreed that young unmarried men might reasonably be expected to do the work of the soldier. This very fact, however, made it the more incumbent upon the community at large to see that the young men of the volunteer regiments, as well as those going to make up the quickly expanded regular army, should be surrounded by every possible moral as well as physical safeguard, and should be encouraged and helped by everything that could be provided in the way of an environment of good influences and wholesome opportunities.

Doubtless there was some needless tone of bravado in certain quarters in the talk and discussion that accompanied the outbreak of the war. But, in general, the regiments were raised in an atmosphere of good sense, pure motives, high patriotism, and a clear understanding that the war was undertaken as a painful necessity,

patriotism and public responsibility, the realization of danger and the stimulus to courage and self sacrifice, all conspire to make the opportunity an exceptionally good one for bringing positive influences to bear in favor of higher intellectual, moral, and religious standards. All this was quickly perceived by the leaders of the Young Men's Christian Association, and no time was lost in the endeavor to act in the line of what was accepted as a great opportunity, no less than a great duty.

The President's first call for volunteers was issued on April 22. It was three days later, on April 25, that the International Committee of the Young Men's Christian Associations met in the office of Mr. James Stokes, in New York City, where the situation was discussed and a decision was immediately reached. A sub-committee was

INDORSEMENT.

*Headquarters of the Army,
Washington, D. C., April 30, 1898.*

COL. JOHN J. M'COOK.

(Chairman Executive Department Army and Navy Christian Commission.)

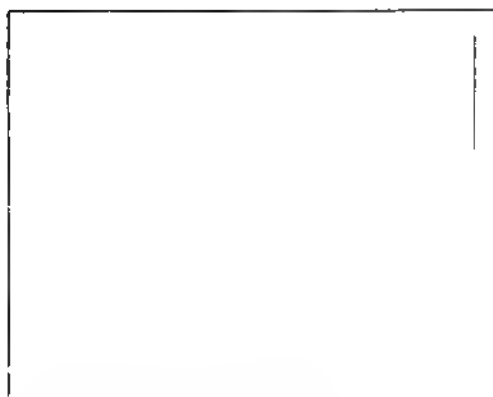
in the name of civilization and humanity, and that it was neither a picnic, a filibustering expedition, an attack against a weaker power for the sake of conquest, nor in any sense that most indefensible of national and international crimes—a war of revenge. It would be too much to say that all of the young men who enlisted were filled with the noble enthusiasm of a holy crusade for the righting of ancient wrong and the establishment of lasting peace on the basis of justice and liberty. But it is not fanciful to say that the great majority of the young men who enlisted were swayed to a considerable extent by such feelings, and that they were lifted into a larger and more dignified frame of mind by virtue of their participation in the movement to liberate Cuba.

In such moments when young men are massed together in multitudes and taken away from the every-day routine and from the restraints of home and of local association, they are peculiarly susceptible to influences permanently affecting their characters. It is not merely desirable, therefore, that every effort should be made to keep young soldiers from the follies and vices that are so characteristic of camp life—the drinking, the gambling, and the other temptations to personal misconduct that lie in wait for the enlisted man—but it is also to be recognized that the new conditions, the quickened sense of

By direction of Major
General Commanding the Army,
permission is hereby given the
Inter-National Committee Young
Men's Christian Association to
locate their tent or tents with
any of the commands, subject
to the supervision and direction
of Commanding Officers.

J. M. McKee
Captain & A. S. C.

FACSIMILE OF PERMIT GRANTED TO Y. M. C. A. FOR
LOCATION OF TENTS.



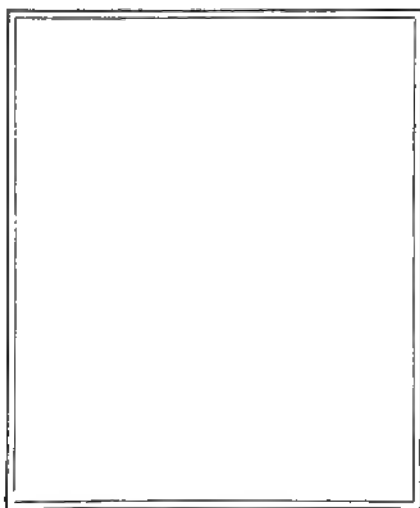
DIRECTORS FIRST ARKANSAS REGIMENT ASSOCIATION.
(E. L. Tucker, secretary.)

appointed to organize and manage work for the soldiers and sailors, and Col. John J. McCook was named as its chairman. In due time this committee assumed as its full and official title the name of "The Army and Navy Christian Commission of the International Committee of Young Men's Christian Associations." As permanently constituted, it was made a committee of twenty-five men, a quorum of whom reside within moderate distance of New York City as the central meeting-place, while some of the others are as far away as the Gulf States and the Pacific coast. The representative character of the committee is obvious enough when the names are cited.

Massachusetts is represented by Henry M. Moore, of Boston, and Dwight L. Moody, of Northfield; Vermont by Gen. O. O. Howard, of Burlington; Pennsylvania by James McCormick, of Harrisburg; James A. Beaver, of Bellefonte; H. Kirke Porter, of Pittsburg; T. DeWitt Cuyler and William J. Latta, of Philadelphia.

For executive work the committee had in hand its trained and well-known men who were already filling various positions in the paid organization of the Young Men's Christian Association and whose experience fitted them for the immediate and efficient performance of any tasks that might be assigned to them. Mr. W. B. Millar, then serving as one of the field secretaries who have general oversight for the International Committee of the whole Young Men's Christian Association work throughout the country, was selected as the chief organizer and executive officer of the Army and Navy Christian Commission. Mr. Millar had formerly been in charge of the principal Young Men's Christian Association headquarters in New York City. The vigor and ability with which he has carried on his new duties show us how fortunate the committee was in having him at hand. The Young Men's Christian Association

machinery throughout the country, easily and without any strain or friction, adapted itself to the Government's organization and distribution of the troops. For example, where the troops were called into State camps the State organization of the Young Men's Christian Association at once developed its Army and Navy Commission branch and proceeded to establish itself in the camp in accordance with the plans and methods set forth by Mr. Millar under direction of the central committee. Where, on the other hand, the troops were centralized in the national camps, as at Chickamauga, Tampa, or Jacksonville, the general committee, Mr. Millar being its representative, assumed direct control of the Christian Commission's work. Every State and local Young Men's Christian Association in the country was asked to appoint an army committee, in order to be prepared to make use of any local opportunity that should offer itself for carrying on religious and social work on some or all of the lines suggested by the Army and Navy Christian Commission wherever in any regimental or State camp or in any other group of soldiers or sailors, however transient, the local opportunity might present itself. The plans of the Christian Commission were presented to President McKinley, the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, and to General Miles as the major-general commanding the army. Commendation was readily secured in all these quarters, and Mr. Millar, as secretary of the commission, was supplied at Washington with letters of introduction



MR. W. E. MILLAR.
(Chief organizer and executive officer.)

which facilitated the organization of the work in all the large camps.

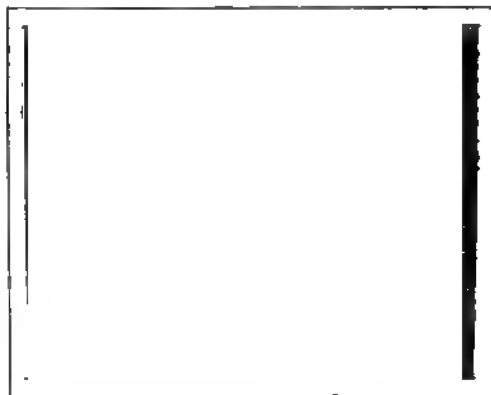
The Christian Associations had gained some slight camp experience by virtue of the fact that in a number of States it had become the custom to erect a tent as "Young Men's Christian Association Headquarters" on the State camp grounds upon the occasion of the annual encampment of the National Guard. The preliminary survey of the great camps of 1898 having been made, no time was lost in securing and erecting enough tents, properly distributed, to supply the necessary headquarters for the commission. All the tent-makers in the country were busy with government orders. Nevertheless, the Young Men's Christian Association, through its superb business management, found means in an astonishingly short time to supply the requisites for its work. After a lapse of only a few weeks there were as many as seventy of these conspicuous Young Men's Christian Association headquarters to be found where the American soldiers had been concentrated. The average size of these canvas tabernacles was 60 x 40 feet. Each one was fitted up with facilities for assemblage and particularly for correspondence.

It is not an easy matter for the average soldier in camp or at the front to write letters home. The Government provides him with no facilities, and in the slender outfit of baggage that the enlisted man can carry it is scarcely feasible to include writing-paper, envelopes, pens, and ink-bottles; while postage-stamps, of all things, are hard to carry in good order. In the course of four or five months the Young Men's Christian Association headquarters had supplied for the

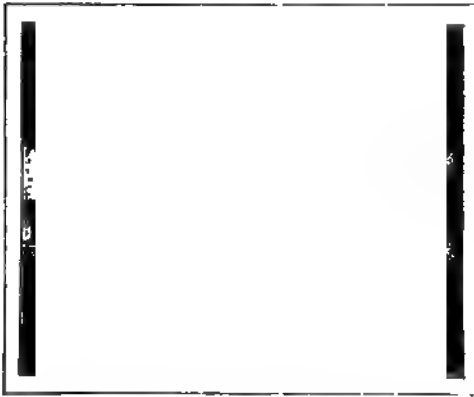
soldiers, free of all cost, about 6,000,000 pieces of stationery, together with the pens and ink and, above all, the necessary chairs and writing-tables—for it must not be supposed that the small sleeping-tent occupied by several men was a convenient place to write.

It must be remembered, then, that these great Young Men's Christian Association tents were the only places in the camps where the soldier could resort for any such purpose as the quiet writing of a letter home, for reading, or for other purposes of commendable indoor recreation. Newspapers, magazines, and books were supplied by friends of the movement all over the country and were distributed in great quantities. The Young Men's Christian Association tents became the headquarters for the singing of patriotic songs, and the religious services conducted at stated times under these shelters were of a remarkably effective and influential character, going very far toward the elevation of the moral standards of the entire encampment. From their large force of trained workers it was easy for the Christian Associations to supply men thoroughly well qualified to carry on every phase of the work for the troops.

The regimental canteens are not desirable influences in the camps, for they unduly and needlessly promote drinking habits. The Young Men's Christian Association work has not been launched against the canteens by way of destructive attack so much as by the better mode of furnishing an opposition resort. In the hot weather at the Southern camps it was not always easy to get cold water to drink. Many a soldier spent his wages for beer at the canteen simply because of his intense thirst. But when the great tents of the Young Men's Christian Association were ready for service the soldiers found that they contained an unlimited supply of pure ice water, with oatmeal water also in the very hot days;



FIRST MAINE AND FIFTY-SECOND IOWA ASSOCIATION TENT.
(H. L. Sawyer, secretary.)



CLASS IN SPANISH AT CHICKAMAUGA.

and this humane provision for wetting parched throats brought thousands of troops into the agreeable environment of the Young Men's Christian Association, with a corresponding desertion of the canteens and their more or less degrading associations. Plenty of facts in detail could be adduced to illustrate the improvement in the moral tone of regiments when the Christian Commission work had been entered upon.

While the fleet lay massed at Key West in preparation for the Cuban campaign, the Christian Commission established one of its headquarters near the landing-place for the benefit of the sailors, with gratifying results. In some cases, also, so far as feasible, when ships were in or near ports, the association has carried its work on board the men-of-war with the most cordial approval of the officers. Inasmuch as our navy bids fair to grow rapidly and we must maintain a number of focal points for naval rendezvous where considerable bodies of sailors will always be having shore leave, it becomes highly important that something of a systematic nature should now be done for the welfare of sailors in port. When, as at present, a number of Uncle Sam's vessels are at the Brooklyn Navy Yard and the men are enjoying shore liberty, it is saddening to note the fact that there is not a decent sailors' boarding-house or lodging-house to be found in all the Greater New York.

The testimony of our naval officers is to the effect that the enlisted men in the navy are, as a class, greatly superior to those who were found on United States ships some years ago. In every principal port where ships of the navy are likely

to be stationed there ought to be some such institution as the "Sailors' Rest" and retreats that have been developed so successfully in England's great naval ports—at Portsmouth and elsewhere. It is now proposed by the International Committee of the Young Men's Christian Association to go carefully into that work in England, with a view to the establishment of some similar agencies for our own sailors. Mr. W. B. Millar is at this moment in England investigating the subject. If the seamen who wear Uncle Sam's uniform could, for instance, find well-managed establishments like the Mills Hotels of New York available for them, a great part of them would undoubtedly patronize them gladly in preference to those dens of thievery, vice, and drugged rum known as "sailors' boarding-houses." The Navy Department at Washington gave its approval a few days ago to plans for the organization of Young Men's Christian Associations on board the individual ships of the fleet and in the principal navy yards, and also accepted, on behalf of the sailors, the suggestion that the privileges of the regular city associations at the twenty seaport cities on our coast where naval vessels touch should be extended to the "jackies" on shore leave.

As to the army work, it is obvious that the end of the war by no means relieves the Christian Commission either of its duty or its opportunity. It was President McKinley himself, we are informed, who urged the Christian Commission to extend its work to the Philippines on the one hand and to the West Indies on the other. Perhaps no man so clearly as President McKinley has realized the necessity that this country will

MR. CHARLES W. M'ALPIN.

(Chairman General Work Committee.)

be under, for some time to come, to maintain armies of occupation in those Spanish-speaking islands. And the President has naturally been solicitous for the welfare of the troops. He was a soldier boy himself through the Civil War, and he has readily perceived the almost unspeakable services that the Christian Commission may yet be able to render to our young men who must do a part of the world's police work in Porto Rico, in Cuba, and in the distant Philippine archipelago. Already the Young Men's Christian Association has rendered admirable service at Manila. Although there has seemed no way of avoiding the necessity of maintaining an army at Manila, the troops have had very little to do, except to occupy their camps or barracks and await developments. In such times of waiting the temptations that beset bodies of young men a long distance from home, when circumstances compel them to be idle, are sure to assert themselves powerfully. Our troops in Cuba during the coming season are likely to find themselves in a similar situation. The Christian Commission can make itself useful to these young men in a great number of ways. It can not only provide them with religious opportunities, working in conjunction with the regimental chaplains, but it can also do a great deal to make the days pass pleasantly and profitably and to cause the young

men to feel that their time is being usefully employed, by providing educational facilities. Even in the brief active period of the war more or less of this kind of work was done in the camps, where, for instance, a good many classes in the Spanish language were established in connection with the Christian Commission's headquarters. It is to be hoped that the Government will do everything that it properly can to encourage the educational side of the Young Men's Christian Association work in the camps and garrisons, whether upon our own continental territory or in the islands that come under our supervision.

This remarkable work, the scope of which I have only outlined, had been carried on up to October 1 at an outlay scarcely exceeding \$60,000. Such economy of expenditure, when measured by results, would be hard to parallel. This has been due, of course, to the fact that it was in the hands of a great organization superbly qualified to undertake it, and that it was directed by men of wide experience and great executive ability who are giving their services as Christian patriots. Mr. W. E. Lougee and Mr. Thomas W. Cree have been especially useful in securing contributions. For the continued support of this excellent work there ought to be no diminution of the highest possible efficiency, especially in the distant island camps, for mere lack of funds. Every mother who has a son in the army will be less anxious if she knows that her boy has come under the wholesome influences of the Christian Commission. The troops themselves, and the officers of the army on behalf of the men, have earnestly begged the Christian Commission to continue a work that adds so much to the decency and comfort of army life. English correspondents and other foreigners familiar with military conditions abroad have expressed themselves in the most emphatic manner concerning the remarkably wholesome effect of the great Young Men's Christian Association tents upon the morals and manners of the men.

It may be worth while to mention the names of some of those who were in service during the war—many of them being in service still with the troops—as the active and responsible organizers and managers of the Young Men's Christian Association work on behalf of the Army and Navy Christian Commission. The following list is far from complete, but it is representative: Gen. O. O. Howard, of Burlington, Vt.; Maj. D. W. Whittle, Ira D. Sankey, and R. A. Torrey, of Chicago; Dr. A. C. Dixon, of Brooklyn; Rev. C. C. Carpenter, of Florida; Dr. L. W. Munhall, of Philadelphia; Dr. H. M. Wharton, of Baltimore; Dr. Olin A. Curtis, of Drew Theological Seminary,

Rev. Charles Herald, of Brooklyn; Rev. A. J. Smith, of Savannah, Ga.; Rev. F. L. Smith, of Brooklyn; F. W. Pearsall, of Scranton, Pa.; F. B. Shipp, of Erie, Pa.; J. F. Moore, of Albany, N. Y.; H. P. Andersen, of Asheville, N. C.; R. E. Steele, of New Orleans; F. B. Smith, of Chicago; F. W. Smith, of Boston, Mass.; E. W. Sheffield, of New York; H. L. Sawyer, of Chicago; W. Woods White, of Atlanta, Ga.; Frank Mahan, of Charlotte, N. C.; J. B. Fernald, of New York; J. W. Jillard and H. E. Baright, of Poughkeepsie, N. Y.; George A. Hall, of Montclair, N. J.; H. J. McCoy, of San Francisco, Cal.; J. E. Coulter, of Missouri; Dr. J. M. Phipps, of Knoxville, Tenn.; E. G. Routzahn, of Dayton, Ohio; Rev. H. Allen Tupper, D.D., of Montclair, N. J.; Rev. D. S. Toy, of Brooklyn, N. Y.; Mr. H. L. Maxwell, of Chicago; Mr. John Best, of Mt. Hermon, Mass.; Mr. J. H. Banks, of Springfield, Mo.; Mr. W. K. Brokaw, Yonkers, N. Y.; Rev. J. G. Dutton, Portsmouth, N. H.; Mr. H. G. Fithian, Sing Sing, N. Y.; Mr. T. T. Hazlewood, Haverhill, Mass.; Mr. L. J. Marsh, Alchester, S. D.; J. C. Whiting, New York City; L. D. Young, Princeton, N. J.; W. N. Multer, of Washington, D. C.; G. A. Sanford, of Newburg, N. Y.; H. K. Morrison, of Atlanta, Ga.; M. G. Bailey, of Philadelphia; W. A. Davenport, of Grand Rapids, Mich.; Joseph Dutton, of Evanston, Ill.; W. A. Hunton, of Richmond, Va.; Prof. N. C. Bruce, of Shaw University; Herbert Kline, of New York; J. George Hunter, of Massachusetts.

The work has been carried with the troops to Manila by G. A. Glunz and Frank A. Jackson, of San Francisco; to Santiago, Cuba, by Charles F. Barrett, of Williamsport, Pa., and C. M. Brittain, of Atlanta, Ga.; and to Porto Rico by E. R. Hyde, of New York, and C. F. Rodgers, of Massachusetts.

The very best thing about our soldiers in the recent war has been the fact that they have shown the plucky, high-spirited, independent qualities that characterize our young American manhood. Now that it is certain that we must maintain a larger army than before the war, it ought to be resolved by the people of the United States that army service shall be rendered as free as possible from demoralizing tendencies. While our enlisted young men gain the discipline of the trained soldier, they ought to lose none of the high sentiments and ideals that they brought with them from their homes. Our regulars who fought so well for us at Santiago have deserved better of the country in the past than they have received. They have, in fact, been a good deal neglected. Henceforth the good people of the

country should see that the troops, whether regulars or volunteers, are well supplied with reading matter and are encouraged in every way possible to maintain their self-respect. The soldiers will value themselves more highly and conduct themselves with more self-restraint when they understand that the people of the country value them, are proud of them, and are disposed to treat them with due consideration.

In the long run we may be sure that the Government will manage its hospitals well and that its commissary and other military services will be efficiently carried on. The confusion in the services has been so severely criticised that public opinion will have done its wholesome work. Emergency relief in connection with the hospitals and the care of the sick and wounded has been necessary, but only for a short period. In the time of the Civil War, when both sides were constantly raising fresh levies of troops and one great battle followed another, the hospital work of the Sanitary Commission must of necessity have overshadowed to some extent the work of the Christian Commission. After the close of the war the Southern armies were, of course, immediately disbanded, and the Union forces were rapidly reduced to proportions so small that both the Sanitary and the Christian Commissions went promptly out of service. The war of 1898 has not been one of great bloodshed, but it leaves us under the necessity of regularly maintaining a relatively large fighting force. In this period of peace we shall be readily able to dispense with the services of the Red Cross Society, relief associations, and various agencies for the alleviation of physical suffering. But we shall need more than ever to maintain the army and navy work of the Young Men's Christian Association for the sake of its moral, social, and educational influence in the army, and also as the most effective sort of a volunteer agency which should keep the churches and the community in closer touch with the army. It is certainly desirable that large bodies of soldiers sent to the remote camps should be attended by at least one agency or organization that is voluntary in its nature and represents civil life, in order that the life and ways of the army may not become too remote from those of the people at home, and also that the common soldier, who would otherwise be absolutely at the mercy of his commissioned superiors, should have an outside and disinterested witness ready at hand, as to his treatment and general condition. The presence of such an organization as the Young Men's Christian Association does not subvert military discipline, and it must certainly tend to diminish at all points the abuses and the evils of army life.

THE NEWSPAPER CORRESPONDENTS IN THE WAR.

dollars a week, merely to carry a few sentences of copy between Cuba and Florida. The declaration of war came. Then the newspapers began to cable Mr. Kipling—it is said fifty or a hundred did so—each of them asking him to become its special correspondent on his own terms. Mr. Kipling was unresponsive, but many men of note accepted the opportunity to risk their lives in the exciting game, and indeed the supply was far greater than the demand, as every employee in a newspaper office—sporting editor, dramatic editor, woman reporter, down to the ambitious office-boy—applied to be intrusted with the war correspondent's passport. Among the men who had already made their mark, Richard Harding Davis, James Creelman, Stephen Crane, Caspar Whitney (the sporting editor of *Harper's*), Edward Marshall, Frederic Remington, Julian Hawthorne, Alexander Kenealy, and Sylvester Scovel hurried to the South, and scores upon scores of less-known newspaper men went with them, while from

GROVER FLINT.

THE war with Spain has frequently been called, sometimes with contempt, a newspaper-made war. Whatever be the truth of that phrase, it is certain that the people of the United States only learned of the conditions which made war inevitable from the newspapers, which printed with tremendous persistency and emphasis the facts which men like Stephen Bonsal, Grover Flint, Murat Halstead, and others saw with their own eyes. This running fire of incitement to remedy the wrongs of Cuba had been crackling for many months, when the explosion of the *Maine* threw the office of every large newspaper into a perfect fury of activity. Between the time of the *Maine* disaster and the declaration of war every newspaper of the first importance had a vessel engaged to ply between Havana and Key West, and was making tremendous efforts to be ready to send the most notable staff of correspondents into the field when war was declared. In this feverish interim correspondents steamed almost every day from Havana to the nearest available telegraph office at Key West on boats that were costing their employers thousands of

HENRY NORMAN.

5. Julian Hawthorne (*Journal*, New York).
6. J. E. Chamberlain (*Evening Post*, New York).
7. Edward Marshall (*Journal*, New York).
8. Stephen Crane (*World*, New York).

9. Alexander C. Kenealy (*World*, New York).
10. John T. McCutcheon (*Record*, Chicago).
11. Malcolm McDowell (*Record*, Chicago).
12. Sylvester Scovel (*World*, New York).

A GROUP OF WAR CORRESPONDENTS.

Courtesy of the *Literary Digest*, New York.

abroad there came correspondents from London, the German, Russian, French, and Japanese papers. Even the sudden *coup* of Admiral Dewey, over fourteen thousand miles away, did not catch the editors napping, and three correspondents of American newspapers actually sailed with the fleet to Manila.

It is to be noted that even the well-known names in this list of American war reporters were not, with two or three exceptions, the names of men who had seen active war service, and indeed it is understood that the managers of the newspapers were anything but confident of really valuable work from the high-salaried gentlemen whose names had been selected first for the purpose of giving prestige to the service.

A correspondent in this war, too, had to display many more qualities than audacious enterprise and the capacity for vivid description on short notice. The expenses that must be incurred were something tremendous, and the correspondent who had not in addition to dash and brilliancy a shrewd Yankee notion of driving a bargain could have easily run his employers into bankruptcy. On the outbreak of the war the staff vessels to carry correspondents to the cable offices were increased astonishingly, and were chartered at the exorbitant prices that shipowners were able to charge under the circumstances. One journal had no less than ten sea-going craft in commission, at an aggregate expense of over \$1,500 per day for their use only, and as it cost from 50 to 80 cents per word to send press matter from St. Thomas or Jamaica and \$1.45 to \$1.80 per word for press cables from Hong Kong, a correspondent was put to his wits to know where to stop. For instance, Mr. Harry Brown, of the *New York Herald*, paid \$6,400 in American gold to get his description of the fight with Cervera to his newspaper. A writer in *McClure's* gives a good idea of the absolutely necessary expenses that were forced upon the newspapers in order to accomplish the remarkable feats of news-getting that last summer saw.

"Owing to the threatened hazards of the war, shipowners exacted from \$5,000 to \$9,000 a month for the use of each of these boats, and the newspapers were required to bear the additional expense of fire, marine, accident, and war insurance, which the alarmed underwriters of New York had fixed at the enormous rate of 8 per cent. a month—equal in a year to nearly the total value of the boat. One New York newspaper pays \$2,200 a month insurance on a single tug—and it has five boats in service in different parts of the world.

"In addition to these initial expenses, news

papers must buy their own coal and supplies at war-time prices and pay the salaries of the correspondents who direct the boats. One managing editor showed me his salary list for a single week, including only war correspondents. It amounted to \$1,463.51. A single correspondent, representing another New York paper, is said to receive \$10,000 a year."

MURAT HALSTED.

(Who returned from Manila last month.)

But these scores of untried young men seem to have risen to the occasion with remarkable success, for they bargained with the Spanish authorities over dues, made shrewd purchases of exacting shipowners, evaded the most elaborate schemes for evading censors, swam streams, baked in the sun, starved and slept on the wet ground at Santiago, and sent to the newspapers that employed them graphic, thorough, and immediate accounts of the notable actions of the

war as if they had been through a thousand campaigns. Mr. Edward Marshall, at San Juan, when wounded, mortally it was thought at the time, called for a cigarette and dictated a report of the fight for the *Journal*. Mr. Frederic Remington and scores of others did yeoman's work under fire in caring for the wounded and carrying them to a place of safety. Time and time again the correspondents gave up their horses for the use of wounded soldiers who needed them. Mr. Davis and Mr. Crane stood up with their glasses to their eyes when the soldiers about them were prostrate on the ground in an effort to dodge the spiteful Mauser bullets.

Dozens of artists were in the thick of the fights, too, some of them acting as correspondents as well—Frederic Remington, Zogbaum, Chapman, Thulstrup, Rogers—men of national renown, and younger illustrators like Christy, anxious to seize this glorious opportunity of making a name and fortune for themselves. Mr. Cramer, the special correspondent of the *Atlanta Constitution*, says that he saw Seppings Wright, of the *London Illustrated News*, and two *New York Herald* men resting their portfolios on the wheel of a gun in Grimes' battery at El Paso, though Lieutenant Conkling was firing the gun about every five seconds. While the Mausers sizzed and the shrapnel burst these men were snapping cameras and working pencils with the nonchalance of their studio hours and with far more enthusiasm. Even the proprietor of one newspaper, Mr. Hearst, of the *Journal*, was unable to withstand the temptation of seeing with his own eyes the great game of battle and proceeding on his staff yacht to Santiago in time to witness the aftermath of the ocean fight with Cervera and to get the magnificent pictures of the conquered Spanish warships which the readers of this magazine have seen in its pages.

Much of the heroic and effective work in news-gathering was done by men whose names are absolutely unknown—and perhaps always will be—to the thousands who enjoyed the result of their labors and hardships. Especially is this true of the anonymous Associated Press correspondents who gave in many cases the most excellent accounts of the war. The Associated Press had five vessels in constant employment during the hostilities, and its entire service, under the field management of Col. Charles S. Diehl, was most creditable.

We give the portraits of a few of the more prominent of these bold and resourceful fellows who risked everything to get us the news of our soldiers' doings fire-hot for the breakfast news-

WILLIAM R. HEARST.

(Proprietor of the *New York Journal*, to which he sent dispatches from the front.)

paper. Among so many who have done well it is difficult to single out any one man who has done best, and yet if one were to select Mr. James Creelman as the most notable of the correspondents true and proper in the late war, there would be few objectors. We are glad to be able to give our readers an account from Mr. Creelman's own lips of the Santiago fighting, an account which has the peculiar value of being a direct, lucid statement of what happened, with no artificial shading of literary ornamentation. Coming from the man of experience and daring who interviewed the Pope, Tolstoi, Kossuth, and the King of Corea, the veteran of the Haitian and Japanese wars, it will undoubtedly take its place with the most veracious and, in its very simplicity, impressive pictures of the history that was made before Santiago.

MY EXPERIENCES AT SANTIAGO.

BY JAMES CREELMAN.

I CHOSE to be with the right wing of our army before Santiago because I was assured by General Shafter, the commanding general, that the center and left wings would not be seriously engaged until another day. The right wing, consisting of Lawton's division, which contained Chaffee's brigade, was to occupy the extreme right of our whole line and was to attack the fortified village of El Caney at daybreak. Chaffee's brigade was to my mind the picked brigade of the army. I had already been outside of our lines scouting the country and examining the Spanish intrenchments. For days I never knew what it was to have dry clothes on, so great was my desire to understand clearly the nature of the action that was about to occur, and that I might select the most important point in the line for descriptive work. I knew from the isolated locality of El Caney that the right wing would be practically independent of the rest of the army and that a very desperate fight might be expected there. From the newspaper point of view the scene at El Caney, with our infantry closing in upon the stone fort, blockhouses, and intrenchments, was likely to be the supreme spectacle of the battle of Santiago.

I had no horse and had to go on foot. At 3 o'clock on the morning of the battle, before it was daylight, I started from General Shafter's headquarters alone to the front. All the previous evening our troops had been moving forward to take up their positions for the fight. In spite of the fact that the sun was not yet up, the air was intensely hot. I had to walk to El Paso, where the base of the center of the army was fixed, and then I followed a narrow trail through the thick chaparral for about five miles to the right, a part of the time accompanied by a Cuban scout. I had to wade across streams and to force my way through the thick brush until my hands and face were scratched. The trail turned out to be useless, for it was taking me away from the direction of Chaffee's brigade, and finally I had to cut right across the hills regardless of the path. By that time the battle had opened. From the hill-top I saw the first shot fired from a great distance in the rear of our right wing at a stone fort on the hill guarding El Caney. On this hill flew the only Spanish flag anywhere in sight, and the first shot of the battle was fired at that mark. The thought came into my mind that perhaps before

the day was done I might have that flag in my possession.

I could not hear anything of our infantry, which was advancing slowly, but had not yet come into range, neither could I see our lines because of the hills and the thick brush. But I knew that if I wanted to write something intensely human and full of the finest elements of fighting interest, I must manage without guidance to get a place where I could see our infantry close in upon that stone fort and its neighboring intrenchments and blockhouses. Presently I came across two other correspondents, Maurice Low, of the *Boston Globe* and *Daily Chronicle*, and Colonel Pepper, of the Associated Press. Neither of them had ever been under fire before, and they agreed to follow my lead, although as we gradually approached the fort without any sign of our own troops to comfort us, they expressed doubts as to my prudence. Of course I was not prudent, perhaps I was not wise; but when you come down to the plain facts, no thoroughly prudent, wise man ever undertook to be a war correspondent in the field. My sole idea was to get close to the fort before our troops arrived, for a man can see little with his own eyes if he is in the rear. At last we got on a hill in front of the fort within very close range of the Spanish riflemen. There was only a tiny valley between us and the enemy—so close were we, indeed, that we could see them at work without our glasses. At this time we found that we were directly in the line of fire between our battery in the rear and the fort. We also found that we were something like a mile in advance of our infantry, but I felt pretty sure that there was no danger of a sortie to capture us, because the enemy were not likely to leave their works to capture three men while they were waiting the advance of a whole division. Gradually the sound of infantry firing broke on the air in our rear and spread all over the country. Away to the left we could see the artillery of our center flashing, and part of a brigade fighting its way through the trees and bushes. Slowly the lines of Chaffee's brigade moved from ridge to ridge behind us, swinging further and further to the right and keeping up an almost continuous fire as they approached the Spanish lines.

In front of the fort, which bore the Spanish flag, there was a trench from which the Span-

and was intended to arrest any charge. Gradually the Spaniards began to fire from the loopholes of the fort and the breastworks to the right kept up a heavy rain of Mauser bullets. Our lines moved in closer and took up a fixed position, the Twelfth Regiment of infantry moving against the forts by separate companies operating independently under their captains, and the Seventh and Seventeenth Regiments, under the personal direction of General Chaffee, lying on a ridge immediately in front of the main breastworks thrown up in front of the village beyond the fort. After several hours of firing I retired from the hill and found Company C, of the Twelfth Regiment, in a roadway pouring in a deadly fire against the trench in front of the fort. The company had lost eight men. I induced Captain Walsh, who commanded, to bring his company up to the hill where I had been standing, which commanded the trench they were attacking. When Captain Walsh had placed his men on this hilltop I lay down in the firing line with the men, and when our soldiers were wounded I assisted in putting bandages on, for we had no surgeon there. The heat of the sun was almost unbearable. The Spaniards fought like heroes. Both sides were using smokeless powder, and that made the game additionally dangerous and mysterious.

Captain Walsh was finally convinced that he had almost silenced the trench and the fort, for we could see no movement in either, and still the "ping! ping!" of bullets continued. Captain Walsh told me that he feared a part of another American brigade had moved up to the other side of the hill on which the fort stood, and that our men were being killed by American bullets. I tried to persuade the captain to make a charge up the hill and try to take the fort and the flag. Having twice crept down the hillside, I had got a very close view of the slope ascending to the fort, and had seen a sort of wrinkle up which our troops might steal until they were close enough to make a very short rush. The captain agreed with me that it was a very reasonable plan, but pointed to the half-empty ammunition-belts of his men and shook his head. Then I left him and moved off to the ridge where General Chaffee was with the Seventh and Seventeenth Regiments. My purpose was to let him know what had been going on, and, if possible, to ascertain whether our troops had been under fire from their comrades on the other side of the hill. When I reached General Chaffee I found the two regiments lying on their faces hard at work with their rifles, while the Spaniards were keeping up a terrific fire. Scores of wounded men lay on the field, and here and there was a dead

MR. JAMES CREELMAN.

iards kept up a steady fire, and some of that fire was directed toward me, so that I and my companions had to lie on our faces. I happened to have in my possession the finest field-glasses in the army, a pair presented to me by Mr. Hearst, who was at that moment under fire at the center of the army. Mr. Hearst had come from New York and had backed up his work as the champion of Cuban liberty by taking the field as a war correspondent, the first time, I believe, that a newspaper proprietor has ever had the manhood to back up his opinions at the risk of his life in battle. In front of the trench was a barbed-wire fence about five feet high, which extended at a distance of about thirty feet all round the fort,

man. The only man standing was General Chaffee, who raged up and down behind his men, swearing and urging on the fight. I never saw a finer soldier, and never a more warlike face. His eyes seemed to me to flash fire as he stormed up and down the line. While I was talking to the general a bullet clipped a button from his breast. He smiled in a half-startled, half-amused way. I was so exhausted by this time that I could hardly stand up, and when I sat down in the shadow of a tree General Chaffee joined me for a few moments. I told him how close I had been to the fort and its trench, and gave him as nearly as I could an estimate of the number of Spaniards alive on that hill. Then I suggested a charge, and offered to show the troops, if he sent them, a safe way up the hill. The general said that he would send infantry to investigate, and in a few minutes he ordered Company F, of the Twelfth Infantry, to make a reconnoissance.

I descended to a little mango grove at the foot of the hill from which the rush was to be made. Just as I got there Company F started up on the wrong side of the hill—that is, the side toward the village, and not the side we had been firing upon. Almost immediately the soldiers came shrieking down the hill, some of them wounded. They had encountered the main fire of the enemy from the breastworks in front of Chaffee's position. I talked to Captain Clark, who com-

manded the company, and told him of my plan, but he was not very enthusiastic about it. I sat down under a mango tree with the soldiers and jotted down some notes of my story. We were at that time in the very vortex of the cross-fire. The bark was chipped from the trees by the Mauser bullets. The sound was like the sound of wild animals in agony. Presently Captain Haskell, acting adjutant of the battalion to which Company F belonged, came down to where I was, a fine old white-bearded, clear-eyed veteran. I told him that I thought the fort could be taken without the loss of a life by a charge on the wrinkled side of the hill. He promptly accepted my offer to lead the way, and ordered Company F and part of another company to follow. I stepped through the line of bushes, followed by Captain Haskell and the troops, and started up the hill. The only weapon I had was a revolver in my belt, and I slung the holster round to the back so that I should not be tempted to draw. The troops came on slowly, and when I found myself actually out on the clear escarped slope leading up to the trench where even a mouse could not hide itself I walked fast. I could see the lines of soldiers on all sides watching the ascent. Gradually I got away from our line, so that by the time I was within twenty feet of the barbed wire fence I was at least two hundred feet ahead of Captain Haskell and his men.

MR. CREELMAN LEADING THE SOLDIERS AT EL CANEY.

I was absolutely alone. I stopped for a moment and examined the fort and trench only a few feet from me, and when I stood there I could hear my heart beating like a hammer on an anvil. Not a shot came from the trench or from the fort. I turned round and, making a scissors-like motion of my fingers, indicated to Captain Haskell that I wanted men with barbed-wire cutters. He hurried forward two gallant fellows who, without a word, obeyed my signals and cut the fence down. It took but a few seconds to do this, and I stepped through the fence and walked up to the trench, standing on the edge and looking into it. The trench was filled with dead and dying men. Those who were unhurt were crouching down waiting for the end. I made a signal to one of the privates who had cut the wire fence to advance and cover the men in the trench with his rifle, and when he had done it I ordered the Spaniards, who had not even looked at me, to stand up and surrender. They leaped up at once and dropped their rifles. I must say it took a little of the glory out of my work when I saw how pleased they looked to get through with the matter so easily.

Then I jumped across the trench and ran around to the entrance of the fort, which was at the side. I wanted to get the flag. I wanted it for my country and I wanted it for my newspaper. It was too late to think of turning back,

because a volley would have ended me at any moment. As I entered the fort the scene was too horrible for words to express. Our fire had killed most of the men in the fort. I found near the door the officer in command surrounded by all of the garrison that were left alive. A wail of terror went up from the wounded men writhing on the floor as I entered. My campaigning dress was almost an exact copy of the light brown campaigning dress of our officers, and my hat was the regular army hat. I went up to the officer, and looking him straight in the eye, said in French: "You are my prisoner." He threw his hands up and said: "Do with me as you please." Do you know that at that moment I got a sneaking idea into my head that a soldier's work was about the easiest thing I had ever struck; but I found out my mistake later.

One of the Spanish soldiers had a white handkerchief tied to a stick. It was a flag of truce which I had been unable to display because of the fury of our infantry fire. He offered the little flag to me, but I declined to touch it, saying in French to the officer: "If your men give up their rifles to me I guarantee their lives." The rifles were promptly handed to me, and I threw them out of the door of the fort. At this point the American soldier Moriarty, who had assisted me at the trench, entered, and I put the prisoners in his charge. Then I hurried about the fort,

and picking up all the rifles I could find, I flung them out of the fort, so that the place was completely disarmed, the only remaining weapon being the officer's sword. I was afraid that if I left the rifles in the fort the Spaniards might in the last moment of terror fire a volley as our men entered. Suddenly I thought of the flag. It was the thing that I had come to get. I wanted it for the *Journal*. The *Journal* had provoked the war, and it was only fair that the *Journal* should have the first flag captured in the greatest land battle of the war. I looked up at the flag-staff and found that the flag was not there. I rushed up to the Spanish officer and demanded the flag. He shrugged his shoulders and told me that a bomb had just carried it away. I was in terror lest some one else should get the precious emblem of victory first, so I hurried out of the door to the verge of the hill, and there lay the red and yellow banner in the dust still fastened to the top of the shattered flag-staff. Picking up the flag I waved it viciously at the village and a volley from the main breastworks was the only reply. I ran back to our lines and gave the flag to Captain Haskell, asking him to keep it for me.

By this time the fire from the village at the fort, which the Spaniards now knew we had captured, was tremendous. The ground was torn up by bullets. Our men were in a state of excitement and firing steadily as they advanced foot by foot. The fort was ours, but the breastworks on the other hill made it hard to enter it. I begged Captain Haskell to go with me into the fort in order that our men might not in the fury of the moment shoot down the Spaniards whom I had disarmed. The captain went with me, and just as I was introducing him to the Spanish officer a bullet from the village came through a loop-hole, smashing my left shoulder and tearing a gap in my back. I called Moriarty to me, and he stripped my coat off, tore the sleeve out of my shirt, and helped me to reach a hammock, out of which we tumbled a dead Spaniard. There I lay with my blood running away until Maj. John Logan, the son of the late General Logan, came into the fort with five privates, and placing me on a door, passed me out feet first through a breach in the wall made by our artillery. I was very weak and in great pain, but I shall never forget the cheer that went up when the soldiers saw my body emerge from the breach, and the next thing I knew the Spanish flag I had taken was thrown over me. I don't know how long I lay on the side of the hill among the wounded, but after awhile Mr. Hearst, the proprietor of the *Journal*, came to me, and kneeling in the grass, took down my story from dictation. He was the coolest man I had seen

since the fight began. Then I was carried to a hospital camp, where I laid without food or shelter for a day and a half while the Spaniards were firing upon us in our litters. But for the fact that John Follinsbee, a gallant American civilian, came to the camp and had me carried out of range of the Spanish rifles, I feel sure that I would not be alive to-day. It was this same Mr. Follinsbee, whose name, by-the-bye, does not appear in the official record of the war, who entered Caney on the night of the battle, and, under almost continuous fire, picked out the Spanish prisoners and helped our soldiers to bring them to the camp.

On the night after the battle, while we lay on the sloping field after a soaking by cold tropical rain, we saw and heard the night assault of the Spanish army which came from Santiago, which came to dislodge our army from the positions it had taken. The sound of the infantry firing was simply damnable. We could see all along the line the flashing of the cannon fire. As our hospital camp was cut off from the rest of the army, we had no one to tell us what was happening. The scene was magnificently terrible. As the fire rolled and rolled it seemed to us that the fight was coming closer and closer to our position. Gradually a rumor spread from litter to litter that our line had been forced. We all knew what that meant—death without mercy. It is hardly possible to conceive of a more horrible situation than ours. We were helpless, and felt that a ruthless enemy was upon us. Suddenly the firing ceased. We spent most of the night silently wondering whether our army had been defeated and what daylight would reveal. At half-past 3 o'clock in the morning the one surgeon in our camp woke us, and announced that he had been ordered to abandon the position immediately. Those who were injured in the legs would be carried; all others must walk or be abandoned. In reply to my question he said that he could not tell whether our army had been defeated or not. I knew what capture by Spaniards meant. I struggled to my feet and, weak as I was, I walked, stumbling and crawling as best I could, over the hills and through the deep mud of the valleys. I fainted twice before I reached General Shafter's headquarters, where several correspondents carried me on a stretcher to the divisional hospital. Here I had the bones of my arm set and my wound thoroughly dressed. The next day I was tied on to a horse and held on the saddle for nine miles until I reached Siboney, on the coast. Here I lay for two days in great pain. Beside me lay another civilian down with yellow fever; then Mr. Hearst took me on his private steamer, and I was brought back to New York.

AN IMPEACHMENT OF MODERN ITALY.

BY "OUIDA."

[The absorbing nature of the various topics that have been brought to the front by our war with Spain has of necessity dominated our editorial programmes during the greater part of the present year. Nevertheless, our promise to publish a series of articles upon the position and problems of the great European states has not been forgotten. The articles upon England, France, Germany, and Austria-Hungary have all been published. The article upon Russia will not be very long deferred. It will make the sixth in the series.

In lieu of a single presentation of the political and social conditions that exist in Italy, we have adopted the plan of securing two articles—the one adversely critical enough to be called an impeachment and the other a defense and an optimistic summing up of recent Italian progress. Ouida, although so cosmopolitan as to belong to all Europe rather than to one country, has for many years made Italy her favorite home, and her familiarity with conditions in the Italian peninsula cannot be disputed. Signor Vecchia is an experienced Italian journalist and publicist who believes in his country and writes with sincerity.

Our readers will readily enough perceive that these two articles, though so differently conceived, are both honest expressions of conviction. In the main, both of them are truthful. Every modern political organism has its favorable and its unfavorable side. On the one hand, there is the record of solid achievement; on the other, the story of wrong, of oppression, of old evils unreformed, and of new growths of evil that need sharp exposure. The unification of Italy under Victor Emmanuel was a glorious chapter in the history of freedom and progress. Upon the whole, the Italian people have made very creditable gains in many ways during the last thirty years. Their municipal and sanitary work alone would entitle them to great praise. These two articles, taken together, throw a vast deal of light upon the problems with which the Italians have had to deal in the recent past, and those which now confront them and must be solved at any hazard.—THE EDITOR.]

YOU ask my opinion as to the causes which have led to the great misery and discontent now so general in Italy. It is a question the reply to which would, if complete, cover vast ground and stretch back over many years. It is not now alone that the iron has entered into the souls of this people. The torture of the Italian nation began with the thirst of its rulers to be classed among the great military and maritime powers. This ambition, in its costly and extravagant exactions and pretensions and its absolute indifference to the suffering which it creates, has ruined the peace and the prosperity of the country and entirely altered the conditions under which the kingdom of Italy was formed and a monarchical government accepted by Garibaldi.

There are few people who do not see this now, but millions have been exceedingly slow to see it, and among the few who still obstinately refuse to see it are unfortunately those in whose hands the direction of the country has been placed.

For the general irritation prevailing there are causes within causes, causes manifold and unappreciable by those who have not lived long upon the soil. Supreme among these, however, are conscription, taxation, and their offspring—misery; and these, already preying on the population, were increased a thousandfold by that Crispian crime, the Abyssinian war. Since that gigantic insanity the state of the country has

passed from bad to worse as rapidly as a bronchial affection becomes pneumonia. The incessant fiscal pressure has oppressed every class, except the highest of all, whose members continue to enjoy their civil lists undiminished.

When the Chambers opened after the battle of Adowa and the fall of Crispi, the opportunity might have been turned by the sovereign to a noble account had he resigned of his own will two-thirds of his stipendium. But he did not do so and the Marquis di Rudini did not propose it, although it would certainly seem to a dispassionate observer that it was his duty to do so, given the impoverishment of the exchequer and of the country after the Abyssinian campaign.

Governments forget that the populace everywhere is strongly impressionable, reasons little, but feels much; and that the strong contrast between the vast sums demanded and squandered "by authority," with the poverty and suffering of those from whom they are wrung, would rouse the most torpid mind to indignation.

"*Il fallait vraiment avoir du talent pour faire mourir de faim un peuple qui se contente d'un morceau de pain noir!*" a charming woman said with great sarcasm to me the other day. She is the wife of the courageous and witty German whose brochure of "Caligula" so bitterly enraged William of Prussia, in that instance powerless to vent his rage in punishment. The epigram is one as true as it is shrewd. It has required the most

fear of the uncertainty of any change, and long habitual submission to authority keep them mute. The small gentry are almost entirely throughout the peninsula ruined through taxation and the forced sale of their lands by the fiscal authorities.

Not a day passes that there is not some territorial property forcibly sold, and sold for probably a tithe of its real value, at some local tribunal, because the local or imperial imposts have not been met. The government and the municipalities are devouring locusts stripping bare every bough on the family tree. A small house or a single farm will be seized because a few francs are owing to the fiscal authorities; the fees of lawyers and notaries and the costs of the court soon count up to and exceed its worth. It is lost forever to its owners.

There is now a project to restore some of the smallest of these places to those from whom they were taken; but in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred to do so will be impossible, since the poor defrauded owners are in exile or utterly beggared or dead.

It is so extremely easy to reduce poverty to misery; it is so extremely difficult to raise misery to comfort—so difficult, indeed, that the latter is never attempted. A poor wretch, living by carting sand, who is forced by the state to pay income tax and a further tax for keeping his famished little ass, may be pardoned if rash imprecations on authority escape him as he drags pence from his pocket to pay in addition a gate duty on his donkey's bundle of tares.

The owner of a reed-thatched hut in the Veneto, or of a stone cabin in the Puglia, or of a wattle hut in the Maremma marshes, may be pardoned if he curses all the powers above him when the stamped paper, headed by the royal name, summons him to meet some fine for some infringed by-law or some imperial impost, and when he does not, because he cannot, pay, receives more stamped paper and finds himself deprived of his little home, which is worth scarcely more than a phragmite's nest in the bulrushes, yet is his all, as its nest is to the phragmite.

Such cases are of daily occurrence throughout the peninsula and in the islands of Sicily and Sardinia. The statistics of the forced sales of small homes and holdings in the latter island are appalling to read.

Such a system cannot end in anything except universal ruin; yet to expose and struggle against it is treated as a treason and a crime! How can a people be expected to esteem and honor "institutions" which they only know and feel as the usurer who beggars them?

It is not possible to continue year after year to

KING HUMBERT OF ITALY.

ingenious tyranny, the most oppressive and grinding taxation, the most unrelieved succession of years of barren and useless, callous and chafing government to rouse the populace.

But the recent violent manifestations of hostility to the constitution must not be too exclusively ascribed to hunger. As a matter of fact, in some places there was no question of hunger at all, or even of poverty.

Nothing can be more culpable or more unwise than to tax plain foods at an enormous rate; but in the ever-increasing irritation of Italy there are many other reasons at work than those connected with either food or famine. The causes of rebellion lie deeper than the roots of the corn, and although "a full belly makes a civil tongue," many persons who have never been hungry are as dissatisfied, if not as violent, as those who never know what it is to have hunger fully appeased. The foreign observer of course sees the raging mobs demanding bread, and does not see the more educated classes who are patient and apparently quiescent. But the latter are not the less indignant because breeding and education,

ruin and render houseless tens of thousands of harmless persons without creating in those persons the raw material from which the petroleum fires of a commune are lighted. It is not possible to harass and bleed tens of thousands of families which merely ask to be allowed to earn their bread in peace, without changing those quiet and peaceful people into angry agitators and restless sufferers from a *régime* which has beggared them. In tens of thousands of cases the head of the household is carried off to prison because he cannot pay some fine for some imaginary crime, some contravention of some paltry rule, some hasty word considered insult to authority; the sentence, the law, the prison expenses eat up the small economies of those who belong to him; when he comes out he finds want, abject want, awaiting him on the threshold.

Narrow is the line which divides the "just enough" from the "never enough," and over this line, into the bottomless pit which lies beyond it, the people are pushed by the brutality of the police and the wicked folly of the ruling classes.

In the *Revue de Paris* of June M. Mabillean does not appear to understand that those who pay but a franc or two of direct taxation, or who, by chance, or favor, or extremity of poverty, pay no imperial tax at all, suffer none the less from the taxation weighing on all supplies and necessities, from the gate tax which is levied on all who have even a bundle of grass for sale, and from the communal fines which injure the poor far more cruelly than any imperial tax. Take, for instance, an ambulatory seller of oranges or of any other portable article in the cities: although he is licensed to sell, he must not sell standing still or offer for sale more than a moment in one place. As a matter of course his sales are hurried and spoiled, and the fines which he incurs devour all his small profits. Take, again, the tax on salt and on matches: both these are necessities to the very poor; the enormous tax placed upon them makes them dear to every one; many cannot afford salt at all, and its scarcity is considered to cause the prevalence of that terrible skin disease, the *pellagra*. All along the seacoasts of the peninsula and of the islands, if any one takes some sea water and sets it in shallow pans to evaporate in the sun, to obtain a little pinch of untaxed salt, the offender is heavily fined for such a simple action, while a posse of guards patrol every seashore to prevent any one from taking even a bottle of water.

The Italian people are perpetually tormented by such interference: by exaction, by eviction, by both imperial and local spoliation, by the

tyrannies and insolence of a brutal police, by the multitudinous irritations of a torturing administration which apes in infinitesimal things the tyrannies and oppressions of the greater government. Two of my men went on Friday for a small formality to one of the offices of a munic-

QUEEN MARGHERITA OF ITALY.

ipality. They were kept waiting three hours, then told to return on Saturday at 10. When they went at the hour appointed they were again kept waiting several hours and told to return on Sunday at 10. When they arrived on Sunday at 10 no one had come to the office; no one did come until half-past 12, when, after long dawdling, demurring, and much expenditure of stamped paper, their small business at last got done. It was not any favor which they sought, but formalities which the municipality exacted and which its creatures were bound to attend to with the utmost civility and dispatch. It is always thus. If any natural expression of anger or impatience had escaped them they would have been locked up for "contempt of authority." It is in this manner that good citizens are turned into wrathful rebels.

I do not believe that there lives under the sun a populace so easy to rule, so easily contented as the Italian, even in those provinces where it is most excitable. But it is perpetually tormented by Jacks-in-office and armed miscreants liveried

by the state and called the guardians of order. When, with great self-sacrifice and effort, a poor man has paid his imperial and communal imposts, his torment is not ended. With every day which dawns he and his will be liable to fine, penalty, worry, persecution, impoverishment; and should he allow his natural indignation to escape him by word or act he will, whatever may have been his provocation, be invariably condemned and rarely even permitted to speak in his own defense. It is the habit of English writers to speak of the Italian people as irritable and excitable; and they are so, often, in family life, for their nerves are highly strung, and no self-control or moderation is taught them in childhood. But in public life their fault lies in an opposite direction, in too great subserviency, in too great apprehension, in too humble a compliance with outrageous demands and commands. The people suffer all ills uncomplainingly because they fear that still greater ill may befall them. They are accustomed to be continually bled, driven, tricked, despoiled, insulted by the Jacks-in-office, who are their curse, and they have lost the spirit to resist because they know resistance would be worse than useless. Arrogance and brutality characterize the police, inso-

A few months ago, when the shooting season was open, a young man was walking with a gun on the Roman Campagna. Two *gendarmes* demanded his license; he had none; they seized his gun; he struggled for its possession; he and one of the *gendarmes* fell into a ditch, he uppermost; the *gendarme* not engaged leaned over the ditch and shot him dead. This would be nothing unusual. Any *carabinier* or even policeman in plain clothes will be sure of "protection" if he have killed a citizen resisting arrest. The incredible issue of the matter is that this *gendarme* was publicly decorated for valor by the minister of war!

There is at the same time in many ways a culpable weakness and yielding frequently shown to the people when the people are clearly in the wrong and should not be indulged and obeyed. For instance, the sensible, beneficent, and much-needed replanting of the devastated woods frequently, when planned by the imperial or communal authorities, meets with a stupid and violent opposition from the peasantry. This week in Montella (Avellino) the fury of the peasantry against this excellent work was so great that the commissioners were terrified, and to calm the mob burned publicly the documents authorizing the working. Nothing could be more injudicious or constitute a more dangerous precedent. Equally pusillanimous and pernicious is the cession of the land to the clamor against the *Latifundi* in the south and the division of the estates on the Roman Campagna. The peasantry already eat away all good off the land like so many caterpillars, and the disafforesting and the mischievous destruction of moors and wild lands have done incalculable harm to the healthfulness and beauty of many regions.

The peasant in the central and southern provinces is wastefulness incarnate; he destroys vegetation and hacks at trees and undergrowth with the ignorance and barbarism of a savage; while acres of myrtle, box, bay, and laurel will be cut down to be burned in the ovens, regardless of the inflammation of the eyes produced by the smoke from the green boughs. The Italian peasant has no respect for the soil and no foresight or thrift in his use of it. He resembles the goats which he allows to devour and devastate the hillsides.

Peasant proprietorship, were it general here as in France, would destroy the whole land in half a century. The Italian peasant treats his soil as he does his unhappy cow; he expects her to toil all day in shafts or yoke over the furrow and along the roads, and yet to bear calves and yield milk. He squeezes everything out of the earth and puts nothing in; and he is preëminently

THE PRINCE OF NAPLES.

lence and avariciousness the bureaucracy in all departments, between them the public has no peace. The false oaths of these hirelings are allowed, unsubstantiated, to condemn any citizen, and their most infamous conduct toward the people always finds support in the tribunals and often receives reward from higher quarters.

penny wise and pound foolish, and in nothing is this so fatal as in agriculture.

In other matters than in those of the *Latifundi* the state shows oftentimes a dangerous example of reckless confiscation and indifference to the rights of property or of individuals.

land, while men whose only weapon is a pen are cast into prison to languish in loneliness and misery. How are any people to respect such anomalies as these?

What can be concluded from such capricious contradictions? Only that those who are considered the heads of the state have no clear conception of either policy or duty; that they borrow the theories of socialism when they require popularity, and persecute those theories when their own interests are menaced by them.

Such concessions are especially here unwise, because the Italian always thinks that it is right and natural to oppose by unfair means what he considers unfair to himself. That is why vengeance seems to Italians proper and legitimate—a wild justice which is every one's natural birth-right. The brigand of the *machia* is so dear to the populace because he is a rough redresser of social injustice. An Italian may not be more just than other men in his relations, but he has an instinctive respect for logic and rightly reasoned justice. And he sees those who outrage and defy justice wearing stars and crosses and seated in seats of honor.

There is a matter of greater import, I venture to suggest, than the question of any form of government—i.e., the moral status of a people. If a nation remain courageous, virtuous, intrepid, magnanimous, free, frugal, and just, it is of no import whatsoever what the shape or the name which its government takes or is called. What does matter is the deterioration of a people; and if this moral injury and abasement be caused by its government, that government is bad and has failed in its primary duty, by whatever name it may be known to the world. Such injury and abasement is done wherever a people is treated in such a manner that it becomes, perforce and in self-preservation, subservient, timid, false, and afraid to utter any true opinion; as it is likewise when it has continually placed before it the spectacle of the honest poor persecuted and the venal and unscrupulous politician honored.

A conspicuous person, who, as is well known, during the Abyssinian campaign purchased mules at a hundred francs a head or less, debited the state with their purchase at the rate of four or five hundred francs a head, and has never even been forced to refund the money. Such transactions become in time known to and understood by the populace. Gigantic defalcations of eminent men pass unpunished, every expedient and every interest in high places being strained to the uttermost in the protection of the thieves in gold-embroidered and decorated coats. The populace knows this; and at the same time sees a poor devil who has taken a loaf off a baker's

THE PRINCESS OF NAPLES.

The Italian Government, which now prosecutes socialism as a crime, has for long sinned itself by the worst measures of state socialism. It has brought dangerous numbers of workmen into the cities to execute public works, who, the works ended, remain on in these cities in a hungry proletariat; and it has authorized and sometimes insisted on the division of estates and the disafforesting of lands against the will of owners, and in concession to a clamor, violent and irrational, to an appetite which is only increased by being fed.

It has, indeed, no objection to socialistic, to communistic seizure and division of your estate or mine. When six hundred men, armed with scythes, marched on to a Roman nobleman's land and insisted on squatting on it, the state counseled the outraged owner to submit; but when socialism or communism threatens the throne, then authority betakes itself to explosive bullets. People who invade and steal land find support; people who cry "*Viva la repubblica!*" are shot down; men with muskets and daggers are allowed to take piratical possession of pasture and wood-

EX-PREMIER CRISPI, OF ITALY.

counter or a bunch of grapes of a wayside vine, who has sung a seditious song or uttered a rash word, sent to the purgatory of the prisons, kept there for months awaiting trial, and sent back after trial to the cells to suffer a sentence inflicted at caprice. Public arrest is frequently the mere servant of a private grudge or a private vengeance. In times of excitement the general security is used as a plea for sweeping away manacled hundreds of men who have no fault whatever except that of being too outspoken, or having offended by a word some officer or official, or of perhaps merely having had the ill-luck to be present at a political sequestration. When Carlo Romussi was arrested in the editorial room of the *Secolo* newspaper the director of a conservative and constitutional journal was calling upon him. This gentleman was, without any excuse being proffered, handcuffed like Romussi and dragged through the streets to prison, where he remained for several weeks.

It is not only in times of violence and sedition that such intentional errors take place and that the scoundrel escapes and the innocent man suffers. It is always, in all periods, under all administrations, in all cities and all provinces. The populace knows that only he who is "protected" is safe, and that the poor man and the honest man cannot enjoy such protection.

A case occurred in my own experience the other week which may be accepted as illustrative of the manner of administration of justice in this

country. A young man of a noble and ancient family was secretary to a shooting club and administrator of a theatrical association. He embezzled the funds of the former and the subscriptions of the latter; he had embezzled other considerable sums and his arrest seemed inevitable. But the prefect demurred: the sinner was of a noble and ancient family, he was only twenty-three years old, his people had means, his grandmother was ninety years of age—it would be cruel to bring shame on her honored head. The youth was kindly and privately advised to go out of the city. He did so, calmly and publicly, no one venturing to oppose the prefect's fiat, and is now living unmolested in another city in Italy with no fear whatever of the police. Such instances could be multiplied by tens of thousands.

This is a disgraceful fact perfectly well known to the populace of his birthplace, and the same populace sees a citizen or a peasant condemned to a year's imprisonment because he shouted "*Viva la repubblica!*" or "*Viva il Papa Re!*" because he bought a portrait of Leone XIII. or a photograph of Dr. Barbato, or because in a moment of rash but excusable irritation he tried to rescue a friend from unjust arrest.

"Society is only a vast *camorra* for the protection of its own knaves," said a laboring man to me, and such it looks, and must look, to every dispassionate observer.

An eminent lady has been pronounced guilty of embezzlement. She is now "appealing." The sentence will most certainly be set aside, and she will remain undisturbed and will continue to be received at court and everywhere else that she may desire.*

A poor woman who, distraught by grief because her son has been returned crippled for life on her hands from Abyssinia, and who lets a curse escape her as a plumed staff rides by or a regiment pushes her against a wall, is sent to prison with no chance of appeal.

It does not need to know the alphabet to read such contrasts. Yet these are the only object-lessons set before the people's eyes from one year's end to the other. There is also upon the Italian people, especially upon those who think, that consciousness that no effort will avail anything, no struggle result in anything, which oppresses and demoralizes the most naturally sanguine temperament. *A che serve?* (What use is it?) is of all others the most despairing exclamation; and it is one which rises continually and hopelessly to their lips. The scholar asks it with a sigh; the peasant asks it with a curse.

* Since this was written her appeal has been successful. The *Procuratore del Re* has set aside the sentence, as I foresaw and the nation with me that he would do.

All the blood shed, all the conflicts sustained, all the victories gained, all the dreams dreamed by their fathers have been barren and useless. Of what avail is it to try any more? Italy was freed, but only nominally; united, but only politically; redeemed from the yoke of the foreigner only to lie under a tyranny more heart-breaking, more intolerable, and more hard to undo, because there is now no sympathy and assistance from without against it.

Their fathers followed leaders to whom their eyes turned as the mariner's to the pole star. There is no such leader now. The only man who had any power over the people and gave them any hope for the future was killed this spring when the violets blossomed in a Roman garden.

Of Cavallotti the chief organs of the English press have never presented any correct portrait during his life or after his death, because those organs are in vassalage to Francesco Crispi; so

an unfair statement of one who can no longer reply to it. I am sure, on the contrary, that Cavallotti would have considered the moment in opportune and the movement immature for any chance of success in insurrection; and he would have used all his influence to prevent the first rising, and would doubtless have succeeded. Whether, however, Colaianni or I be right, the fact is certain that the course of events would have been totally different this spring had not the sword of a journalist cut short the life of this intrepid and generous patriot.

Cavallotti in some respects resembled De Lamartine. He had the same fusion of poetical genius and political eloquence; but he possessed infinitely more acumen, more force, and more knowledge of men. Moreover, what the whole nation respected in him beyond all things were the unwavering integrity and self-denial of his life, his Spartan frugality, and his incorruptible courage.

Felice Cavallotti dead, the Liberal or Republican party in Italy is now disordered and without cohesion—a bundle of rods from which the uniting cord has been torn away, so that each falls asunder as it may and lies prone.

Other hands will no doubt gather them again together and make them strong in unison, but that time has not come. As in England by the fall of Gladstone and his subsequent retirement into private life, so in Italy, by the death of Cavallotti, the Liberal party has become disorganized, discouraged, feeble, and unled. Men of intelligence and education despair of altering the course of national life and shrink back into private life and impersonal pursuits.

Precisely for this reason is an agrarian revolution likely to occur in the near future, and likely, for it will be uncontrolled, to become anarchic and irresistible in destruction. Were there any simultaneous rising of the rural populations in the different provinces, the army would be of little use to the executive, for it could not spread itself with any durable effect over so vast an area, nor is it probable that the troops would for any length of time consent to continue a civil war. Even in the late insurrection some soldiers refused to fire on the populace (one man firing on the crowd shot his own sister, and in his horror threw down his musket), and were for their refusal immediately ranged against the nearest house wall and shot by their officers. In an agrarian revolution the soldiery would probably take sides with the peasantry and openly and *en masse* revolt. The government knows, I believe, very well that the middle-aged men of the reserve could not be depended on if called out to repress revolution.

THE MARQUIS DI RUDINI.

that I shall be little understood when I say that had he lived the events of May would never have taken place or else would have had a different result. I believe that they would not have taken place, because Cavallotti knew the dangers of a roused and furious populace, and what he desired was the true liberation of Italy through a bloodless revolution, which should be conducted by intellect, logic, and patriotism. His friend and colleague, however, Napoleone Colaianni, has said in an interview with an Italian writer that had he lived his mere presence would have inspired many of his party with the spirit and energy necessary to create and control a successful conflict. This is an imprudent admission, probably an incorrect indication, and certainly

SCENE DURING MILAN RIOTS—POLICE CLEARING THE RIOTERS FROM A SQUARE.

It is improbable that in any prolonged struggle with the people the soldiery would consent to play the part which they have played this May. In the conversations with Marshal Canrobert published last month the marshal is said to affirm that every soldier abhors internecine strife; every soldier regards it as a treason to his class and to his family; every soldier knows that the volleys fired kill scores of innocent persons, harmless citizens, women and children; and he feels a felon as he discharges his *mitrailleuse*. The authorities never weary of boasting of the ties which bind the army to the people, but they forget that it is precisely these ties of blood relationship and common nationality which render very uncertain the duration of the army's hostility to the people. Habit of obedience is much, no doubt; fear of superiors is still more; dread of military execution is most of all; but stronger and more powerful than these in the long run will be always natural feeling.

If it were desired, moreover, to render the soldier contemptible in the eyes of the populace, no better method could have been found than in the rewards of money which have been sent to the soldiery who made the carnage at Milan. No act could be more unwise, more ill-judged, more coarse and ugly in the sight of the people.

"God did not give Cain fifty francs!" said a man of the people to me with grim irony.

Dressed up as it may be in fine phrases, such a reward is blood-money and nothing better.

It is often said that Italy hears too much rhetoric, like Spain; but it is quite certain that no amount of rhetoric will ever persuade the populace that soldiers who are paid for firing upon it are its friends and brethren.

"*Canaglia!*" mutters the populace as it sees the soldier go by after receiving his reward in money; and "*Canaglia!*" the poor soldier feels himself to be, despite all pompous praise and orders of the day read out by plumed generals in a city square or on a parade-ground.

"When the boys we have borne and suckled grow old enough to be of use to us, you take them away and set them to fire on us!" a woman cried in the streets of Bari; and all the mothers of the young soldiers feel as she felt.

Nine hundred out of every thousand conscripts carry in their memory, under their sullen silence and unwilling obedience, the revolt fostered in them by the sight of such mothers' woe. This peril is the legacy of the days of May, and it is not one which can be conjured away by military absolutism.

Cavour has said that any imbecile can govern with cannon and a state of siege, and no doubt the present brutal repression may, for a time, succeed in producing that death-like silence and stillness which come from enforced order and

violent punishment. But such silence and stillness are procured at too high a price not to be paid for ultimately in tears of blood. By a few strokes of a pen signing edicts, warrants, and circulars the sovereign and his ministry may produce apparent calm, apparent acquiescence, apparent loyalty; may fill the prisons to overflowing; may confound honest gentlemen and malefactors, simple parish priests and anarchists; may deprive families by tens of thousands of their fathers, husbands, and sons; may sow ruin, anguish, and famine broadcast over the land, and may even carry out their terrible project of creating a hell of heat, a Siberia of scorched sands and brazen skies, in Eritrea for political prisoners, for whose custody the government is already gathering together in all the jails those guards and wardens who are most conspicuous for "unrelenting severity."

All this may be done, and more of the same kind, and such measures may cow and curse a people for a few years; they will not comfort, cleanse, or cure the mortal sickness bred of hunger, pain, and corruption in which the nation lies. The rotting putridity of the governing classes has generated the miasma which produces this mortal sickness; yet respect for these "governing classes" is exacted and enforced by martial rule! It would be better to deserve respect before exacting it.

The ex-minister Prinetti in a recent speech at Milan after the late rebellion quoted, with great truth and intrepidity, the saying of Guizot that constitutional monarchies (which are not a divine institution) must rest their rule on justice or pass away. Prinetti added that the Italian people know well that there is no justice to be found or to be hoped for in any of the "institutions" to which their allegiance and adherence are demanded. It was a courageous statement and an absolutely true statement.

The most ordinary wisdom (not to speak of higher motives) should have made the Italian "institutions" ground themselves upon that justice of which Guizot wrote, and should have prevented their violation of justice in its simplest forms with every day that dawns. Italian "institutions" must be well aware that they have two great divisions of the nation against them: the Catholic party, solid and moving in absolute obedience to the order of the Vatican, and the republican and socialistic divisions, not so solid, not so orderly, antagonistic in much to each other, but united in impatience and detestation of the existing form of government. Common sense should surely have made the monarchy, with its ministries, select one at least of the two opposing battalions of its enemies as the

more harmless and the less antagonistic to it of the two; ordinary tact and prudence should have made the "institutions" endeavor to be indulgent and attractive to one or other of these its formidable adversaries. Instead of this, with incredible fatuity and imprudence the "institutions" fly at each of their opponents in turn, or simultaneously torment, manacle, spit upon, and outrage both at once. It is the same error as that which, on a vaster theater, made Napoleon defy as his enemies both Great Britain and the Emperor Paul.

This is the greatest and probably most irreparable of the many mistakes committed by the "institutions;" in Italian phrase, they are neither with Tizio nor Caino. They are in a red fury of hatred and fear against both Tizio and Caino; and if they drive these two dissimilar forces into alliance with each other the "institutions" will only have the fate which their extraordinary ineptitude deserves. Were Cavour now living he would unquestionably say so.

It must be also remembered that much of the moral work of the nation is to be found in the Catholic party and most of the intellect of the nation is to be found in the Republican and Socialistic party. Be the views of either as erroneous as they may, it is insanity to flout, insult, and alienate both. Great virtues he lost to public life in the stately palaces and somber

GENERAL BARA-BROCARIS.

(Who suppressed the Milan riots.)

castles where the nobles and gentry, who are faithful to their Pope, reside; and fine talents rot unused, lost to life and love and learning, in the fetid prisons where so much of the Liberal youth of the nation now frets away its early manhood.

Witty journalists, clever caricaturists, harmless novelists are seized and imprisoned in the same manner as are *monsignori*, parish priests, and directors of papal organs. There is a frenzy of persecution striking blindly right and left; and this in a land where statues have been raised to Arnold of Brescia and to Giordano Bruno! The stake, in its swift and furious fury, was more merciful than are the long-drawn-out and daily and hourly tortures of the *domicilio-Coatto* and the cells of the Mastio.

The *domicilio-Coatto* is apparently not understood by the English press at all, since they write glibly about "persons being sent to enforced residence" as though it were a matter of no moment. Let the English public realize what the position of Mr. Bernard Shaw or of Auberon Herbert would be if they were removed by the police from their own homes and taken away from all their connections, affections, and interests, and set down, in company with some hundreds similarly treated, on some barren island off the coast of Scotland or Ireland, there to live as best they might under the rule of brutal and ferocious guards. That is what *domicilio-Coatto* means; and I take leave to consider that it is one of the greatest infamies which a century conspicuous for infamy has begotten. Let the reader figure to himself what such a power means in the hands of an irresponsible and despotic government, and he will have some idea of the danger in which thinkers and writers live in Italy.

It has been remarked with truth that under the Hapsburg-Lorraine and under even the Neapolitan Bourbons the populace and peasantry enjoyed unmolested ease and immunity from taxation, though the intellect of the country was ferociously oppressed and persecuted. In the present hour the poverty and the intelligence of the country, the laborer, and the scholar are alike condemned to persecution.

The statute so lately celebrated with pomp is continually violated, and the sequestration and extinction of every liberal or useful organ of the press is enforced, in perfect disregard of the rights of public speaking and public writing guaranteed by the constitution. In a commentary on the life of Charles I. it was recently remarked that such fatuity and obstinacy as that of Charles in provoking a conflict with a nation seemed almost incredible. But in the present

hour we see history repeat itself and all the warnings of history disregarded.

The theories of William of Prussia and the practices of Russian czars have been followed with scrupulous fidelity, and the prisons are full of students, journalists, operatives, and peasants. But this will cure nothing; it only causes and will cause greater misery. If the rate at which arrests have been made during the last three months continue, half the population will soon be in prison. To what end or use?

Let us now see how the sentences which bring about these arrests are made. It is known to the reader that military courts have been substituted for civil courts in all the provinces distinguished by revolt. A functionary called the fiscal advocate (any lawyer that it may please the general ruling the province to select) prosecutes each prisoner who has been arrested and proposes the amount of punishment to be given. As this functionary is naturally eager to show his zeal, his speeches against the prisoners are violent in the extreme.

Take a few specimens of the sentences passed. Vittorio Berni, of Pescia, a hatter, is condemned to ten years and two months' imprisonment because he freed a peasant from a *gendarme* and scattered some corn on the ground. Arturo Orsi, of Pescia, an accountant, is condemned to six years and four months because he was seen "*con il viso rosso*" (*sic*) and was heard to say, "Let us beat in the doors" (of a granary belonging to a rich man who would not sell his wheat). Georgio Ercolani, *contadino*, to four years and three months because he is said to have thrown a stone. Giuseppe Modigliani, of Livorno, advocate, aged twenty-five, for having lectured on socialism and distributed copies of "The Solution of the Social Question" of Guesde, six months' imprisonment. Davide Pirotti, of Casceria, aged eighteen, plumber, to four months' imprisonment for having said to two *carabinieri*: "You scoundrel Big Hats, you want umbrellas!" "Big Hats" is a common nickname for *carabinieri* (*Cappelloni*), and it is hard to see wherein this phrase is penal. Venni Luigi, forty-five, a mason, of Bagni di Ripoli, one year, nine months, and twenty days' imprisonment for having gone with others to ask alms at villas. This man urged that he had seven children entirely dependent on him for support; but such a plea as this could not, of course, weigh with lawyers and soldiers dressed in brief authority. Hundreds of penniless children have been deprived of their fathers by the verdicts of these tribunals; but no one cares for that. "What will become of my children? There are five of them, all little!" screamed Maria Massora, sentenced to two years and six months' imprisonment

for having been one of a group who forced open a flour shop in Pescia. She was a woman who had been riotous and dangerous, no doubt, but the term of incarceration will not make her better; and in the meantime her children will be left like starved fledgelings in a wind-wrecked nest. In all these sentences there is absolute indifference to the effect they may produce.

The *advocato fiscale* is not, however, blind like the justice of fable and of art; he has, on the contrary, eyes of terrific magnifying power. A simple citizen walking down a street is to him armed anarchy incarnate. The *advocato fiscale* is driving crowds of harmless and ignorant people to ruin and madness, wholly regardless of the fact that he is teaching their families, whom he ruins, to curse the state who employs him. Many are kept by him for months in prison before he brings them before the court of military men; the excellent Dr. Barbato and the romance writer Barbieri are among these latter. The case of Carlo Romussi, editor of the *Secolo*, in especial, ought to arouse the indignation of every writer throughout Europe. His condemnation is as iniquitous as the condemnation in Germany of those who caricature or censure the Hohenzollerns. There can surely be no greater scandal than the fact that in the last years of a century boastful of its "progress" so absurd an accusation as *lèse majesté* can remain possible in law, and that the mere utterance of opinion in public can be treated as a penal offense. There is not even an attempt or pretext made to prove these writers guilty of conspiracy. It is merely alleged that their writings tended to inflame the public mind; it is admitted that the insurrections were not only unforeseen, but undesired by them, yet these monstrous sentences are passed.

To see such men as the editors of the *Secolo* and the *Italin del Popolo* condemned for four and six years of solitary confinement would be revolting to any just and thoughtful person anywhere; but in Italy it is a more painful spectacle than it would be anywhere else, since it was by republicans that the unity and deliverance from foreign foes of Italy was accomplished. The imprisonment of republicans is an insult to Mazzini and Garibaldi in their graves. I am aware that it is now the habit of monarchical flatterers to speak and write as if the liberation of Italy had been solely accomplished by Victor Emmanuel; but history does not say so.

The infamous press laws and punishments of printed opinion and of public speech * now pre-

vailing throughout Italy would condemn every philosophic writer and thinker in the world, and would cast into prison in company with thieves and assassins such men as Charles Letourneau or Herbert Spencer, Ibsen or Castelar. "Disapproval of the domestic ordinance of the family" and "Incitement to antagonism between social classes" are actually treated as crimes, when these questions form obviously matter open to all to discuss, to write about, to lecture upon, and to view as may seem wisest to every individual who treats of them.

The article of the code which makes penal all "excitation to hatred between the masses and the classes" can be so construed that it would condemn every dispassionate writer of a treatise upon political economy, or individualism, or trades unionism, or any of the political and social questions of the time. Against Carlo Romussi and all the other editors and leader-writers struck by the bolts of the military tribunals the virulence of personal vengeance has been at work, and their fate should awaken the indignant sympathy of every one who values free thought, free speech, and a free press. An English reader of Edmondo de' Amasis' book, "*Dell' Oceano*," observed the other day that it was disappointing to find that the author did not state to what causes he considered the evils which he described in Italy to be due. The reason of Edmondo de' Amasis' silence on this point is not far to seek: if he had published what he thought on the subject his work would have been confiscated and he himself probably marked for *domicilio Coatto*. The English press is so used to cackle nonsense about Italian liberty that it has no eyes to see the plain fact that there is no liberty at all in the peninsula as regards either speech or publication. Even the daughter of Lombroso is now undergoing trial for what are considered her dangerous social tenets as published in a philosophical work.

All that has been done by the state since the revolt of May is libticide of the most violent character. Gross exaggeration on the part of the military executive has accompanied it.

There was no more need for the general commanding at Milan to make breaches in a Franciscan convent with his cannon than there was for the railroad service to be militarized and signalmen to be put in uniform.

As for the stories of conspiracies in which Catholics and socialists were stated to have joined hands, they are as clumsy as they were malicious; and to support the indictments for conspiracy to which gentlemen of character and intellect have been sacrificed, not a tittle of genuine evidence has been produced.

* One hundred and eleven newspapers have been arbitrarily annihilated. In the case of Sonzogno's *Secolo* a valuable property is destroyed and an admirable journal denied to the public.

The desire to represent this rising as the joint work of the Catholic and the Radical parties deprived the authorities of any common sense and logic, and carried beyond all sense of what was probable, or even possible, all the ministers, prefects, generals, and monarchical organs of the press.

In addition to the frightful physical suffering and the widely spread domestic ruin caused by the infliction of hundreds of sentences similar to these on men who are the sole support of their families, the evil done by such verdicts is incalculable in the pusillanimity, hypocrisy, and falsehood which they inculcate, tacitly, as the sole safety and sole duty of the citizen and the peasant.

Men are taught that they will suffer worse punishment for a rash expression of honest political opinion than for any kind of vice or crime; that spies watch their going and coming to and from their work, question their children to find evidence against them, listen to their idle words in a shop or at a *café*, and construe as treason a joke at a street-corner. They become, almost inevitably and in self-defense, hypocrites and cowards. They lose nerve. They are cowed and grow timid and sullen, like their poor hunted and muzzled dogs.

The natural cheerfulness, vivacity, good nature, and willing courtesy of their temperament are frightened into a dull, obsequious, moody silence. Whatever they say may be construed to their ruin. They sit and drink dumbly and heavily the poisonous liquids which their paternal rulers license for them.

Meanwhile outside the courts and prisons no professor or teacher at the schools is permitted any individual expression of opinion, and it is seriously proposed to allow no one to remain in any schools or public offices who holds republican opinions. A priest is arrested because he considers it wrong to substitute in the school-rooms the Queen's image for the Madonna's. A publicist is arrested because in a newspaper article he expresses admiration for republican forms of government. Portraits of Leone XIII. and of Karl Marx are alike seized and destroyed. Hundreds of youths and men are flung into prison for singing in the fields or lanes the hymn of labor, as hundreds of others are for chanting in pilgrimage or procession hosannas to the Pope. Freedom of the press is totally abolished. Arrests and domiciliary visits are general. The army is considered divine and a word against it is deemed blasphemy. A week ago in Florence a barber, being at the time in his own shop, was overheard to say that some soldiers were ignorant - he was arrested!

The existing constitution is considered *also* divine, and any discussion of its suitability to modern times or political expansion is treated likewise as a crime. We are indeed closely resembling that period in imperial Rome when the citizens were commanded to worship as divinity a horse.

The constitution is set aside at caprice. In Spain the constitution is declared "suspended." In Italy it is suspended without any formula of declaration. The tampering with it began when, instead of Zanardelli, Crispi was ordered to form a ministry five years ago. Such tampering has gone on, more or less openly, ever since. Of the only two men who would protest, who did protest, one is dead, the other paralyzed. The Senate and the Chamber, who ought to do so, are dumb. The formation of the Pelleux cabinet was a glaring irregularity, an infringement of all the rights of party: it was submitted to; men grumbled, but did nothing. Rudini should have been forced to go to the country; instead of that he was forced to give up his right of appeal to the electorate. Zanardelli had a clear constitutional right to come into power now, as five years ago: each time he has been passed over and pushed away. A scratch pack of obedient soldiers, of old Crispini and of tame Giolittiani, was brought to the front in his stead; the Deputy who saved Crispi from the Commission of Five being rewarded with a place in the cabinet, and another devoted Crispino being given a department for which he is the man in the whole country the least fitted of all. It is painful to see such a comedy as this coupled with the tragedy of the state of siege. Contemporary Italian history is a palimpsest on which *Rabagas* is being written over the *Inferno*.

Still more deplorable than the farce of the ministries is the manner in which Parliament has been kept closed in the very moment when its discussions and decisions were most needed. I fail to see why some perception of its own rights, its own office, its own dignity, did not stir the Chamber to insist on its own doors being opened in the days of May. If when any time the state wants a free hand it can shut up the Chamber, it is wholly absurd to say that the country is represented by a Parliament. Parliament is, we know, in every country embarrassing and obnoxious to the throne and the cabinet; but it is for that very reason the only safeguard and security that a nation possesses. If in any moment of panic the monarch and the ministers can close the Chamber as it was closed this May and keep it closed at pleasure, as it does under the Pelloux administration, Parliament is a mere comedy. This is such a familiar truism that I feel ashamed to repeat it.

yet it is one completely ignored and defied in Rome, and the most surprising and lamentable thing is that there is not a Deputy who has risen to insist on it.

If at an instant's alarm civil government can be altered to military and the ferocity of fear become the only rule of conduct in high places, neither law nor constitution forms the slightest safeguard for the nation. The claim for legality in the creation of the state of siege and of the courts-martial is made on the ground that the sovereign has the power to declare war. But this privilege can certainly only be intended to apply in the case of war with a foreign foe; and, even thus limited, it is a clause which would be better annulled.

If we are to admit that either a minister or the sovereign can, by mere order of decree, suspend all the ordinary laws for the protection of citizens and set up courts-martial in their stead, then let it be frankly stated that we are under a one-man despotism. The insurrections may have been a great evil, a great offense, but a far greater danger, to my mind, lies in the abrogation of all legal and constitutional restraints upon tyranny which have followed on them—in the mere cruel caprice which has deposed and replaced both law and the constitution.

A mere change of ministries will never alter or better anything. It cannot do so. Men come and go, but the system remains unaltered. The ponderous machinery for pressing blood out of a stone rolls on in the same manner, whoever may nominally guide it.

If the Marquis di Rudini had been true to the programme with which he came into office two years and five months ago, he would not have become a *persona grata*; he would not have been allowed either time or power to carry out the reform which he contemplated; he would have been harassed, frowned on, hindered, paralyzed, and he would have found a *bâton dans la roue* placed there by influences which he would have been unable to combat. What Rudini would have found, who had at his command all the force which great wealth and illustrious birth can lend to a statesman, would be found also by every other minister of equal or lesser degree who should honestly endeavor to purify the existing organization. It is for this reason that all those who, without fear or bias, examine the present state of the country, see no hope whatever for its peaceful alteration.

No minister who attempted to reduce the army, to reduce the bureaucracy, to reduce the civil lists, to reduce the pensions, the decorations, the military and bureaucratic annuities, the endless speculation, the swarming parasites,

the perpetual and universal corruption—no minister who endeavored to do this or any of this would be allowed to remain in office three months. The minister most conspicuously a *persona gratissima* was the minister in whose *proprid persona* corruption flourished and triumphed.

That is why in Italy we are face to face with an insolvable problem.

Ministers will rise and sink, and rise again and again sink, and gentlemen in gold lace with grand crosses will continue to ascend and descend the steps of royal palaces, but the suffering of the country will remain unaltered, its wounds will be agape and festering in the sun, and there will be none to heal them. And for this neglect, for these festering wounds, the people will be expected to be grateful to the powers above them.

"We are governed from Berlin," said a working man in my hearing; and that we are governed by imitation of Berlin there is no doubt. What is called the freedom of Italy is a dominion of stiff etiquette, of rigid officialism, of harsh oppression, of bureaucratic and military tyranny, which covers and protects a system of well-nigh universal corruption and stifles all the natural life of the nation. Whatever minister comes into office falls into line with this manner of ruling, accepts it and moves with it; it is the condition of his being a *persona grata*.

If any minister attempted to destroy it, or even to let in air and light upon it, he would be considered a revolutionist: the machinery of the constitution would crush him. He would be forced to retire into private life, if worse were not done to him. This is the reason why the choice of ministers is limited to a certain kind of politician, and why men of vast views, of high intellect, and of independent character remain and must remain aloof from public life in Italy.

It will be said that this is the fault of the people who allow this system to continue; but how are the people to change it? If Garibaldi were living now he would be kept in a cell in a fortress, and if Cavour were living he would be left to study philosophy on his country estate. Except in the sense that the unity of the country is accomplished in a political and geographical manner, nothing which was intended and dreamed of by the men of 1848 and 1859 is realized; all liberty and dreams of liberty are considered crimes.

Why is Italy to be denied that change and improvement in her method of government which is the right of nations? Why are a plebiscite and a statute of fifty years ago to be binding on and adequate for her now?

Wherever opposition is treated as a crime

there we know freedom has ceased to exist. Montesquieu has rightly said that tolerance of opposition must be viewed as a necessity to good government, as the dissonances in music meet in the harmony of a whole. It is a fact that when the opposition is weak anywhere government becomes tyrannical and bad, as it is at the present moment in England. Far worse, then, is it when opposition is treated as criminal, as it is at the present moment in Italy.

It is idle to blame the groups of Deputies at Montecitorio, when the manner of their choice at the urns is so corrupt and so artificial that they represent nothing but what is false, immoral, and worthless. The contempt which the governmental interference with the results of the urns creates in men of any independence of mind and temper keeps aloof from elections those who might be unbiased and un bribed.

Not alone do those Catholics who are obedient to the Pope refrain from voting, but great numbers of men who are aware of how the elections are managed, and who refuse to assist at a mere farce or to give their votes through fear or favor to candidates whom they disapprove.

The educational suffrage also has evil effects. It shuts out from the electorate many thousands of moral and sensible peasants who cannot write, but who are worthy of esteem and shrewd in judgment, and it admits to the franchise the riff-raff of the towns, the creatures of the municipalities, the venal throngs of the Jewish population.

Yet if any Italian says anything at a meeting similar to what I have here written or publishes it in a public print, he is considered to merit arrest, fine, and imprisonment. Only those who are dumb or paralyzed, cringing or sycophant, are safe. Proscription now is less bloody, but not less cruel than Sylla's.

The enormous cost to the exchequer (*i.e.*, the people) of all the machinery of persecution would, had it been united to the enormous sums thrown away in the previous proscriptions by Francesco Crispi in the Abyssinian war and on the colony of Eritrea, have permitted such a lightening of fiscal burdens and such an exemption of the poor from all taxation as would have made the country peaceful and fairly prosperous for two-score years. There is no more costly imperial or royal appanage than crowded prisons and a state of siege. They no doubt give a delightful sense of omnipotence to the rulers; but the cost is too great to the nation.

Encouraged by their success in having garot-

ted and punished opinion and imposed military dominion over entire provinces, the monarchical party is now throwing out hints and suggestions to see if the nation would be likely to submit to a *coup d'état* similar to that by which Louis Napoleon attained imperial power. Such a *coup d'état* would consist in the abolition of Parliament and the establishment of absolutism resting on bayonets and cannons. A considerable portion of the monarchical party desire this disloyal and violent destruction of the constitutional restraints imposed on and accepted by the monarchy. But it cannot be thought for a moment that they have weighed the immense import and consequences of such a project, were it carried out, or for a moment realized the treachery to the country which would be involved in it. It is possible, however, especially if a military premier continue in power or if Sidney Sonino should come to power, that an attempt at absolute rule may be made, with little attention to its ultimate result, and resting for its support on the financial and moneyed classes who alone would benefit by it. The country might even for a time submit to it for the same reason that it submits now to the state of siege—*i.e.*, because it is manacled, gagged, and held forcibly motionless. It might even be driven successfully to a plebiscite by similar means to those which obtained a plebiscite for Louis Napoleon. But although corruption would revel and militarism rejoice, the violated oath would bring its own punishment; the wreck of unity would follow the wreck of liberty and the rank and file of the army would finally join the populace. The land would be soaked in blood, and then would come the opportunity for German intervention. William of Prussia would pass the Alps as the savior of law, order, and the rights of kings. The nation, weakened by internecine conflict and utterly impoverished, would be powerless to drive back his legions; he would cast off the mask of friendship worn so long, and once again the harrow of German iron would torture the Latin soil.

NOTE.—This article was written before the condemnation of the Deputies Turrati and De Andreis. It is an infamy the more added to the long list of crimes of which the improvised military tribunals, with their foregone conclusions, their parody of law, and their mimicry of administration, have been guilty in the last three months. At the present date the whole country is ruled by a totally irresponsible despotism.

August 16, 1898.

A REPLY TO OUIDA'S IMPEACHMENT OF MODERN ITALY.

BY GIOVANNI DALLA VECCHIA

THE Italians are not intolerent of fair criticism, and English criticism is most acceptable to them, but I take leave to consider Ouida's impeachment of modern Italy the most unjust indictment ever written in English against any civilized country. Hatred in its most bitter form alone could dictate such a perverse picture of modern Italy as that which I am now going to deal with.

There is good and bad in every country, but to judge Italy from that impeachment nothing is good there. The King is greedy, the government is corrupt, the Parliament is incapable, the governing classes are despotic, the middle classes are riff-raff, the soldiers are cruel and hated, the judges do not render justice, and the peasantry are the caterpillars of the soil, and the society itself 'a vast *camorra* for the protection of its own knaves."

The present political and economic situation in Italy is not so good as could be wished. But it is sheer perversion of the facts and wholly misleading to say that we have deteriorated under the present *régime*; the contrary is the truth. One has only to compare the Italy of fifty years ago with the Italy of to-day to be convinced of the great and wonderful improvement which has taken place in my native land. In the industrial field we have made gigantic progress under very trying circumstances. One has only to betake himself to the arsenals of Spezzia, Castellammare, Venice, Taranto, to the shipyards of Leghorn and Genoa, to be convinced of this great progress.

Milan and Turin are among the most charming and prosperous cities in Europe. Biella and Schio are two centers of the textile industry worthy of Lancashire. Almost every town of Italy has been beautified and purified. Thousands of millions of lire have been spent in this much-wanted improvement, and in rail and mail roads, in bridges and water-works, in public buildings—especially schools—in purifying and rendering fit for cultivation vast tracts of land, and so on. The social life is a thousand times better and the number of crimes is steadily decreasing; the illiterate, who, under the ancient *régime*, were in some parts as many as 80 per cent., have now decreased to about 20 per cent. The working

classes are better fed, better housed, better paid. We possess institutions of charity and thrift which are the admiration of the world.

Our savings banks are second to none for prosperity. As I must be brief, and I have a lot to say, I am precluded from entering into details. However, as an exception I will give the following figures: The general savings in Italy—as deposited in the several savings banks—amounted in 1886 to 1,594,000,000 lire, in 1885 to 2,070,000,000 lire, and they are now close on to 2,300,000,000 lire. The post-office savings banks had in 1886 a deposit of 211,000,000, in 1895 one of 461,000,000, and in April last one of 554,000,000. Is this a sign of increased impoverishment? There is not another savings bank in the world which can be favorably compared with the savings bank of Milan. Our *Banche Popolari* are the envy and the admiration of other countries. There is no foreign economist or philanthropist who visits Italy and does not carry away with him the highest admiration possible for these institutions. But what about taxation? Well, it is impossible to deny that the Italians are over-taxed, and that taxation must be henceforth reduced.

The Italians have paid dear for their independence and are paying dear for their constitutional liberties—two blessings which cannot be got without great sacrifices; but I think no sacrifice is too great for them. The present *régime*, however, is not responsible for the wretched past, which rendered the Italians unprepared for a quite new state of national life. While all Europe was undergoing the greatest economical, social, industrial evolution the world ever witnessed, the Italians were struggling for their political existence, and when that struggle was over they found themselves handicapped in the commercial and industrial spheres by other nations. It is not true to say that the financial resources are now scarcer; they have largely increased; but new needs, as an outcome of a new life, were more felt in the new kingdom of Italy than elsewhere.

It is the fashion to speak of Italy as the land of poverty, either by a malignant soul evilly disposed or by people who have never seen that country. An English friend just returned from

Turin told me: "If people before speaking of the decrepitude of Italy would only pay a visit to that exhibition, I am most certain they would never dream of uttering that word again as applicable to Italy."

It is not true to describe Italy as a land where liberty is banished and tyranny rules. All adverse criticism notwithstanding, Italy as a nation where public opinion rules supreme comes next only to England. Whether the public opinion is as enlightened and sound as it should be is another question which affects the individual character and not the national institutions. The Italians for centuries have been kept in a state of serfdom. Under the providence of God they were brought out of bondage, and dazzled by the brilliant light of liberty, they moved about in a tottering way. The clerical physicians prescribe an immediate return to darkness; the radical physicians prescribe a greater light. Both are in the wrong.

Of course as long as its imperfect political education lasts, the constitutional liberties of Italy must be applied with some kind of corrective. The worst thing an English writer can do in judging Italy is to think that the Italians are like the English, who, after having heard in Hyde Park or elsewhere an inflammatory speech, go home to have a cup of tea with their friends. Italians are quick in perception and quick in action, and act on first impressions either for good or for evil. Unfortunately the good actions pass unnoticed and the bad ones are fully recorded.

It is not true to say that people are condemned in Italy without being permitted to speak in their defense. The Italian law requires that every accused person shall be legally represented. Counsel is appointed by the court for every case. Moreover, according to the Italian procedure—faithfully respected even by courts-martial—every trial begins with the interrogation of the accused person and ends with whatever statement the defendant chooses to utter.

Among the many things wickedly invented during the turmoil of May last was that tale of soldiers who had refused to charge the populace and were then and there shot by their own officers. This falsehood was at once denied by the same paper which invented it—a clerical paper of Turin. Nevertheless it is reproduced in the impeachment with a new particular—to wit, that a soldier had actually killed his own sister. This falsehood, publicly denied, has been now reproduced to justify the hypothesis that the soldiers in an agrarian revolt would side with the peasantry and that the middle-aged men of the reserve are not loyal.

I went through all the agrarian strikes of 1885, and I can assure every one that nothing happened then to justify such an hypothesis. I was present at the revolt of Milan on April 1, 1886. At that time the middle-aged men of the reserve were occasionally in service. With the first company of *Alpini*, which arrived in the principal square of Milan—where the disorders had broken out—there were three lawyers, friends of mine, belonging to the Radical party, then in the army as officers for a few days. They outstripped all the other officers in hunting the people out of the square. So much was I impressed at this sight that at the first opportunity I spoke to one of these lawyer-officers about it. I remember saying to him: "I heard you many a time pleading before the courts against the police for having charged the populace before the three warnings were given. You, last night, charged the crowd among whom I was before the second warning was given." "So would you," was his reply, "if you were disturbed in your rest by a few hundreds of loafers who provoke disorders to facilitate pillage."

The army in Italy is a school of civil as well as military virtues. Militarism has its faults, but fortunately soldiers and people are not in Italy two separate castes, one antagonistic to the other. The army will always be for the King as long as the King is for the country, and the King will always be for the country as long as that king is a scion of the house of Savoy. Hence the hatred of the extreme parties for the royal house of Italy. Many things in many quarters have been said against Italy's big armaments. Unfortunately the history of the past contains this tremendous warning. Italy must be either militarily strong or at the mercy of others. It is not true to say that the soldiers received a reward of money for their "carnage." This is a wicked travesty of what really happened. Soon after the revolt was quelled, the Milanese, grateful for their deliverance from the *teppa*, a kind of "Hooligan" gangs that infested Milan for three days, opened a public subscription in favor of the soldiers. And this subscription does away entirely with the assertion that the people hate the soldiers.

Among the suggestions contained in the impeachment there is the following one: "The Italian Government ought to come to terms with the Vatican." This is a very precious suggestion, if for no other reason that it lets the cat out of the bag.

To come to this conclusion one must forget all the history of the past—must forget what was the condition of Italy when the Vatican was the master of the masters of Italy; and one must

forget also that the Vatican would come to terms with the monarchy only when the monarchy renounced the unity of Italy and its constitutional liberties. In 1887 the Moderate party started a movement in favor of a reconciliation between the Quirinal and the Vatican. The Pope first encouraged, then condemned this movement. The last chance of a reconciliation was thus lost. To speak any more of it is folly. Besides, all the geniuses of Italy, ancient and modern, have with one voice incessantly stated that the greatest evil of Italy was discord and that the priests were the fomenters of this discord.

"Ouida" has some kind of admiration for Mazzini and Garibaldi, but surely before she ventures to mention the names of Mazzini and Garibaldi she ought to take the trouble to read a little of their history. In both of them lived a pure and patriotic soul. They were both slandered by the Clerical party, which in due time became also the slanderer of the house of Savoy because it carried out the national programme of the revolutionary party. I do not think there is a single sentence of Garibaldi and Mazzini which conveys the idea that the Vatican is not the deadly enemy of Italian unity. Garibaldi in 1867 wrote a book, "*Manlio e Clelia*," translated into English under the title of "The Rule of the Monk," and therein he described the Papal Government in all its phases and forcibly condemned it. Here is Garibaldi's testimony against both the republican agitators and the clerical instigators :

The Italian patriot hates the priesthood as a lying and mischievous institution. He regards the priests as the assassins of the soul, and in that light he esteems them more culpable than those who slay the body. He regards as the worst enemies of the liberty of the people those democratic *doctrinaires* who have preached and still preach revolution, not as a terrible remedy, a stern Nemesis, but as a trade carried on for their own advancement. He believes that these same mercenaries of liberty have ruined many republics and brought dishonor upon the republican system.

In 1867, speaking at Padua before 20,000 citizens, Garibaldi said :

They—the priests—are the enemies of true religion, liberty, and progress : they are the original cause of our slavery and degradation, and in order to subjugate the souls of Italians they have called in foreigners to enchain their bodies. The foreigners we have expelled ; now we must expel those mitred and tonsured traitors who summoned them. The people must be taught that it is not enough to have a free country, but that they must learn to exercise the right and perform the duties of free men. Duty—duty, that is the word. Our people must learn their duties to their families, their duties to their country, their duties to humanity.

Thirty-one years have passed since Garibaldi

thus spoke, but his words are as true now as they were at the time they were uttered.

Vinet said : "*L'homme n'est un homme et ne demeure libre et vrai, qu'à condition de rester au pouvoir de sa conscience : ce qui est la vraie liberté.*" I am still young, and yet I remember the day when it was a crime to doubt any dogma of the Church ; a crime—as it is still in benighted Austria—not to kneel down before a religious procession ; a crime to utter the very name of Italy ; a crime to possess a sheet of printed paper issued without the *imprimatur* of the bishop ; a time when the only papers allowed in my country were the organs of the Vatican and of the Austrian Government, when the latter exalted the hangman and the former printed that "the best of governments was that which had the hangman for premier." When the present history of Italy is read with an eye open to the history of the past, one cannot but curse the past and bless the present, its faults and shortcomings notwithstanding. We have now at least a conscience which we can call our own, though not so enlightened as we should like to see it, and we have a government of our own making, susceptible of improvement, which should be improved and will be in due time improved.

The English literature is full of books describing Italy under the old *régime*. Ouida's impeachment would have served well to fill up a gap in those books.

William W. Story lived for a long time in Rome, when the Pope ruled there, and in 1864 published his reminiscences in a book called "*Roba de Roma*." In the preface to the sixth edition of the book he says :

As the present edition is going to the press Rome has become an integral portion of the kingdom of Italy and will in all probability undergo many and important changes. Among others, the censorship of the press will be abolished and free admission given to literature of all kinds, so that this book may now enter there. It is a curious illustration of the previous condition of things in Rome that although the government formally authorized its admission, it was, during the last two years, persistently stopped at the custom-house.

Another writer, Rev. William Blood, began his book, "The Gospel in Italy," printed in 1864, thus :

Italy, politically, socially, and commercially, has been and still is the question of the day. Her concerns have occupied the attention of the cabinets of Europe, and the mental powers of the most intellectual have been exercised on her behalf. The pens of the wisest have written, the tongues of the most eloquent have spoken, the swords of the bravest have been wielded, to liberate her from tyranny and to gain for her a recognized position among the kingdoms of the earth. Poets have sung her praises, orators proclaimed her

glory, and warriors fought her battles, and now, amid the acclaim of her population, she stands forth, with her fetters broken, emancipated, liberated, free. She is at length a united kingdom, with her chosen constitutional king—Victor Emmanuel.

There are still in Italy many worthy Englishmen and Englishwomen who write most sympathetically of that country, and to whom Italy appears a regenerated nation with a future in store both hopeful and encouraging. Among these I am bound to mention Dr. Alex. Robertson, of Venice, and Rev. Henry J. Piggott, of Rome. Dr. Robertson in his most picturesque book, "Through the Dolomites," describes the artistic beauty of that part of Italy, and narrates many anecdotes which go to show how much those highlanders love their king and queen and how much they deserve to be loved by their people. A man of Dr. Robertson's sterling character would have fared badly under the old régime. Certainly he would not have been complimented by the ruler of the state. Five years ago Dr. Robertson was received in Venice by King Humbert. The very first question this "despotic" ruler put to him was: "Do you enjoy full liberty in Venice?" Dr. Robertson answered in the affirmative, and his majesty added he was very pleased to hear it.

Mr. Piggott most appropriately calls his work "The Story of a Transformation." It is simply refreshing to an Italian heart to be able to turn from the cruel indictment of Ouida to the sympathetic pages of Mr. Piggott, who has lived in Italy these last forty years and has personally witnessed the great transformation he is writing about.

Garibaldi never encouraged a revolt against the dynasty. He fought under the flag of Italy and Victor Emmanuel. In his book "*I Mille*" he narrates his famous campaign of Sicily, in which he is very severe against the few republicans of that time. After the battle was over he wrote to the Neapolitans: "Italy and Victor Emmanuel are the flag of your deliverance; at any time of danger rally round that flag which is your only salvation."

One of the greatest evils of Italy is the enormous vastness of lands left uncultivated. William Story, in his "*Roba de Roma*," speaking of the *campagna* of Rome and the *contadini* thereof, said:

The Church possesses most of the land, but the Church doesn't work. It amuses itself with letting others to work. It will not even dig up its own convent cabbage garden, but hires this labor to be done while it looks on. It naturally follows that it does not see itself to the cultivation and tillage of its great *campagna* farm.

The *contadini* on the *campagna* sleep often on the bare ground or on a little straw under a hut large

enough to admit them on all fours. Their labor is exhausting and performed in the sun. Their food is poor, their habits careless, and it would require an iron constitution to resist what they endure.

This was written in 1864. An Englishwoman, a lover of Mazzini, who has visited Italy yearly since 1857 and who has witnessed the great transformation, sent to the *Daily Chronicle* of June 16 last a letter, in which, speaking of this very subject, she says:

Undoubtedly in Italy, as in England, certain lands cannot longer be worked at a profit, but in the provinces which I know best, not thousands, but tens of thousands of acres are in cultivation now that were wild pasture twenty years ago. In the province of Rome, thirty-nine years ago, Cisterna was a fever-stricken desert, Pratica a place to shoot quails, La Cervedetta coarse pasture land; each is now the center of a thriving agricultural district. Outside Porta San Giovanni, where there were once cane-brakes, rich cultivation now extends to the fifth kilometer.

Four hundred and twenty-six *rubbie* of the public lands of Frascati have been plowed during the last two years and are cultivated by the working men as allotments. The great *pascioli* of Albano and Castle Gandolfo are now magnificent stretches of wheat, plowed three years ago for the first time in history. At Anzio the common, a resort of butterfly hunters and botanists, has disappeared to give way to corn, while the transformation of the *campagna* to the north of Rome is equally striking.

What has Ouida to say of this great transformation? She simply reproaches the Italian Government for having compelled the landowner of one of the estates of Frascati to let the people work the land.

The landowner, a nobleman, to use Ouida's expression, who evidently was born two centuries after his own time, would not have his estate cultivated on any terms. Around the same there was an ever-increasing population of agricultural laborers. They asked to be allowed to work that estate either for the landowner or for themselves. Their request was refused with mediæval contempt. The peasants armed themselves and threatened to occupy the land by means of force. The government stepped in and through the local authority induced the nobleman to give way. I am not a socialist, but if it were in my power to tender any advice to the Italian Government I would say to them: "Do the same with the other neglected lands." I was, however, very much surprised that Ouida did not reproach the Italian Government for another act of socialism. The Marquis of Rudini had the happy idea of freeing the local authorities in the islands of Sardinia from the avaricious hands of the usurers by a most simple operation. He redeemed their old standing debts with the ever-increasing deposit in the post-office savings

banks. Thus the local authorities had a net gain of 50 per cent. The Marquis of Rudini imposed only one condition, to wit, that the money thus spared should go either to decrease taxation on breadstuffs or in executing public works. This other bit of socialism must have escaped Ouida's observation, otherwise she would have quoted it as a further proof of the wickedness of the government.

It is extremely vulgar to speak disrespectfully of the house of Savoy and of King Humbert. It is simply cruel to represent the King of Italy—one of the most valiant and kind-hearted rulers who ever sat on a throne—as a greedy man and to pass nasty remarks about his civil list. Any one might know what use King Humbert makes of the money he receives from the country. He has \$1,750,000 yearly, and with this he has to keep going ten royal residences. Three would be enough for him, but all the capitals of the ancient states of Italy wish to have their own court. With this money he keeps thousands of people either in his service or out of the work-house. When King Victor Emmanuel died he left a debt of about 36,000,000 lire. Crispi intended to ask Parliament to pay this debt, but King Humbert refused the offer, saying, "The debts of the father shall be paid by the son," and he paid them. According to the Italian *statuto* the heir to the throne is entitled to an appanage when he comes of age and another when he marries. King Humbert has not yet allowed his minister to ask Parliament to vote this grant, and the court of the Prince of Naples is still kept by King Humbert himself. When the city of Turin voted 150,000 lire for a monument to King Humbert's brother, with his thanks the King sent a check for 160,000 lire to help to finish a hospital which is now the greatest and the most modern hospital of Europe. King Humbert every year distributes about 1,000,000 lire in charity.

Ouida's impeachment ends with a marvelous piece of fiction, worthy the *finale* of a chapter of a romance: "King Humbert has in mind a *coup d'état*, and the German Emperor will have the benefit thereof!"

I do not deny the existence of a widespread dissatisfaction, but I deny that the present *régime* is in the main responsible for it; I deny that another *régime* would improve matters. To think, as some do, that the republic would have the magical power to enlighten the benighted, to make dishonest men honest, to turn the water

of the rivers into milk and the stones of the streets into bread, is a sheer nightmare. No one denies the Italian people the right to change their constitution; but the change must be willed by the nation and not by a few agitators. However, the conscience of all well-meaning persons attests that the evil is not in the machine, but in the way it has been worked this last thirty years.

I consider it extremely dishonest to make the house of Savoy responsible for the wickedness of others. The men of the monarchy were Camillo Cavour, Massimo d'Azeglio, Giovanni Lanza, Marco Minghetti, Bettino Ricasoli, Alfonso La-marmora, Quintino Sella, Silvio Spaventa, Ubal-dino Peruzzi, Urbano Rattazzi—purer men than whom never lived under any sky. Crispi never was the man of the monarchy. He belonged to quite a different class of people. He acted dishonestly and he was punished for it; and this is more than the popes and the kings of Naples have ever done. Political and personal dishonesty were under them very much encouraged. It is not true to say that King Humbert preferred Crispi to others. It was Parliament, public opinion, and Bismarck which forced the King to call Crispi again to power in 1894. And nothing is further from truth than the statement that Crispi is a *persona gratissima* at the Italian court.

What about the affairs in Africa? Undoubtedly the African policy of the Italian Government was a failure. History will, however, have something to say about it, and it will record what Ouida failed to mention in her mischievous and malicious impeachment, viz., that Italy was encouraged in that policy by England, that it was Gladstone himself who advised Crispi to a forward policy on the Red Sea coast, that the colonial policy had its origin in the most healthy, in the most prosperous and progressive part of Italy, in Milan, as it was the *Società Geografica Italiana* which forced the hand of the government to land on the Red Sea. Of course if Italy instead of having a Barattieri had had a Kitchener, the result of the colonial policy would have been different. But since the world judges men's undertakings by their success, as a consequence of her irretrievable defeat Italy stands condemned. However, why not recognize the happy change which has taken place in Italy since the fatal disaster of Adowa? Justice requires that a word should be spoken in favor of the Marquis of Rudini, who had the madness and the sagacity to mitigate as far as it was possible the consequences of that disaster.

THE NICARAGUA CANAL IN THE LIGHT OF PRESENT POLITICS.

BY LINDLEY M. KEASBEY.

A GAIN and again in the rapid course of our history, far-seeing statesmen have pointed out the grave strategical defect of our disconnected coast lines, but our people, absorbed in their private affairs, have until recently given but intermittent heed to the political danger. The war has, however, awakened us at last to a proper realization of our critical position, and with the object-lesson of the *Oregon's* long voyage in mind there is little necessity of further argument to demonstrate the national necessity of the Nicaragua Canal.

Fortunately for us, our really culpable procrastination in this matter of isthmus transit has brought with it no errors that cannot ultimately be retrieved. From the careful surveys instituted by government commissions and private companies it is now definitely established that the Nicaragua Canal is technically feasible, and the growing tendency of our export trade toward the West is leaving little doubt of the commercial utility of the enterprise. It is thus primarily with the political problems of the canal project that we have henceforth to deal, and demanding our immediate attention are the complicated diplomatic questions of government ownership and control.

The steps that we have thus far taken in the matter have been dictated by the expediency of the moment, and more with a view to the immediate demands of national preservation than with any realization of our ultimate international development. But though the horizon has been restricted, our course has been comparatively well defined; and obedient to the requirements of territorial integrity, we have already become convinced of the importance of joining our southern seaboard by an isthmus waterway and of maintaining political supremacy along the line of the newly constituted frontier. Thus, in the official language of one of our late Presidents, "The policy of this country is a canal under American control." Nothing in the future can possibly disturb the geographic premises that have formulated the logic of this simple national demand; but the international events now crowding so thick upon us will doubtless add new factors to the problem and compel us to amplify our present political conclusions. We must, therefore,

elaborate a canal policy that will be in harmony with our national traditions and at the same time meet the international requirements of the future. But before drawing any definite plans it will be well to take a somewhat broader view of the general situation than has thus far been possible.

TRADITIONAL FALLACIES.

It is difficult, indeed, to paint the picture of our political future upon the background of our national traditions, but if we lengthen the historical perspective and foreshorten the lines of our domestic politics the horizon becomes clearer and the outlook less dimly defined. Looking back along the trend of international events we shall perceive that, with Europe as its point of departure, the course of modern civilization has proceeded in opposite directions: through Asia and around Africa toward the east and over the Atlantic to America on the west. Between the East and the West lies the Pacific, and among the islands of the South Sea the two currents of political progress are destined ultimately to meet. From our point of view on this side of the world we are apt to lose sight of the fact that these two streams of civilization have a common source, and, forgetting the sphericity of the earth, we Americans fail for the most part to realize that the divergent branches will one day be merged into one. Our own advance has been along the westerly course of progress and we have but recently reached the Pacific. Europe is thus the sole source of our traditions and America the only field of our experience. And yet, with a lively sense of our own importance and a fancy tickled by Berkeley's assurance that the course of empire is only toward the west, we are accustomed to regard ourselves as time's noblest offspring and we are wont to look with some disdain upon the present politics of the East. As an English observer has recently put it: "We have been content to think only of our own defense and to cast pitying looks upon the nations of Europe, disputing with each other the lands of Asia and Africa."

Along with this disposition on our part to villify Eastern affairs goes a corresponding tendency to idealize our own contributions to the

civilization of the West. This is due to the fact that our political instincts are rooted in the individualistic philosophy of the eighteenth century, and strangely failing to take account of the changes that time has since wrought in European theory and practice, we still continue to believe that our democratic institutions constitute the Ultima Thule of progress and that our shibboleths of liberty and equality will forever distinguish us from the politically benighted inhabitants of the Old World. And in the shadow of these political ideals a strange delusion has crept into the minds of our cultured classes, fostered by the beliefs of Comte and Spencer. I refer to the hazy supposition that modern industrialism makes for peace. The commercial wars of the last century and the armed colonial rivalry of modern days have about driven this dream from the European mind, but the veil has hung thick over America until the present hour. With apparently unlimited economic opportunity before us and with no European power to interfere with the peaceful exploitation of our claim, it was natural, perhaps, that we should fit the facts of our industrial development to the frame of so attractive a political theory; but in overstepping the bounds of our present territory we shall find ourselves surrounded with commercial adversaries in the Pacific, and it will not be long, I fear, before we shall have to abandon our purely peaceful policy of the past. Thus disparaging the politics of the East and magnifying the ideals of the West—and complacently ignorant withal of the conditions of contest that confront us—we are now making straight for the turbid waters where the tides of progress meet. Thanks to our racial inheritance and national experience, we shall no doubt be able to steer a safe course, but lest we become engulfed on the way in the maelstrom of Eastern diplomacy, it will be wise before proceeding further to take our bearings in history and analogy and set our political compasses anew.

ENGLAND'S EARLY INTEREST IN THE PACIFIC.

During the three centuries that intervened between the discovery of the New World and the establishment of our own independence, America was the scene of a prolonged contest for colonial aggrandizement between the European powers, similar to that which is disturbing Africa and Asia to-day, and one of the main bones of contention between the two surviving competitors in the struggle was the control of the westerly route to the Indies. Spain was in prior possession of the isthmus and jealously guarded her monopoly of interoceanic communication; but so important did England regard the matter in the light of

her colonial policy that she continued to put forth every effort to oust her rival from the coveted position, and had it not been for an untoward series of accidents, Nelson would certainly have succeeded at last in wresting the gateway to the Pacific from Spanish control. Our own experience in the methods of Western advance does not, therefore, go back far enough to cover this early precedent in favor of the political control of the transit route, and we fail accordingly to properly appreciate the importance formerly attached by the dominant powers in the New World to the possession of the American isthmus.

England, however, reaped but little advantage from her successful struggles with her European competitors in the West; for, meeting with defeat in the revolutionary contest, the fruits of her former victories in the New World finally fell into our hands. Thus at one stroke we found ourselves practical masters of the continent, and free to regulate the diplomatic situation in conformity with our political ideals. America we accordingly declared to be the future home of the free, and henceforth removed from further interference on the part of the powers of Europe. The Monroe doctrine met with no rejoinder from Europe, and taking the silence to give consent to our claims, we straightway turned our backs upon the Old World and proceeded unmolested on our march toward the Pacific. As the continental powers had already been worsted in the struggle for American supremacy, we really had nothing further to fear from the holy allies. Great Britain was, therefore, the only European power whose future interests in the New World could seriously clash with our own, and our relations with the mother country were peculiar.

THE CLAYTON-BULWER TREATY.

We were jealous of our newly acquired rights, and as England continued to parallel our course to the West, there was friction for a time along the frontier. But the immediate motive impelling the two powers toward the Pacific was not the same. Great Britain was pushing out through Canada to effect a westerly junction with her Oriental outposts, while the United States was simply extending her western frontier to provide free space for her rapidly increasing population. Having finally fixed upon a boundary there was, therefore, no occasion for further difficulties to arise between the two governments in this direction, especially as the United States showed no disposition to enforce her Monroe doctrine against the mother country in North America. But upon the acquisition of California our territory lacked cohesion, and with the rapid

influx of population into the new gold lands it became essential to provide some better means of communication between the eastern and western seaboard. It was thus the exigencies of domestic politics that turned our first serious attention to the problems of isthmus transit, and here again we found ourselves confronted by our British rival. The Government of the United States deemed it necessary at the time to round out its disjointed southern frontier in order to bring the Atlantic and Pacific sections of the country into closer accord. But England had, meanwhile, never lost sight of the importance of guarding the gateway to the Pacific in the interests of her world-empire ideal. A definite issue was thus raised between the national policy of the United States and the British imperial system. Both parties were on the ground, and as neither showed any disposition to yield and armed conflict was impolitic at the time, a truce was finally signed in the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, giving the two powers joint control over the future isthmus canal. Balked in their immediate projects, the two contestants then retired from the field and proceeded to establish land connections between the Atlantic and Pacific across their respective possessions in the north, Great Britain again in the interests of her imperial policy and the United States as before with the immediate view of perfecting her internal system.

OUR NEW INTERESTS IN THE PACIFIC.

Thus while England's advance across America constitutes but an important incident in her world career, the extension of our own frontier toward the Pacific epitomizes, up to the present, our entire history. The parallel movements nevertheless form parts of the same general process, the advance of western civilization which destiny has left to the Anglo-Saxons to lead. Engrossed in our own affairs and fascinated by our peculiar political ideals, we Americans have thus far been strangely unperceptive of the direction we were taking. But the successful issue of our arms in the recent struggle with Spain, promising us island possessions in the Caribbean and Pacific, has already had the effect of turning our attention further afield, and we are able now to make out the dim outlines of the diplomatic problems before us. The horizon has therewith broadened considerably and our political attitude toward the transit question is coming into a new light. We find it just as necessary as ever to join our disconnected coastlines, and equally as important to guard the southern frontier thus established. But beyond this long-apparent national demand, the further necessity is now coming into view of dominating

the sea route between our widely separated island colonies and of establishing naval connections with our far-lying outposts on the west. We are beginning to realize, in short, what Spain and England have each in turn had in mind—that it is requisite for the dominant power of the Occident to control the gateway to the Pacific.

But lest we reach too hasty a conclusion on this all-important question of our future politics, let us turn for the moment from the scene of conflict in the West and seek analogies for our present canal policy along the course of easterly advance. The struggle for supremacy on this side of the globe has been longer-lived, and armed rivalry still characterizes the colonial relations of the European powers in the far East. Progress has also extended somewhat further in this direction, and the Europeans are already in part possession of the islands of the South Sea. As yet no European colony has established its independence in the Pacific, but one of the Oriental powers, Japan, has shaken off the lethargy characteristic of its race and recently taken a prominent position in the fore-front of Eastern politics. Between the European contestants the issue is now quite clearly defined; Slavs and Anglo-Saxons dispute the van, and the continental powers, in historic antipathy to England, show a growing disposition to support Russia in the struggle in return for slight favors along the way. Thus, taken as a whole, the Eastern situation is replete with the lessons of imperialism and packed with the precedents of progress. And inasmuch as we ourselves have recently reached the scene from the West and are now taking up our position with the contestants among the littoral islands of Asia, it is very probable that we can profit by the experience of our precursors and gain valuable hints from them as to the best means of controlling the westerly route to the Indies.

RUSSIA AND SIBERIA.

Barring the constant contest on the way, Russia's march across Siberia offers the closest analogy to our own extension to the Pacific. Before each country lay an immense extent of untilled territory, and the problem before both governments was to connect a far-lying frontier with a distant political base. Politics was also the immediate motive in each case, but it was the fear of foreign competitors that induced the Russian Government to undertake the Siberian railroad, while it was mainly owing to the exigencies of internal affairs that the United States instigated the construction of the Pacific lines. The resulting situation is, however, much the same; and the two nations now stand face

to face, looking out across the South Sea, with their respective Pacific frontiers joined by strategic lines with their political centers in the interior. Geographic and political conditions must henceforth lead the Slav toward the south, and though the analogy fails at this point, it might still be well for us to note that while maneuvering for an ice-free port within the limits of the Chinese empire, Russia is constantly maintaining the military necessity of connecting every outpost by railroad and telegraph lines with her European headquarters.

ENGLAND AND THE SUEZ CANAL.

But the North American continent slopes off on the south, and having reached the Pacific, the United States must proceed in the future by sea. It is to England we should, therefore, look for further precedents in our present policy of expansion, as she is the only power that has successfully solved the problem of controlling the eastern sea routes to the Indies. Great Britain realized at the outset that she would have to fight her way by sea to the Orient, and she accordingly determined to maintain her naval supremacy at any cost. Finding the shorter course blocked by the isthmus, England proceeded at first around the Cape, planting colonies and protectorates along the coasts of the continent to guard her longer sea route to the far East. Islands in the Indian Ocean were occupied with the same end in view. The Indian peninsula, with Ceylon and Burmah, forms part of the British empire, and the Straits Settlements on beyond now control the outlet to the Pacific through the Straits of Malacca. In the meantime Great Britain also closed in on the Mediterranean fortifying Gibraltar at the mouth and taking Malta and Cyprus to mark her way across the inland sea to the isthmus. Her rivals, the French, then undertook to construct the Suez Canal, but England, not to be outdone, bought up the majority of stock in the enterprise and subsequently fastened her political control upon the country through which the waterway passed. By a recent diplomatic agreement the canal itself has been neutralized, it is true, but the agreement has not yet stood the test of a general European war, and it is to be noted as a significant fact that Russia, Great Britain's only powerful opponent in the East, is no party to the contract. And at all events, in point of view of the fact that the English still control the entrance to the waterway, and in consideration of the further fact that its only outlet through the Red Sea is blocked by British protectorates, this nominal neutralization of the Suez Canal really amounts to little more than a plausible diplomatic pretext, under convenient cover of

which Great Britain is still able to maintain her supremacy over her maritime rivals along the course of the easterly route.

AN AMERICAN BUILT AND OWNED CANAL.

In turning the general Eastern analogy to account we should not fail to take note of the fact that the advance in this direction toward the Pacific has been marked by constant contest between the competing powers of Europe, and that for this reason the successful competitors in the struggle have deemed it of vital importance to establish permanent political connections on the way and to defend their respective routes by land and sea. As the dominant Occidental power now entering into the colonial contest on the Pacific, we cannot longer afford to make light of the experience of our rivals, and it behooves us, therefore, to see to our own land and water connections with our newly established outposts in the South Sea. Thanks to the fortunate position of our seaboard, it will be a comparatively easy matter for us to place ourselves on a military par with our Slavic contemporary by completing our coast defenses and strengthening the transcontinental lines. But in transcending the limits of the continent we have already abandoned our territorial base, and unless we hasten to follow England's example and establish adequate naval connections across the isthmus with our outlying island possessions, we shall find ourselves unable to maintain the position we have assumed in the Pacific.

Thus on a broader view of the general diplomatic situation we find the dictates of immediate expediency fully supported on either side by the precedents of Western history and the analogies of Eastern experience. The international premises introduced do, indeed, amplify the argument, but only to emphasize the national conclusion in favor of exclusive American control of the transit route. What has thus far been but an *obiter dictum* of our internal politics should, therefore, become a settled principle of our foreign policy: that in the interest of national preservation and with a view to the international requirements of the future it is the duty of the United States to build, own, and control the Nicaragua Canal.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE.

But in reaching this conclusion we have all along taken it for granted that the United States is to become the dominant power in the New World and the recognized leader of Western progress. This presumption is in perfect harmony with our own convictions, but Europe, it must be remembered, has not yet recognized the

claim. Under the existing circumstances the continued refusal of the continental countries to admit the tenets of our Monroe doctrine need cause us no particular concern, as England still remains the only European power in any territorial position to dispute our exclusive rights in America. True we made the mother country no exception to our national policy, and since its enunciation we have repeatedly come to the point of warning our British rival against further encroachment in Spanish America; but at the same time we have never attempted to interfere with England's progress across the northern continent, and in the matter of isthmus transit we have actually made her a partner to our plans. Thus the principles of the Monroe doctrine still run counter to the dictates of British imperialism and the pleadings of our new canal policy traverse the terms of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty. In the light of present politics it is no longer, however, a mere question of conflict between the domestic requirements of one country and the foreign policy of another, but a broader issue between the imperial ideals of two would-be world powers. Thus our demands in regard to the canal route are now placed on a par with those of our only competitor in the matter, and the future discussions between Great Britain and the United States concerning the ownership and control of the western waterway must be argued, accordingly, on broader premises than those taken in the past.

AN AGREEMENT WITH ENGLAND.

But the conditions have changed mightily since this diplomatic case was last compromised, and the new matter recently introduced may make a decision possible that will further the ultimate ends of both parties and do no violence to the spirit of their treaty obligations. For our part we have always desired a formal recognition of the Monroe doctrine from Great Britain, but to her mind our claim has not yet been sufficiently established to warrant such an avowal; and thus far, moreover, the United States has been in no position to offer a satisfactory *quid pro quo*. Our determination in the late struggle with Spain, followed by the success of our arms in the Caribbean and the Pacific, has gone far, however, toward confirming our uncertain title in the New World, and judging from her attitude of generous approval, Great Britain is apparently willing

to admit the justice of our present demands. On the other hand, England now finds herself beset along the line of her easterly advance by a strong coalition of continental powers and would no doubt be glad of American support in maintaining and extending her prestige in this direction. The present situation thus contains elements of an international bargain—to be formally framed or tacitly understood as future expediency may decide—and a new line of demarkation might now be drawn between the Anglo-Saxon powers, making the mother country practically invincible in the East and leaving the management of western affairs in the able hands of her American descendants.

An agreement along these lines would, indeed, afford a happy solution of the existing diplomatic difficulty surrounding the political control of the transit route, for though considerably transcending the terms it would still preserve the tenor of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty. One of the acknowledged purposes of this antiquated contract was to provide some scheme of Anglo-American coöperation, but its partnership provisions were too narrow, as they only applied to the West. If, however, the matter of the agreement were to be extended to include both lines of advance, the spirit of the convention might be retained, with reasonable hope of practical realization; for England could then rest doubly assured of her ascendancy along the easterly sea routes to the Indies, and the United States be allowed exclusive control of the western gateway to the Pacific.

It would be well, indeed, if all chances of further controversy between the Monroe doctrine and the British imperial system were thus to be avoided, but inasmuch as there has as yet been no real meeting of the national minds on the question, it would be wise under ordinary circumstances to provide for the possible alternative. In times like these, however, when the heart beats quick with the throb of racial sympathy, anything in the nature of a threat sounds harsh in the ear. Let us live for the day at least, therefore, in the hope that the present wave of Anglo-American good-feeling will result in some definite understanding whereby the United States, in return for adequate consideration in other quarters of the globe, shall be left free to build, own, and control the Nicaragua Canal.



THE NICARAGUA CANAL AND OUR COMMERCIAL INTERESTS.

BY EMORY R. JOHNSON.

THAT the construction of the Nicaragua Canal is technically feasible at a cost that is not prohibitive seems to be established beyond question by the recent reports of competent government engineers. The present opinions of the engineering profession are based on numerous surveys which have been made from time to time during the past fifty years, and the general public is willing to accept the evidence. Besides the technical feasibility of the canal, however, there are political and economic questions which should be carefully considered by the American people before they authorize the construction of the waterway. How will the construction of the canal, either directly by the Government or indirectly by means of a controlled corporation of its creation, and the maintenance of the neutrality of the canal by our Government, affect our present and future international relations? Furthermore, if we can secure the construction of the canal at a reasonable cost without violating any international obligations, will it perform economic services important enough to warrant us in undertaking the execution of the work? In order to act intelligently, both of these questions must be studied. Before acting, the public will demand as full information as can be had regarding the relation of the proposed canal to the industrial and commercial interests of the United States. The purpose of this paper is to outline the more important economic influences which the waterway will exert upon the United States.

An improvement in the transportation or commercial facilities of any country or industrial section lengthens the radius of the circle within which that country or region may exchange commodities. The Nicaragua Canal will benefit American industries in two general ways: it will increase existing traffic by extending it over a wider area, and it will create new traffic by giving a shorter and cheaper transportation route to commodities which cannot now be marketed because of the expense of shipment. The canal will promote the industrial and commercial interests of the United States by facilitating our domestic trade and by placing American producers in a more favorable position for the development of foreign commerce.

A survey of the industrial conditions obtaining in the eastern, southern, central, and western sections of the United States and of the existing transportation facilities will reveal the relation which the Nicaragua Canal will bear to our domestic trade. This survey, together with a review of the physical and economic forces which dominate the world's commercial intercourse and determine the place which our foreign trade may assume in that intercourse, will make manifest the influences which an isthmian waterway will exert upon our foreign commerce. The canal will modify and benefit the industry and commerce of several foreign countries. This paper, however, will be restricted to a consideration of the relation of the waterway to the economic interests of the United States.

The industrial activities of the different parts of the United States are diverse and our country is large; for this reason our industrial development is peculiarly dependent upon domestic trade. Transportation facilities are essential to trade, and it is not difficult to understand why we should possess four-ninths of the total railroad mileage of the world, why we should have been liberal in our appropriations for the improvement of our harbors, lakes, and rivers, or why the construction of an isthmian waterway should have long been urged by persons from all sections of the country. The Nicaragua Canal is so located that the effects, whatever they may be, which it will exert upon the economic interests of the United States will be confined to no particular section.

COMMERCIAL INTERESTS OF OUR EASTERN STATES.

In the New England and middle Atlantic States manufacturing is the dominant industry. The raw materials which their mills and factories require, and, to a large extent, the food consumed by their population, are brought from the Southern and middle Western States, and even under the existing conditions of transportation some supplies come from the American States and foreign countries which border the Pacific Ocean. The Nicaragua Canal would considerably enlarge the supply of raw materials available for use in the manufactories of the north-

western portion of the United States. The chief benefit, however, which the canal would confer upon the industries of this region would be to enable them to increase their trade with the western third of the United States and give them access to many South American and Asiatic markets from which they are now excluded by their foreign competitors.

The northeastern section of our country corresponds industrially with western Europe. The correspondence is not complete, but the differences are not great and are growing less. Both are initial centers of commerce; they draw to them the materials of industry and send out manufactured commodities. Furthermore, both regions are adjacent to the north Atlantic, and are so situated that they necessarily come into active competition with each other through their foreign commerce, even in their respective home markets. What the nature of that competition is will be made more manifest by a short review of the laws which regulate the routes followed by the world's commerce.

The land masses of the world lie mostly in the northern hemisphere, and the chief industrial countries are situated in the north temperate zone. For centuries the most highly developed countries industrially have been those of southern and western Europe; from those countries as a center the commerce of the world has proceeded to the east and west to establish trade with Asia and America. The trade with the equatorial and south temperate portions of South America and Africa and with Australia constitutes a north-and-south commercial movement of secondary importance. The volume of trade which moves with the lines of longitude is increasing and will continue to grow with the development of the countries lying south of the equator, but it will always be small in comparison with the international traffic which follows the parallels of latitude.

EUROPEAN COMPETITION.

Europe being situated on the western side of the great continent of Eurasia, has reached out for the trade of the countries east of her and for that of the growing States of North America.

The States occupying the eastern third of the United States find the natural market for their surplus raw materials in Europe, and are able to exchange a certain amount of manufactures there; but the natural markets for the products of American mills and factories are first of all those in the populous Orient and secondarily those of South America and Africa. Our foreign commerce has not yet invaded these natural markets on a large scale, but the natural lines of the

commerce of Europe and of the eastern United States are the same, and the competition between these industrial centers is direct and very strong.

Under existing conditions, Europe competes under more favorable circumstances because she is able to reach the East by way of the Suez Canal. Although the world's commerce tends primarily to follow the parallels of latitude, all the water-borne traffic between the north Atlantic and north Pacific countries has been, until recent years, diverted far to the south by the interposing continents. The natural land barrier in each hemisphere was uninterrupted from the Arctic Ocean to thirty-five degrees south latitude in the eastern hemisphere, and is still continuous to over fifty degrees south in the American hemisphere. A glance at the map, however, shows that in the vicinity of the Tropic of Cancer in each hemisphere the land barrier becomes very narrow. The oceans and the Caribbean and Mediterranean seas form an almost complete and nearly direct water girdle around the earth. Europe broke through the land barrier which diverted her commerce far out of its natural course when she opened the Suez Canal in 1879. The isthmian barrier that nature imposed across the natural path of American commerce still exists, and until it is pierced the industries of the United States will be seriously handicapped in their competition with Europe. This competitive disadvantage is particularly felt by the manufacturing States of the northeastern section of the United States, because their geographical position and their industries are such that their competition with Europe is keener than that of any other part of our country.

WHAT THE CANAL WOULD DO FOR OUR SOUTHERN STATES.

The most zealous advocates of the Nicaragua Canal at the present time are the people of the South. The industries of the South are still primarily extractive. Her staple product is cotton, and the output has become larger than the European and American mills require. She is anxious to increase her sales in the Eastern countries where there is a large and increasing demand both for raw cotton and cotton goods. The mining of coal and iron, the manufacture of iron, and the production of cotton textiles are all important and rapidly growing industries in the South, and the people of that section realize that the home markets are inadequate. Foreign trade is essential to the development of both her extractive and manufacturing industries.

Under the existing conditions the Gulf States, like the north Atlantic States, are brought into a direct and uneven competition with Europe in

practically all their foreign trade other than that of raw cotton, forest products, and mineral fertilizers. With the exception of their sales of these products, the future commercial relations of the Gulf States will be less with Europe than with Mexico, South America, and Pacific countries. Their textile and iron manufactures can hardly hope to find much of a market in Europe. In the south Atlantic also their competition with Europe will be very keen. It is to the Pacific States of South America and to Asia that the people of the Southern States may turn with the best prospect of securing foreign trade. The canal is also requisite for the development of a large trade between the Mississippi Valley and the Pacific slope of the United States. The rail routes from the States of the Gulf and Mississippi Valley to the Pacific Ocean are long and are expensive for traffic because of the heavy mountain grades to be overcome. Without the isthmian waterway the South is practically excluded from the markets which her industries are best fitted to supply.

The commercial interests of the Gulf seaports, as well as the industrial interests of the South, will be greatly benefited by the canal. Until recent years the conditions have all been against a large foreign commerce through the gateways along the Gulf coast. Practically all the commodities exported and imported by the States occupying the Mississippi Valley north of the tier along the Gulf passed through the Atlantic ports. This is now rapidly changing in consequence of the improvement of the Gulf harbors and the growth of the railroad trunk lines to the South. An increasing percentage of the immense traffic from the central States instead of climbing the Appalachians is taking the down-grade route to the Gulf. As yet the import trade of the Southern ports is very slight. Most of our imports are from Europe, and they continue to enter by way of the Atlantic gateways. The Nicaragua Canal would inevitably enlarge both the export and import traffic through the Gulf cities. The trade between the central half of the United States and the regions bordering the Pacific, including our own Western States, would be mainly by way of the Southern harbors.

HOW THE MIDDLE WEST WOULD BE BENEFITED.

The business men of Chicago show by the agitation which they have carried on for the construction of the Nicaragua Canal that they appreciate the relation which the waterway will bear to the economic development of the central West. The region drained by the Great Lakes and the Mississippi River and its tributaries north of a line drawn east and west through the mouth of

the Ohio River includes our richest agricultural resources, our most productive iron mines, and our chief stores of bituminous coal. Its forests are of great extent and value. Besides these highly developed extractive industries, the central West carries on a large amount of manufacture. Iron and steel, machinery, ships, furniture and other wooden wares, flour and other commodities, are manufactured in large quantities. In no other section of the country is the traffic so heavy. Chicago has more commerce than New York and more manufactures than Philadelphia. The growth of Buffalo, Cleveland, Detroit, Cincinnati, Indianapolis, Milwaukee, Duluth, St. Paul, Minneapolis, and the other prominent cities of this region exemplify its industrial resources and energy. This great central portion of the United States owes its phenomenal development mainly to the transportation facilities which have been provided by the great railroad trunk lines and the waterways afforded by the rivers, the Great Lakes, and the Erie Canal. There is no other section of the earth where cheap and efficient transportation has accomplished equal economic results, and there is certainly no section of the United States that will respond more quickly and generally to the transportation influences which the Nicaragua Canal will exert. The traffic between the Mississippi States and the trans-Cordilleran section of our country and with the foreign countries bordering the Pacific Ocean will be large. The Nicaragua Canal will do for the western trade of the upper Mississippi States what the construction of the Erie Canal and the improvement of the Great Lakes did for their traffic to and from the Atlantic.

ENLARGED MARKETS FOR THE PACIFIC SLOPE.

The influence which the Nicaragua Canal will exert upon these States promises to be much greater because of the drainage canal which Chicago is now constructing. This canal will throw water enough into the Des Plaines and Illinois rivers to make possible a fourteen-foot waterway between the Great Lakes and the Mississippi River. This waterway across Illinois will be the natural sequence of the completion of the drainage canal, and will do much to strengthen the commercial relations which present transportation facilities are creating between the north central States and the markets of the Gulf States and Pacific countries.

That section of the United States which is commercially tributary to the Pacific is a region whose main resources are those of agriculture, horticulture, stock-raising, farming, and lumbering. The precious metals, the fruits, a few for-

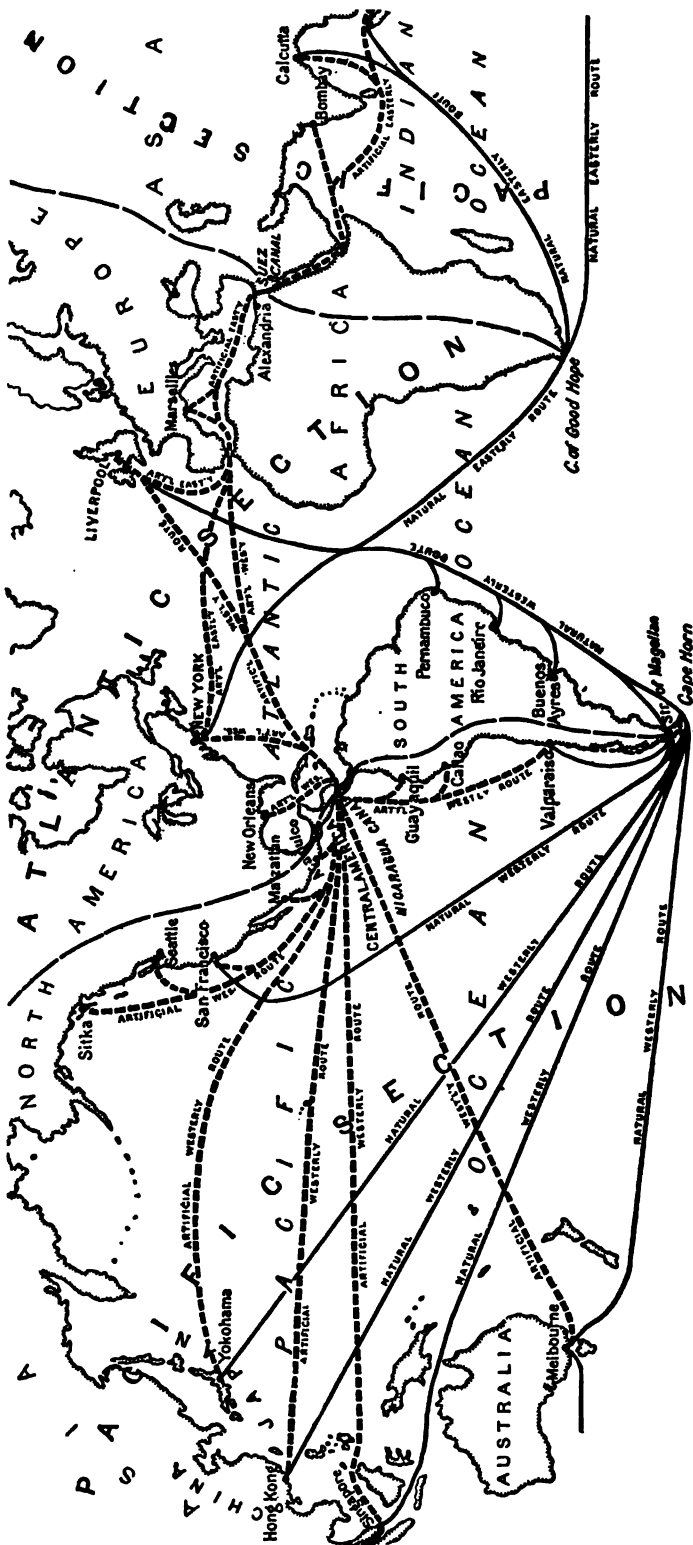


CHART SHOWING NATURAL AND ARTIFICIAL ROUTES OF CANAL TRADE.

(From "The Nicaragua Canal and the Monroe Doctrine," by L. M. Keasbey. G. P. Putnam's Sons.)

est products, and other commodities of high value per bulk are able to pay the costs of transportation by rail over the mountains, but the chief products of the Pacific States, the cereals and lumber, reach the Atlantic mainly by the round-about water route by way of the Horn. Some traffic crosses the isthmus by rail, but the costs of transshipment will always debar most bulky freight from taking that route. Our Western States are favorably situated for sharing the growing trade of the Pacific, but the largest markets for their staple commodities are and always will be found in the eastern half of the United States and in Europe, regions from which they are at present well-nigh excluded. This western section of the United States may also expect to develop a good trade with the West Indies and with tropical South America by way of the Nicaragua Canal. The emancipation of Cuba by the recent war will unquestionably be followed by an expansion of our trade with Cuba and the other islands of the West Indies, and our Western States will attract their share of this trade if an isthmian waterway is available.

COMPARISON OF ROUTES.

The assistance which the Nicaragua Canal will give to the industries and to the domestic and foreign trade of these four sections of the United States will be shown more definitely by a comparison of the length of existing ocean routes with those which the canal will make available. The benefits of the canal to trade will consist of those which flow from shortening commercial routes and reducing the costs of transportation. The writer is well aware that the isthmian waterway is not the only agency needed to place our industries upon a footing of trade advantages equal to

those enjoyed by most of our European competitors. We must provide international banking facilities, cable connections with South American and Pacific countries must be made, and we must establish more lines of vessels plying between American and foreign ports. Measures to secure these ends should accompany the construction of the canal.

The following table will illustrate the way in which the Nicaragua Canal will affect the length of the water routes connecting the ports of the Pacific slope with our Gulf and Atlantic cities, and will indicate the present and future distances between our Western States and their European markets. Only typical ports are taken; the changes which the canal will effect in the length of the routes connecting them will exemplify its effect on the routes between other Pacific and Gulf ports and Atlantic cities.

TABLE I., showing distances in statute miles from San Francisco to New Orleans, New York, and Liverpool by existing water routes and by way of a Nicaraguan Canal.

From San Francisco to—	Via Cape Horn.	Via Nicaragua Canal.	Distance Saved.
New Orleans	15,062	4,047	11,005
New York	14,840	4,760	10,080
Liverpool	14,690	7,508	7,182

The Nicaragua Canal will shorten the ocean routes connecting our Pacific cities with those of the Gulf and Atlantic more than any other routes through the waterway. In the above table distances around the Horn are given. Sailing vessels are obliged to take this course; steamers pass through the Straits of Magellan and shorten the distance over two thousand miles. Passing through the Straits shortens each route by nearly the same distance.

TABLE II., showing comparative competing distances for European versus American trade by present routes and by way of the Nicaragua Canal.

Liverpool vs. New York.	Present.			Future.		
	No. of Miles.	In Favor of—	Due to—	No. of Miles.	In Favor of—	Due to—
With—						
Singapore	3,591	Liverpool	Suez Canal	3,591	Liverpool	Suez Canal
Hong Kong	3,591	Liverpool	Suez Canal	1,223	Liverpool	Suez Canal
Yokohama	3,549	Liverpool	Suez Canal	2,402	New York	Nicaragua Canal
Melbourne	1,840	Liverpool	Suez Canal	1,360	New York	Nicaragua Canal
Liverpool vs. New Orleans.						
With—						
Singapore	4,142	Liverpool	Suez Canal	2,907	Liverpool	Suez Canal
Hong Kong	3,840	Liverpool	Suez Canal	515	Liverpool	Suez Canal
Yokohama	2,885	Liverpool	Suez Canal	3,115	New Orleans	Nicaragua Canal
Melbourne	2,150	Liverpool	Suez Canal	2,063	New Orleans	Nicaragua Canal

The assistance which the Nicaragua Canal will give American producers in their competition with Europeans for the trans-Pacific markets is shown by Table II., taken from Prof. L. M. Keasbey's book on the "Nicaragua Canal and the Monroe Doctrine." The table shows to what extent the American canal will overcome the trade advantages which Europe now enjoys because of the Suez Canal.

The distances between our Atlantic and Gulf ports and Australia, northern China, Japan, and Siberia by way of the Nicaraguan waterway are shorter than the distances from Liverpool and other European cities to those countries by way of the Suez Canal. To Singapore and Hong Kong Europe will have a shorter route by way of Suez. In general, the effect of the Nicaragua Canal upon our trade with the East will be to make our ability to compete with Europe in Australia, Japan, and Asia north of Hong Kong depend not upon the costs of transportation, but upon industrial and other commercial conditions.

TABLE III., illustrating distances from European and American Atlantic and Gulf ports to western South America via the Horn, the Straits, and the Nicaragua Canal.

To Valparaiso via—	From Liverpool.	From New Orleans.	From New York.
Cape Horn	9,880	9,922	9,750
Straits of Magellan ..	8,760	8,805	8,440
Nicaragua Canal	7,734	8,937	4,700

To illustrate the effect which the Nicaragua Canal will have upon American and European competition in the markets of western South America, Tables III. and IV., compiled from data given on pages 530 and 543 of Professor Keasbey's book above referred to, are submitted.

TABLE IV., illustrating the advantage in distances which the Nicaragua Canal will give American Gulf and Atlantic ports over European ports in the trade with western South America.

Between Valparaiso and—	Distance Saved.	
	Nicaragua vs. the Horn.	Nicaragua vs. Straits of Magellan.
Liverpool.....	1,648	1,026
New Orleans.....	5,708	4,551
New York.....	4,736	3,426

The Nicaragua Canal will bring European ports over one thousand miles nearer to Valparaiso than they now are. The distances to more northern ports are shortened still more. Steamers from Europe to points as far south as Valparaiso will make use of the canal. Sailing vessels bound for ports as far north as Valparaiso will probably round the Horn in order to escape the canal tolls and to avoid taking an unfavorable course across the doldrum belt. American ports, however, will be brought three thousand miles nearer to the western ports of South America than European cities will be. It is not surprising that under existing conditions over three-fourths of the trade of western South America is with Europe; but with the advantages which the Nicaragua Canal will give us we ought to secure control over the larger portion of that commerce. This can be accomplished if we take the other measures necessary to promote our foreign trade.

EFFECT ON TRANSCONTINENTAL RAILROADS.

A discussion of the relation of the Nicaragua Canal to the economic interests of the United States would be incomplete without a consideration of the manner in which the waterway will affect the Pacific or transcontinental railroads. The owners of these railroads, especially the owners of the southern lines to the Pacific, have more or less actively opposed the construction of a canal. Their financial interests are large and are of great social importance. If the canal will work injury to these interests, the nature and extent of the injury should be carefully considered.

The transcontinental railroad interests have opposed the canal project because they fear that the waterway will take from the railroads a considerable portion of their present insufficient traffic. They apparently regard the canal simply as a rival and not as a coadjutor; but in so doing they allow the minor and temporary effect of the canal to obscure the more important permanent influences which it will exert. That the waterway will divert a portion of the traffic which now goes by rail is indubitable, but the amount will be small. But little of the traffic that will seek

the canal route can now be profitably hauled over the mountains. A few years since, but after the completion of all the Pacific roads, large quantities of traffic originating as far west as the Missouri River were carried to New York City and taken thence around the Horn to San Francisco and other Pacific points; and at the present time commodities sent from places as far west as Chicago are frequently shipped to the Pacific States by this same route. Freight is sometimes taken from New York to Antwerp and thence to California instead of being carried across the country by rail. Under such conditions of transcontinental traffic, it is not probable that the Nicaragua Canal will draw much of its tonnage from that which now moves by rail.

The canal will create most of its traffic and will be of much assistance to the railroads. The collection and distribution of the commodities transported by the ships which use the canal must be done by the railroads. This will enlarge their local freight business, the traffic from which the best profits are obtained. The canal will also benefit the Pacific roads by helping them to build up the industries of the region they serve. The trunk lines connecting the central States with the Atlantic ports have not suffered, but have flourished, with the improvement of the Great Lakes. In promoting the industrial development of the adjacent States, the Great Lakes have helped the railroads serving that section to build up the financially strongest systems in the United States. Similarly the Nicaragua Canal can do more than any other agency to place the Pacific railroads upon a sure financial foundation.

The United States now ranks third among the nations of the world in the volume of her foreign trade. In a short time we shall pass Germany and rank second only to Great Britain. The Anglo-Saxon race seems destined to inherit the larger part of the earth. International struggles are becoming increasingly economic in character, and that the genius of the British and American nations is admirably adapted to such contests the history of those nations affords abundant evidence. Moreover, the harmonious coöperation of the people of these two countries in this economic struggle seems more probable to-day than ever before. Whatever may be the future relations of the British empire and the United States, it is certain that the events of the hour are carrying the United States forward with almost bewildering rapidity. In giving freedom and liberty to the oppressed subjects of another nation we have acquired new opportunities for industrial expansion. The construction of the Nicaragua Canal will assist all sections of our country to make fuller use of those opportunities.

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH.

THE CZAR'S MESSAGE TO THE NATIONS.

A PROPOS of Mr. John Morley's statement that English public men and parties will be stamped in history by the amount of zeal and vigor displayed by them in promoting the success of the Czar's project for disarmament, the *London Review of Reviews* declares that the "stamp" on the "public men" who write in the leading British magazines will not be at all to their credit. The editor says :

"The October reviews show a singular lack of ability to appreciate the world crisis which is advancing. Their articles on the subject are exhibitions of bewildered prejudice or inveterate antipathy or cheap cynicism, rather than serious efforts of imagination and will to comprehend the new situation. They generally follow the line that while the Czar is undoubtedly sincere, his youthful enthusiasm is being exploited by Russian diplomacy for its own sinister ends. They show no glimmering of a perception that if the Czar's proposals can be exploited for evil they can also be exploited for good, or that the purpose of a roused and resolute Christendom might prove more than a match for the most astute diplomacy. There is heard no high note of faith or hope. There is too often evident a positive joy, of a sordid detective kind, in discovering fresh imputations of perfidy. It is a pity that British magazinedom should have come out of the test so badly."

1. Great Armaments a Blessing.

"Should Europe Disarm?" is the previous question which Mr. Sidney Low raises in the *Nineteenth Century*. His answer is an emphatic negative. He by no means regards the "armed peace" as a "curse." Disarmament, even if possible, is to him quite undesirable :

"If the Czar's rescript could work like a magic charm to deliver us from the 'curse' of armaments . . . it might be the profoundest misfortune that could happen to humanity. For that disarmament would leave the world of civilization naked before its enemies, external and domestic."

DISARMAMENT "A CRIME AGAINST HUMANITY."

We are told that "it would be a crime against humanity to hold all the precious gifts that Latin, Celtic, Teutonic, and Saxon civilization has given to the world at the mercy or the forbearance of Slavonic and Asiatic hordes."

Internally national wealth might be vastly in-

creased, but "before we abolish the soldier on economic grounds we had better arrange for the diffusion as well as the increase of wealth." If it merely went to swell the luxuries of the middle classes and not to enrich the artisan, the advantage would be doubtful.

PROSPERITY UNDER ARMED PEACE.

Mr. Low challenges the assertion constantly made that "the burden of their armaments is crushing the nations into poverty." He asks for proof. Russia and Italy may be cited, but both are "miserably poor countries," which suffer from official corruption or religious persecution or want of enterprise :

"With or without armaments, such states as Russia and Italy and Spain will not be prosperous till they undergo an economic and political transformation. On the other hand, where different conditions prevail the burden of warlike preparation does not seem to impoverish. France contrives to be very reasonably prosperous in spite of the conscription and a naval and military expenditure not far short of 1,000,000,000 francs annually. Germany, which can mobilize an army of something like 3,000,000 men on the war footing and spends nearly £30,000,000 a year on its defensive services, has been doing extraordinarily well of recent years. The 'blood-tax' and the bloated armaments have not prevented our Teutonic rivals from advancing at an astonishing rate in the development of their industry and commerce."

CONSCRIPTION AN AID TO COMMERCE.

Why, he asks, may we not suppose that "the conscription has rather aided than retarded the material development of the country?" Discipline, sense of order, conscientious docility, precision, and drilled alertness are qualities fostered by military training, and to these virtues competent observers attribute the success of German artisans :

"The military system trains the individual as well as the nation ; and so far from being anxious to abolish it, a wise ruler might be prepared to make sacrifices to retain it or even to introduce it where it does not exist."

MILITARISM AS PEACEMAKER.

Mr. Low goes further and argues that "great armaments do not tend to promote war, but the contrary."

"Europe has seldom known so long a spell of freedom from disastrous wars as during the period of complete national armaments. There has been fighting in the Balkan peninsula and outside Europe, but for twenty-seven years there was peace among the great powers of the civilized world. How many similar periods of tranquillity does the history of the past five centuries exhibit?"

The conclusion is that "if the armed peace does not lead to war, and if it supplies a really admirable training and education for the nation, in its corporate capacity as well as for its individual citizens, we need not be distressed at its continuance. . . . These considerations may perhaps console us when the failure of the Czar's disarmament proposal is established, as in due course it will be."

The Crafty Designs of Russia.

In the *Contemporary* "The Czar's Appeal for Peace" is discussed by "A Soldier." The conclusion he comes to he roundly states thus:

"The more the Russian Emperor's proposals are considered the more evident it will appear that his genuine and high-minded desire for the good of the world has been taken advantage of by the astute statesmen by whom he is watched in order to further ends which make for the advantage of Russia by war and for war."

Russia, he argues, wants ten years of peace—(1) to carry her influence and railroads through Persia so as to place western Afghanistan, Herat, the Heri-Rud, and the most convenient approach to India completely at the mercy of Russia; (2) to complete the Siberian and Manchurian railroads, to drill and organize Manchurian levies, and to accumulate stores in view of further aggression against China; and (3) to work by railroad extension and Norwegian disaffection toward securing from Norway the ice-free Varanger fiord. The writer avers:

"A very little consideration of the actual circumstances will show that the most effective increase of Russian military power in all these directions can be best secured by at least ten years of peace. Furthermore, it will be easy to establish the fact that in all these three directions Russian activity has been engaged, and that it will be continued with much more advantage during ten years of peace than it would be if under present circumstances Russia were called to give an account of her procedure."

"TALK PEACE, PREPARE WAR!"

Moreover, he anticipates that on the death of Francis Joseph the Austrian-Germans will wish

to enter the German empire, and the Czechs will appeal to Russia; and, he asks, will France and Russia stand quietly aside? The approach of this crisis "seems to make the proposals of the Czar, so far as they speak of permanent peace and permanent disarmament, ring with a very hollow sound."

The chief checks to Russia's designs have been "(1) the aroused interest of Englishmen in foreign politics, their recovered consciousness of the strength of Britain, and the collapse of the peace-at-any-price party; (2) the obvious drawing together of Britain, the United States, Germany, and Japan, and the at least temporary effacement of France under the confusion produced by the Dreyfus scandal."

The project of the peace conference goes to revive the old peace party in England and to shake foreign confidence in any possibility of a firm British alliance. "To let the Czar talk peace, and meantime to prepare the means of future war," is the policy of Russian statesmen.

Mr. Arnold White's Views.

In the *National Review* Mr. Arnold White writes on "The Czar's Manifesto." He requires at the outset that we recognize the existence of five Russias—"the dreamy Slavonic Russia of Tolstoi," the Russia of the great army, the Russia of the Tchinovniks, the Russia of the peasantry, and the expansionist Russia. Now, "the Czar's manifesto, in addition to representing the hereditary pacific predilections of the Romanoffs, is issued in the interest of every element of national life that goes to make up the Russian empire." The manifesto was, Mr. White believes, written by M. Pobiedonostseff. The Russia of Tolstoi has long dreamed of peace. The finance minister necessarily supports the Eirenikon:

"The Foreign Office, alarmed at the present scarcity of cash and warships and disturbed by the world's sudden discovery of Russian impotence in the far East, is also glad of a respite. . . . 'The benefits of a real and durable peace'—to quote the Czar—in addition to starting the millennium, will enable the heads of departments in the War Office to conceal defective transport, a jobbed and plundered commissariat, imperfect medical arrangements, and the notorious incapacity of the Russian staff to stand the strain of war with a first-class naval power at a distance from a Russian base."

The recent establishment of a gold standard, a famine of unusual dimensions, and, not least, Polish disaffection, make peace a necessity to the ministry of the interior. "Poland is as menacing to Russia to-day as in 1863."

"LEST WE FORGET."

Russia has talked of peace before now, Mr. White remarks. He recalls the Czar's pacific message to the Brussels conference in 1874, and goes on to observe that "a few months later holy Russia was engaged in massacring the Yomud Turkomans, the Russian commanders having instructions to spare neither age nor sex." He next mentions as "a contemporary comment on the Czar's rescript" the flight of the Doukhobortsai, 10,000 strong, from Russia "to escape from the persecutions and tyranny of the Czar pacificator."

"A SIMPLE PROCESS OF EXHAUSTION."

Mr. White quotes from the rescript "admission that the armaments of Europe are defensive." Defensive against whom? he asks. "Who is the aggressor? Not the United States. Not England, too indolent, obese, comfortable, to retaliate serious insults. Not Germany, who only wishes to hold what she has won. Not Austria, to whom war would spell ruin. Not Italy, nor Spain, nor Turkey. Not even France." By this "simple process of exhaustion" Mr. White arrives at the one power remaining, and leaves us to conclude that Russia is the sole aggressor, the sole cause of the enormous armaments! He proceeds:

"With no vulnerable coast-line, without a single colony to defend, and destitute of a large volume of over-sea trade, it is certain that if really bent on peace, the Russian Emperor and his advisers might restrict the Russian navy to very small dimensions. Nobody hankers after Russian territory. Behind the guns of Cronstadt and in the Black Sea she is safe. The Russian navy is avowedly aggressive. . . . The British navy is a defensive force, for it is plain that with our parasitic dependence upon other nations for food and raw material our navy must be maintained. Can the same possibly be said of the Russian navy and army? . . . Why this energy in building warships, superfluous for defense and unnecessary on any other hypothesis but that of deliberate and intentional aggression?"

Lest we might not approach the question with a sufficiently dispassionate charity, Mr. White recalls Russia's promise in 1886 not to meddle with Corea, and even goes back to the treaty of Paris, under which Russia agreed not to plant arsenals on the Black Sea. He proceeds:

"Nor is it with England alone that Russia has indulged her inveterate taste for crooked dealings. Her international conduct places her on the circumference, if not outside, the circle of

the civilization about which the Czar's proposals discourse so eloquently."

MR. WHITE'S ULTIMATUM.

So in response to what he himself describes as "the sincerely humanitarian and magnanimous intentions of the Russian Emperor," Mr. White formulates this ultimatum:

"Let Russia begin with her navy. . . . If Russia really means business and is not merely using a pacific vocabulary to gain time for war, we shall see without delay a reduction in a navy which is purely aggressive and a reversal of diplomatic methods which are purely barbarian. If these things are not done the encyclical stands self-convicted as a sham, and it is not consonant with the dignity of England to take part in shams. Words are nothing."

In his concluding paragraph Mr. White says:

"It is a political convenience (both to Russia and the Romanoffs) of the greatest value that peace should not be broken. The rescript is a common-sense document engendered by Russian necessities, and it practices on the humanitarianism of men who treat words as things. . . . Militarism has kept the peace. Now that the sleeping dogs are to be wakened and old quarrels raked up, it is possible that the Petersburg conference may lead to Armageddon rather than to amity."

The Czar's advisers, that is to say, finding peace to be an absolute necessity for Russia, astutely devise the raking up of old quarrels and a possible Armageddon!

Naval Armament Not Included?

In "Episodes of the Month" the editor of the *National Review* calls attention to the fact that "no mention whatsoever is made by the manifesto of naval armament"—only military. He sees in the rescript only "an acknowledgment that the strain of maintaining those huge and ever-growing armies that have converted continental nations into military cantonments is intolerable, and that it is worth while endeavoring to mitigate it, the assumption being that by international agreement it may be possible to check any further aggravation of this curse."

"There is surely nothing quixotic or heroic in raising such a question. . . . Our delegates will be friendly spectators of the praiseworthy efforts of the great war lords to restrain the ruin they are inflicting upon one another. . . . We do not see how this country can be reasonably expected to give a pledge not to increase her insignificant regular army."

This distinction between naval and military armaments is to Mr. Maxse no verbal or ironic

refinement; it bases his whole attitude. The military powers have, he suggests, a dim suspicion that they have been investing their money in the wrong kind of fighting machine—land power instead of sea power. All five great powers are panting for an increase in their navies; and they are willing to try the Czar's experiment in the direction of checking further expenditure on land forces.

Mr. Maxse finds the sole aggressor not where Mr. Arnold White finds it, but in France:

"So long as she imagines she can retrieve the defeat of 1870 and recover the severed territory, European armaments must progressively augment. When she abandons this chimera armies will melt away like snow before the sun. There will be no need for manifestos or conferences."

A Result of the Anglo-American Harmony.

"Looker-on" in *Blackwood* makes fun of the outburst of hope and joy which spread over the first day or two following the issue of the rescript, and then he sketches the reaction of fear:

"In even less than three days from its discovery as the most pacific utterance of the age, it had put the whole continent of Europe into tremors of alarm. Say that it unsettled whatever confidence there was in peace, and you do not say a word too much."

A calmer mood succeeded, in which "Looker-on" and others discovered that while the Czar was transparently sincere, his rescript was passed by his ministers as a good stroke for Russia's private ends. Special stress is laid on the emergence of the United States as a new and unknown factor in the circle of the great powers. Americans are still undecided whether they shall go in for great armaments. The Czar's proposal might strengthen the minority which opposes them, and so hinder Uncle Sam from spoiling the game of the great war lords. In any case, "before the conference is at an end the continental powers will know pretty well what to think of the drift of American purpose and what the likelihood is of a preferential alliance with England. This will be valuable knowledge. But perhaps the continental diplomats already calculate that at a conference called for 'the maintenance of universal peace' the American Government will be obliged to disavow all idea of a particular alliance with England. . . . It appears that without going further we may find a sufficient explanation of the conference scheme in the changing policy of the United States and Anglo-American relations."

The only positive proposal "Looker-on" makes or quotes is that the conference might prohibit

certain other kinds of destructive appliances as well as explosive bullets.

A Moslem Peace Conference at Mecca.

The Moulvie Rafiuddin Ahmad, writing in the *Nineteenth Century* on the battle of Obdurman and the Mussulman world, remarks: "I am afraid the Czar's proposal for disarmament will nowhere be more coldly received than in Mohammedan countries. The Czar appealing to Moslem monarchs for disarmament is like the wolf desiring the sheep to get rid of their horns."

The Czar's project has, however, provoked something more than cynicism in the Moslem mind. The Pan-Islamic revival has made war between Moslem states more than ever deplorable:

"To avoid such a war, there is a proposal to memorialize the Sultan of Turkey to issue an encyclical inviting all independent Moslem states to a conference at Mecca with a view to establishing a Moslem international arbitration committee, which would consist of the ablest jurists that the Islamic world possesses, and who would be altogether independent of the governments of Islamic countries. Such a proposal suggested itself to many Islamic minds when the Czar's encyclical appeared; but it has gained ground since the battle of Obdurman, and is likely to receive a practical shape in reasonable time. The Christian governments cannot have any objection to that proposal, considering that the Emperor of Russia himself puts forward a similar proposal on a very high and even impracticable basis, and also because it does not affect them in the least."

WILL RUSSIA DOMINATE THE WORLD?

IN *Harper's* for November there is an essay by Mr. Archibald R. Colquhoun, entitled "Eastward Expansion of the United States." Mr. Colquhoun assumes that there is a great conflict impending between the Slavonic and Teutonic races—in other words, between Russia and England. He thinks Russia intends to absorb China, Turkey, Persia, and India. He looks on her as the aggressor, and so far a successful aggressor. In her remorseless march toward world dominion she will, if successful, naturally supersede Anglo-Saxon civilization. Her ally is France, but the ally will be merely a victim when the Czar's ends are gained. Germany is in the position of opportunist and England is on the defensive—very weakly on the defensive, in Mr. Colquhoun's opinion. What is the position of the United States?

Mr. Colquhoun believes that it is necessary for the true commercial progress of the United States

to protect and increase her trade interests in China. "Between them, the United States and England have considerably more than 75 per cent. of the foreign trade, while Britain alone carries 82 per cent. of the external trade with China and pays 76 per cent. of the dues and duties levied on that trade. It is thus clear what a predominant stake England and the United States have in the commerce of China." Mr. Colquhoun quotes many more figures to show that this commercial interest in the Orient is increasing and likely to increase much further. But it cannot proceed, he thinks, without intelligent coöperation between the individual merchant and government policy, and this coöperation will be jeopardized by every succeeding step that Russia makes toward ascendancy. Great Britain herself does not realize, according to Mr. Colquhoun, the serious position in which that country stands.

RUSSIA'S RECENT SUCCESSES.

"Briefly, the events of the past nine months may be thus summarized: Russia is firmly ensconcing herself in Manchuria, has violently vetoed a British loan for the northern railroad extension, is arming to the teeth at Port Arthur and Talien-wan, and is monthly pouring out reinforcements to the far East; Germany, established in Shantung, declines to pledge herself to any liberal commercial policy and advances claims to exclusive rights as regards railroad construction through the Shantung province, especially the trunk line from Tien-tsin to Ching-kiang (the most promising line in China); France is putting forward preferential claims of a comprehensive character in connection with her leasehold acquired in southern China—the West River, which was supposed to be opened long ago, being still practically unopened; France and Russia are actively interesting themselves in the sanctioned trunk line from Peking to Hankow and its proposed extension from Hankow to the south; Japan is in Formosa, with a reversionary claim on Fo-kien province, a territory of great value. On Great Britain's side there is nothing tangible except the acquisition of Kow-lung, which, as it stands, is far from satisfactory."

The certain road which Russia will take toward ascendancy in China is by the railroads, and she will be successful unless met by an absolute barrier. Mr. Colquhoun says that this can only be accomplished by the effective industrial occupation of the Yang-tse region and the opening of commercial communications between it and the populous countries to the southwest, as well as the eastern provinces of the Chinese empire.

AMERICAN INTERESTS COMMON WITH GREAT BRITAIN'S.

"It requires no elaborate argument to demonstrate that the death-knell of the British leadership in the world would be nearly as disastrous to America as to Britain. To realize the position the United States would occupy, it is only necessary to study the commercial and industrial policy of Russia wherever any possibility of rivalry is in question. The power of the United States to extend her trade in Asia and, in a large measure, to expand as a nation, depends much upon the Anglo-Saxon supremacy. Once in possession of Turkey and Persia, India and China, and with the resources of Asia organized under her direction, Russia would be not only supreme on land, but would be also the commanding sea power. With the Pacific Ocean a Russian lake and Europe dominated, America and South Africa, in addition to Australasia, would, as a natural consequence, fall under the ascendancy of the Slav."

THE NICARAGUA CANAL.

"Of great value to the people of the United States generally, the Nicaragua Canal is a matter of special importance to the Pacific and Southern states. The Pacific territories, with an area of nearly eight thousand square miles, dependent upon the Pacific Ocean for access to the outer world, are of greater extent than Germany, France, Italy, and Spain combined. Their extraordinary growth need not be dwelt on at length. Enough that with only 6 per cent. of the population, they possess 10 per cent. of the entire wealth of the Union, while the railroad mileage exceeds that of any European country, with the exception of France and Germany. The three maritime provinces, California, Oregon, and Washington, are the richest, and they are the most exposed to attack—containing 57 per cent. of the wealth of the Pacific States. The whole Pacific coast as yet, however, takes but an inadequate share—only 5.69 per cent.—of the total import and export trade of the United States.

"The Southern States will also, by means of the Nicaragua Canal, participate largely in the development of the Pacific and of the far East. In the South are combined the advantages of all the other sections without their greatest drawbacks; and the remarkable progress achieved there in the past dozen years will undoubtedly be surpassed in the future.

"But this is much more than a sectional question. The commercial development of Asia and the future traffic of the Pacific Ocean interest not the Western or Southern States alone, but the

whole Union. Already the East and the West, the North and the South, are tied together by a vast network of railroads without parallel, and no such separation of interests as existed a generation ago can now be recognized as affecting the Federal policy of foreign affairs. The national policy, like the republic itself, is one and indivisible, and the course of events can only tend still further to consolidate the Union and assimilate the interests of the great and growing population.

"China and the far East, facing as they do the Pacific coast, lie practically at the back door of the United States. No development of land traffic, either within the boundaries of China itself or between it and neighboring territories, can ever detract from the importance of its oceanic commerce. Indeed, it is obvious that every stimulus applied in the interior must increase the flow of traffic to the seaboard, whether by means of new railroads or by the great rivers, which all flow from west to east. Whatever promotes enterprise in China or enhances the wealth and prosperity of the people must react most forcibly on its sea-borne trade, of which, by means of the new vantage-ground she is about to enjoy, the United States stands to reap the first fruit."

ENGLAND IN CHINA.

THE conclusion to which Captain Young-husband leads up by a carefully reasoned paper in the *Contemporary* on "England's Destiny in China" is that China must be partitioned. The best method of settlement would be, he holds, for the great western powers to come to a clear understanding between themselves. Unfortunately, according to his showing, this method has been tried and has turned out a failure.

ENGLAND'S PRESENT POLICY "FUNDAMENTALLY WRONG."

Passing to the next best, the writer insists that England's policy hitherto has proceeded on "fundamentally wrong lines."

"I wish to protest against the system of propping up China as a buffer against the advance of civilized states, and I would invite attention to the ground factor of this question and to the immorality of the Chinese position. The Chinese want to keep a large and rich portion of the earth's surface to themselves alone; not for the purpose of developing it for the general good; not because they really believe that the country is better developed under a system of strict protection and honestly wish to make an attempt to so develop it; but simply because they are too ignorant to perceive the riches they possess and

the advantages they and every one else would gain from throwing all the buried capital upon the world's market. Such a position is clearly untenable and opposed to the spirit of the age. . . . Why, then, uphold the Chinese in it?"

To organize the Chinese so as to enable them to resist the advance of the civilized powers is to shape a weapon that those powers may not in the end be allowed to direct. It would be to repeat the error England has already made in India, Turkey, Persia, and now in Afghanistan, of putting power into hands which may use them for ends opposed to hers.

"LET HER FALL TO PIECES"—AND REBUILD.

What must England do, then, if she fails to reach a friendly understanding with rival powers and if she must not maintain Chinese "independence"? The writer replies: "We can keep command of the sea" and limit the expansion of the Chinese navy. England might obtain financial control at Peking. She can resist Franco-Russian encroachments on her interests—if not alone, then with the help of an ally, but an ally white, not yellow. "If China is not fit to hold herself together we must let her fall to pieces."

"The result of this rivalry of European nations will mean, then, in the long run, the partition of China; will mean that certain provinces will come under Russian influence, others under French, others under German, and others again under British control. Have we any need to shrink from this idea with the hypocritical shudders to which we have accustomed ourselves?"

PLAIN DUTY AND DESTINY.

Then comes an important distinction in the ethics of empire:

"To take a country and exploit it at the expense of its inhabitants, as the Spaniards did the states of South America, may justly be called political burglary. To control a country as European nations have now learned to control Asiatic states, as the Russians rule Turkestan, as we rule India and the French Tonquin, is to take a step in the general progress of the world, to substitute order for chaos, and to give millions of human beings advantages which at present they do not possess. . . . The immorality lies not in controlling such states, but in persistently bolstering them up as an impediment to progress. . . . To effectually control backward people, to treat them with justice, and to develop the natural resources of the country with the aid of western scientific methods is to confer benefit on all."

This, urges the writer, is the "direction in which the finger of destiny manifestly points."

AMERICAN INTERESTS IN CHINA.

IN the *Engineering Magazine* for October Mr. Wharton Barker writes on "The Industrial Interests of the United States in the Far East." Mr. Barker began to make a special study of Chinese trade relations more than ten years ago, and in the course of his investigations he visited China, meeting Li Hung Chang and other influential Chinese.

American policy, in Mr. Barker's opinion, should be confined to proposals of association and coöperation with the Chinese themselves in the investment of capital and the development of industrial enterprises. Unlike many writers on this subject, Mr. Barker does not have great hopes of the country as a consuming and importing market for our goods. He regards China rather as a country of great resources of her own waiting to be developed.

CHINA A PRODUCING RATHER THAN A CONSUMING COUNTRY.

"There are anthracite coal fields more extensive and apparently richer than the anthracite fields of Pennsylvania; there are bituminous fields that can be paralleled, if at all, only by our own: there are rich iron deposits in close proximity to the coal such as promise the production of iron and steel, for China's development, at prices at which American and British and German iron-masters cannot hope to lay down iron and steel in China; there is in the immense Yangtse Valley, a valley paralleled by the Mississippi but running in an opposite direction, between degrees of latitude rather than longitude, an area suited to cotton culture that rivals, if it does not surpass, our own; and withal a country teeming with a laborious population, a population as biddable as it is industrious, insuring a development that will be appalling to the rest of the world the moment the path is paved for the entrance of Americans and Europeans to give direction. And the Americans and Europeans who thus expatriate themselves will doubtless have opportunities to amass great fortunes. They will do so, however, by developing, not trade with China, but within China.

"China is a country of unsurpassed productive capacity, but not, at present, of great consumptive capacity. And that consumptive capacity cannot grow until her productive capacity grows, save so far as Europeans and Americans, anticipating the future, may loan capital to China, giving steel rails and locomotives and machinery in return for bonds, or so far as Chinese with hoarded gold and silver, also anticipating the future, may part with such metal and spend it to bring productive capital from abroad. But such importation of

material can continue only for a time, for China has within herself the means to develop herself—all save that energy possessed of the western nations and needed to give direction to the immeasurable energies of her people. And that energy she must import. She will have occasion, in her development, to import but little more.

NOT A GREAT MARKET FOR AMERICAN GOODS.

"Of course, as the productive capacity of her people increases, so will their consumptive capacity. As her people produce more wealth they will consume more wealth; but there is no reason to believe that they will buy more of foreign peoples. They will, indeed, consume more goods, but they will be in a position to fill their own wants. This consumptive capacity will increase only with their productive capacity, and there is every reason to believe that they can and will make everything they want and at less cost than that at which other peoples can make and deliver such goods to them. Consequently they will buy of themselves, and not for long or to any very great extent purchase of others.

"So we need not look to China for a great market for our products. When the development of China comes, whether as an empire or as a divided people under the tutelage of others, Chinamen will supply their own markets. Chinese rail mills will roll the rails for Chinese railroads; Chinese manufactories will make the cloth to clothe Chinese backs. In other words, China will be no more dependent than she is now. She will be self-sustaining, capable of making at low cost practically all that her people consume—an agricultural and mining and manufacturing country, not an importing country. The prime question for the people of the rest of the world will not be whether they may manufacture to clothe the backs of the Chinese, but whether the awakened Chinese may not clothe the backs of others.

A FIELD FOR INVESTMENT.

"The transportation question for China would be met more by the development of the canals than by the building of railroads. This is because the waterways, natural and artificial, are already very numerous, and can be utilized as in no other country by the substitution for manpower, now largely employed, of steam, electric, or compressed-air motors. Twelve thousand miles of waterways are now open in the Yangtse-Kiang basin, and an additional mileage of ten thousand miles of canal can be opened at a cost small in comparison with that of building railroads. The problems for the engineer are not serious. I do not believe that any great trunk line of railroad in the populous parts of China

will be constructed by foreign syndicates, for the Chinese have been awakened, by the grants already made to the Russian Government, to the dangers to China from foreign control of the public highways. Foreign engineers will be employed to build railroads and canals, and at the start foreign general managers and traffic agents will be placed in charge; but soon all will be replaced by Chinese. These lines of railroads and canals will, if necessary, be built with associated Chinese capital or with money taken from imperial and provincial treasuries. There is plenty of hoarded money in China, which its owners will invest in railroads, canals, steamboats, steamships, factories, and mines, when satisfied that their investment will be safe from the attacks of the official class, safe from unfair taxation and from blackmail. These men will be only too glad to invest their capital along with that of foreigners who will be just to their Chinese partners. This is proven by the Chinese in the Malay Peninsula and in Java, where they are large and most willing sharers in railroad and other corporate undertakings."

An editorial article in the Philadelphia *American*, Mr. Barker's paper, enforces the point made in the *Engineering Magazine* article that China's hope lies in the development of the country by Americans and Europeans in conjunction with the Chinese in such a way that the profits will accrue to China as well as to the foreigner.

"While refusing to permit development in a way that means despoilment, she must invite development in a way that means enrichment. And the reinstatement of the Chinese party is an earnest of this—an earnest that the foreigner, the American, the European of energy and ability and willing to cast in his lot with China, grow up with China, will be invited into China to work in conjunction with Chinese for the development of China's resources and wealth-producing capabilities. And here the reputation of the Chinese merchant for probity and honesty will stand China in good stead, for because of it Americans and Europeans will be attracted toward alliances with such Chinamen rather than be repelled."

Our National Policy.

In the *North American Review* for October the Hon. Mark B. Dunnell, after considering the various concessions recently obtained in China by Russia, England, and France, outlines what he regards as a safe and sagacious policy for the United States to adopt in Chinese affairs. He says:

"We have no desire to appropriate a single foot of Chinese territory, and as a government we are entirely indifferent to the balance of

power in the far East, except as it may affect our trade. The political considerations that enter into the relations of England and Russia in the north of China and England and France to the south do not concern us. Anything like a general alliance between this country and England in the far East should be studiously avoided. While we sympathize with China and feel that in the interest of civilization her independence should be respected and maintained, under no circumstances that can be now foreseen would we fight to prevent a partition that did not involve the destruction of our present treaty rights. So long as entire equality of trading privileges is secured, the scramble of the powers in China for concessions will receive no active opposition from the United States. We are concerned with the integrity of Chinese trade, and not the integrity of Chinese territory. In this regard our interests and those of England differ. Otherwise they are identical, and we can readily secure her cooperation in the furtherance of our policy. The sticking point with us is the preservation of our present treaty right of admission to the Chinese market upon terms of entire equality with every other nation. To this end our Government should join England in insisting, even to the point of war, upon an express stipulation in future grants of territory by China that our goods shall be admitted into the territory granted upon the same terms as the goods of the nation receiving the grant. We should also join England in employing every diplomatic means, short of a threat of war, to prevent the partition of China, because that event would be disastrous to American trade, although open markets were guaranteed. It is highly discreditable to American and English diplomacy that Talien-wan, Kiao-Chou, and Kwang-chau-wan, the natural outlets of the rich provinces of Manchuria, Shantung, and Kwangsi, have been alienated by China without our interests being properly safeguarded. It would never have happened if the two governments had been acting together at Peking. In short, our policy in China should be concert of action with England so far as our interests are identical, opposition to the partition of China by every means short of war, and opposition to partition or territorial grants even to the extremity of war if the preservation of our present treaty rights of trade cannot be guaranteed.

THE DEMAND FOR OPEN MARKETS.

"It has been urged that we are estopped from fighting for open markets in China because of our protective tariff at home. Nothing could well be more absurd. It is not a question of fighting for new rights, but for the preservation

of rights we always possess. At present we have a treaty right of admission to all the markets of China through the 'open ports' upon the payment of a nominal duty. Certain powers of Europe threaten this right by securing territorial concessions from China without insuring us against discriminating duties within the territory granted. It is not a question of China giving away her own. These concessions are forced from her. It is simply a question whether we shall weakly allow ourselves to be pushed out of valuable markets to which we have a possessory right.

"The advantages of coöperating with England to the extent here advocated are obvious. No power or combination of powers would for a moment think of opposing the joint demand of England and the United States for open markets in China. The demand would be too reasonable and the combined strength too overwhelming. The powerful fleet of Japan would eagerly join those of England and the United States to sustain such a policy."

ENGLAND AND THE NICARAGUA CANAL.

MR. A. MAURICE LOW, in the *National Review*, calls attention to the rumor that the Washington government has sounded Great Britain with a view to abrogating the Clayton-Bulwer treaty. He says:

"The question of the construction of the Nicaraguan Canal by the Government of the United States, or if by private capital with the interest guaranteed by the Government, will receive the very serious attention of Congress at the coming session. . . The necessity of the canal was made obvious when the *Oregon* had to travel 13,000 miles from San Francisco to Key West to join Admiral Sampson's squadron. . . Now that the United States has colonial possessions, the construction of the canal cannot be much longer delayed.

"The Clayton-Bulwer treaty stands in the way. The first article of the convention provides that neither Great Britain nor the United States shall obtain or maintain exclusive control over the canal; and as the treaty is perpetual and no method is provided for its denouncement, the treaty remains in force until mutually abrogated."

England as a Pacific Power.

Mr. Benjamin Taylor contributes to the *Nineteenth Century* a very predictive article on "The Coming Struggle in the Pacific." He insists, to begin with, that the Monroe doctrine was "actually an Anglo-American contrivance. It amounted to a public recognition by the United

States of Great Britain as an American power, and to a declaration of a combined (not a purely United States) policy against all other powers on the continents of America." The Bulwer-Clayton treaty "amounted to a formal acknowledgment of Great Britain as an American power and as exempt from the exclusive policy of the Monroe doctrine." On the principle of that treaty, Mr. Taylor urges, "we are bound to insist."

"Our political position in the Pacific is too critical, our commercial and financial interests there are too vast for us to allow the western water route to fall absolutely under the control of any other power, even of a friendly power like the United States. . . Great Britain is territorially and commercially far more of a Pacific power than is the United States, and it is essential to her empire to have a share in the control of any Atlantic-Pacific waterway that may be constructed."

WHY NOT AN ANGLO-AMERICAN CANAL?

Mr. Taylor sees a way to realize the principle both of the Monroe doctrine and the treaty in question:

"British capitalists did not respond to former invitations to join in the Nicaraguan enterprise, even when issued by General Grant; but the project then was too obscure. Times now have changed, and an Anglo-American canal company is quite within the bounds of financial possibility. If the American Government prefer to find all the money as a national investment, we might respond by joining in the guarantee of the bonds. But by whatever means the canal is constructed, it must be neutralized, and we must have a hand in preserving the neutrality. One could not, however, devise a better means of cementing that Anglo-American alliance, the idea of which has been welcomed with so much cordiality—which is better than enthusiasm—in both countries than by making the canal the joint property of both the Anglo-Saxon nations. With joint capital and joint mechanical skill we might build the canal, and with joint strength defend it against the world, permitting of its use by others only on such terms as we may jointly approve."

A CHINESE SOUTH AMERICA!

Already, Mr. Taylor calculates, the Pacific area includes a population of 878,000,000, or more than half of the population of the world (according to the Levasseur estimate of 1886,) 1,500,000,000. He discerns the possibilities of immensely greater developments. He makes one very startling suggestion:

"What if in the future South America should become the reservoir for the overflow of the

Mongolian races? The Spanish-American has done little good with his great heritage. He has wasted his substance in riotous politicalism, and preferred to eat the husks of financial prodigality to a return to the fatted calf of honest industry and the robe and ring of progressive nationalism. If he is submerged in a yellow flood it is doubtful if the world will be the poorer. This at least is a possibility to be kept in view—that the 'yellow agony' which has at times convulsed the Pacific States of North America may be destined to sweep away the diseased and debilitated nationalities of the southern continent."

A PROPHECY.

Mr. Taylor's vision of the future of the Pacific expands:

"We foresee America as a great maritime power, whose territorial ambitions will not be limited by Hawaii or even by the Philippines. Many of us now living may reasonably expect to see the completion of the Trans-Asiatic railroad to Vladivostok and Talien-wan. It will be quickly followed by the Nicaragua Canal, and from each terminus will radiate great lines of giant steamships traversing the whole of the ocean area. Meanwhile, the Trans-Andine railroad will have been completed, the long-projected links with the American railroad system will have been carried northward to Alaska and southward through Mexico and the central neck to Chile, and the new cycle of Cathay will be worth vastly more than fifty years of Europe. Even now the seaborne commerce of the Pacific exceeds £1,000,000,000 per annum, and it is not extravagant to assume that the twentieth century will see it doubled."

In considering the question of an all-British cable, Mr. Taylor points out that the overland telegraphs in Canada are "controlled" by a United States telegraph combination. Their value depends on the "permanent amity" of the Washington government.

ARGUMENTS AGAINST EXPANSION.

"THE Parting of the Ways in the Foreign Policy of the United States" is the subject of an article by Dr. Felix Adler in the current number of the *International Journal of Ethics*.

Dr. Adler mentions three reasons that in his opinion tell strongly against the proposed "imperialistic" policy of this country: First, the danger it involves to our political institutions; secondly, the obstacles which it is likely to place in the way of social reform in the United States; thirdly, the influence it is calculated to exert in

diverting us from that line of effort along which we can best discharge our cosmopolitan duty toward other nations and toward mankind in general.

CAN WE GOVERN SUBJECT PEOPLES?

The danger to our political institutions Dr. Adler conceives to lie in this, that a democracy is by its nature incapable of ruling subject populations. "The principle that an inferior class shall be ruled by a superior is the principle of aristocracies. The principle that no class shall be regarded as politically inferior, but that all shall participate on equal terms in the government, is the principle of democracies. The two principles cannot keep house together in the same state. Either the inferior class must be enfranchised, raised to the same level of political rights as the others, or the democracy will inevitably tend to turn into an aristocracy. The Athenian democracy and the Roman republic both tried the experiment of ruling subject populations. The one broke down utterly in the attempt; the other carried the imperial principle to its logical conclusion by means of a transformation in the constitution of the state."

In answer to the argument that England has succeeded in her policy of imperialism, Dr. Adler asserts that her success is due to the application of the aristocratic principle. The hereditary aristocracy of England is an instrumentality for sifting out the relatively best men in the nation as leaders. In America we have no such instrumentality. We rely solely on the common sense and the moral sense of the masses of our people to select our leaders. In Dr. Adler's view the fact that we have not yet fully succeeded in bringing to the front the best type of leadership is only another reason why "we should not indefinitely increase the chances of corruption by sending such men as would now be likely to be selected to govern subject populations in distant quarters of the globe."

Dr. Adler points out another danger which he regards as a subtler evil than that of increased corruption:

"But the danger of increased corruption is not the only one; there is a subtler evil to be dreaded. The identity of the governing and the governed is of the very essence of the democratic principle. Let this identity be broken up in any part of the state, let a differentiation take place between the class that governs and another class that is governed, without having completely the right to determine how it shall be governed, and the same differentiation will tend to spread to other parts of the state and become more and more general. Plainly, if we accustom ourselves

to see millions of persons who live within the territories which belong to the United States excluded from the rights of citizenship on the ground that they are not fitted to exercise them, the question will presently be raised—indeed, here and there it has already been raised—whether on the same ground millions of persons now exercising the franchise within the limits of the United States ought not to be deprived of their rights. That universal suffrage is the indispensable safeguard of liberty; that no class, however well intentioned, can be trusted to legislate for another; that even the so-called lower classes know where the shoe pinches them better than their superiors in education can know it for them—these elementary truths will then tend to fall into oblivion, and a habit of mind will be generated consistently with which democratic institutions cannot live. The masses of the people and all citizens who have not yet lost their faith in the capacity of the masses to become politically regenerate have every reason to oppose with the utmost earnestness the proposed policy of imperialism. It is anti-democratic, as its very name implies."

IMPERIALISM AND SOCIAL REFORM.

Dr. Adler's second reason for opposing a policy of imperialism is that such a policy is contrary to the interests of social reform here at home. He believes that the wage-earning class in particular and all who believe that the progress of society as a whole depends on the improvement of the condition of the wage-earning class have reason to oppose the new policy.

"And this not only, as has often been said, because the degraded labor of the tropics may thus be brought into direct competition with American labor and tend to lower the rate of remuneration and the standard of living, but for another reason. The appetite for colonial dependencies, which is characteristic of the modern industrial nations, is due to the fact that the modern industrial system is top-heavy. That system, founded on the economic maxim of buying cheap and selling dear, when applied to human labor, leads at last to a kind of *reductio ad absurdum*. The wages of labor are depressed as far as possible for the sake of profit, or, if increased, are increased reluctantly in merely arithmetical progression, while at the same time the volume of production is enlarged in something like geometrical progression, and thus a condition of things is brought about in which the great body of manual workers, who are also the natural consumers, are no longer able to absorb the product, and what is called over-production ensues. From the condition of affairs thus

roughly described there are two alternative exits. The one is to seek new markets abroad, keeping the wage-earners at home relatively poor, and this has led to the colonial policy of the European nations; the other is to enhance the power of consumption on the part of the wage-earners at home, and this it would seem is the policy which the best traditions of our past as well as our hopes for the future should engage us to adopt. Whatever tends to increase the skill and efficiency of the laborer and artisan, whatever tends to diversify agriculture and industry and to modify mere competition by the encouragement of collective effort of the voluntary sort, and especially whatever tends to deepen the respect we feel for every man in virtue of his character as a man, will make in this direction."

In other words, Dr. Adler would have us devote our energies to making the home market "increasingly capable of absorbing the present surplus product," rather than to the seeking of foreign markets.

OUR DUTY TO OTHER NATIONS.

That one motive of the present agitation for an imperialistic policy is based on the recognition of a duty owed by the civilized races to the uncivilized Dr. Adler freely admits.

"It may be used insincerely by some as a mere pretext to cloak their ambition or cupidity; but certainly in the case of many it gives rise to a genuine scruple of conscience, to a feeling that we, as a people, should not isolate ourselves from the affairs of the world, that we ought to help in bringing the backward races abreast of progress, and that this is a duty which, however serious the difficulties in which it may involve us, we ought not to shirk."

Dr. Adler himself believes that we have such a duty to the backward races. Our attitude toward those races should be educational, and should be governed on the whole by the same principles that are everywhere revolutionizing the science of education, but just as it is not every one's vocation to be a teacher of the young—that is, of undeveloped individuals—so it is not every people's vocation to be the teacher of other undeveloped peoples.

"Suppose some one had represented it as a duty to Isaac Newton to communicate to the young a part of his vast acquisitions in the domain of natural philosophy, and for this purpose to spend a portion of his time in teaching school. He might justly have replied that he could be of far more use to his contemporaries and to posterity by devoting all his time and all his energy to the prosecution of the profound researches in which he was engaged until he should have

brought them to a triumphant conclusion. And so we may say, without presumption and without vainglory, that a nation, too, may consecrate itself to the advancement and perfection of the principles of government rather than to the extension of those already accepted. Such is our case. We should join, indeed, with other nations in preventing international outrage; we should send out gifted individuals to dwell as missionaries of civilization among the natives of distant lands. But, as a people, we should not attempt to keep school, having backward peoples for our pupils; we should not suffer ourselves to be diverted from the great experiment on which we are engaged. That experiment, on the scale and under the conditions in which it is being tried, is new. It means the attempt to build up a rational state: to establish freedom, not in the sense of the unhampered expansion of the strong, but in that nobler sense in which it signifies the possibility for each, even for the humblest, of 'living the best life,' by discharging with maximum efficiency the particular social function for which nature has fitted him. Generations must still elapse before the success of this experiment can be assured. All the gifts, all the energies of mind and heart which we as a people possess will be needed for its prosecution. If we shall succeed, even approximately, in the fulfillment of this great task, we shall have deserved well of human kind and shall certainly have discharged in the truest and best way our cosmopolitan duty."

WHAT SHALL BE DONE ABOUT THE PHILIPPINES?

THE *North American Review* for October opens with an article under this caption by Mr. Mayo W. Hazeltine. While most writers on this subject have merely attempted to answer the question, What shall we do with the islands? assuming that we already have the disposition of them, Mr. Hazeltine considers that the terms of the protocol, inasmuch as they give the Spaniards an equal voice in the matter, take the settlement of the question out of our hands, although before that agreement was signed we could probably have obtained the Philippines as easily as we have obtained Cuba and Porto Rico.

"Had the Madrid government proved recalcitrant upon this point, it could have been quickly brought to terms by naval demonstrations against the Carolines, the Canaries, the Balearic Isles, and the seaports of the Iberian peninsula. But when the President forebore to exercise the power which he possessed and consented to let the fate of the Philippines be determined by a commis-

sion in which Spain should have an equal voice, he practically put the retention of all the islands by us out of the question, unless some consideration should be tendered which would be regarded in Madrid as a *quid pro quo*. For suppose that in compliance with instructions from Washington the five American commissioners should concur in demanding the cession to us of all the Philippines: it is absolutely certain that the five Spanish commissioners would, on their part, reject the demand unless it were coupled with an offer of compensation. We could not blame them for an attitude which must or should have been foreseen when the protocol was signed. It is even questionable whether the Spanish commissioners will agree to surrender the whole of the island of Luzon in the absence of any indemnifying proposal."

PRECEDENT FURNISHED BY THE MEXICAN WAR.

Mr. Hazeltine finds a suggestive precedent in the treatment which Mexico received at the hands of the United States in 1848. At that time General Scott occupied the Mexican capital and the republic was at our mercy. We might have annexed the whole country, but public opinion in the Northern States was opposed to such action, and it was decided that instead of exacting a single acre by right of conquest the United States would offer Mexico \$15,000,000 in cash and the assumption of debts amounting to \$3,000,000, due from Mexico to American citizens, in exchange for a tract comprising California, Nevada, Utah, Arizona, and New Mexico. This offer was eagerly accepted, and the treaty of peace was ratified by our Senate.

"The bearing of this precedent upon the situation created by the protocol is obvious. It is most improbable that without some compensation the Spanish commissioners will agree to give up the Philippines, or even the island of Luzon. On the other hand, the maintenance of their authority in the rest of the islands would require an outlay of blood and treasure which they are ill able to afford. The Madrid government could escape from the dilemma, and, to use the Chinese phrase, 'save its face' in the eyes of the Spanish people, if, in return for a cession of all the Philippines, it could secure such a sum of money as would, to a moderate extent, relieve the necessities of its exchequer. As it happens, a relatively insignificant part of the Spanish debt is saddled upon the revenues of the Philippines. This our commissioners might consent to assume, and they might even go a little further and agree to make the United States or independent Cuba responsible for a fifth part of the so-called Cuban debt. Why do we designate

this particular fraction? Because when the autonomist government was instituted in Cuba it was stipulated by the autonomists that the insular revenues should be liable for only a fifth of the Cuban debt, inasmuch as by the most liberal estimate not more than a fifth of the money borrowed in Cuba's name could be regarded as having been applied to the welfare of the island. The Philippine debt and one-fifth of the Cuban debt would not, together, amount to much more than \$100,000,000, a sum which we could borrow at 3 per cent., or, for that matter, easily spare from our national revenue, distended as this has been by the war taxes. We opine that an offer on our part to assume the indebtedness mentioned would secure the assent of the Spanish commissioners to the relinquishment of all the Philippines, and we doubt if their assent to such a proposal can be gained in any other way.

"But why, it may be asked, should we buy what we have conquered? We answer that the question comes too late. It should have been put before the signing of the protocol, whereby in the disposition of the Philippines the Spaniards acquired an equal voice."

THE OFFICIAL HISTORY OF SAMPSON'S CRUISE.

THE November *McClure's* has a valuable feature in the contribution from Mr. W. A. N. Goode, "The Inner History of Admiral Sampson's Campaign," a narrative made from and with the official dispatches which passed between Secretary Long and Sampson and Schley. These dispatches bear out the general report that Cervera could easily have escaped before he was blockaded tightly if he had tried to.

CERVERA'S BOTTLING MERE LUCK.

"It was not until 6 o'clock the next morning, June 1, when we saw the *Colon* off Morro, at Santiago, and Schley's ships still there, though some distance off, that all anxiety was removed and we knew that the luck of the navy still lived. It was nothing else; for until the 29th inst. Cervera, for all the opposition he would have encountered, might have slipped out; and there is no doubt among naval experts that for several days afterward he would have had a good chance of getting away, or at least saving some of his ships, had he run out any night before Sampson's close blockade, with pickets and search-lights, was established."

Another valuable point made in the article is the final testimony to the necessity that Sampson had of conducting his operations against Santiago, and especially his coöperation with the land forces without any risk to his crews or the ships.

The admiral received from Secretary Long on June 1 the following cablegram:

"The army is now embarking at Tampa, Fla.—estimate 25,000 men—to proceed to Santiago as soon as you inform me whole Spanish fleet in harbor. Will be accompanied by cavalry, siege guns, mortars. It is suggested that you select places suitable for landing infantry as near as possible to Santiago de Cuba and be prepared to advise regarding landing guns and cavalry. Of first importance to secure bridge San Juan River, the pier at Baiquiri, and others. Department expects you will assist, of course, in landing the army to utmost of your power, but desires you shall not risk, by operation on shore or in landing, crews of the armored vessels or those needed in case of a naval engagement. Will not Guantanamo, Cuba, be the best place for landing cavalry?"

Of this Mr. Goode observes:

"The injunction not to risk his crews while assisting the army, though in itself an excellent and thoroughly well-judged precaution, made Sampson's task of coöperation with the army at a later date one of great difficulty and replete with delicate situations. Neither the War Department nor General Shafter, as will be seen from later dispatches, ever seemed to realize that Sampson, however anxious to coöperate with the land forces, was always confronted by an embargo which practically ordered coöperation to cease when risk began."

NAVAL LESSONS OF THE WAR.

IN the November *Atlantic* an excellent article by Ira N. Hollis reviews the achievements of our navy in the war with Spain, and points out the lessons it has for the naval constructor and for our Government in its future expenditures for ships.

In the first place, Mr. Hollis warns us that we must not be betrayed into over-confidence by the handsome behavior of our sailors and ships at Manila and Santiago, as the successful issue was only what we had a right to expect considering the difference between the resources of the two countries. The victory came from two causes, our strength and Spain's weakness, which was pitiable. Mr. Hollis reminds us that in a somewhat analogous situation the great triumph of the British navy under Nelson so convinced John Bull of his invincibility that his seamen fell an easy prey to us in 1812. The Spaniards were totally unprepared; they were poor technical fighters and were badly trained.

"At no time have we been prepared for a prolonged conflict against a well-equipped navy, and

our fortunate exodus from the affair should serve as a warning. We had at the outset only a few well-selected types of ships manned by a first-rate *personnel*, or what has been called the nucleus of a good navy. The smaller craft for picket, patrol, and supply duty had to be obtained and equipped in a great hurry. In not a few cases the money placed at the disposal of the President was squandered, to the minimum benefit of the country."

LIGHT ON FUTURE NAVAL CONSTRUCTION.

Mr. Hollis says there has been an unexpected paucity of information to be gained from the actions of the late war so far as the efficiency of battleships in action is concerned.

"Many details of construction will be changed, no doubt; but there have been no startling revelations destined to render our battleships antiquated, or even seriously to impair their efficiency. Hereafter the minimum of combustible materials will enter into the construction of fighting ships. The battle of the Yalu in the Japanese-Chinese War and the two great battles of this war have demonstrated beyond peradventure the danger from fire. In many cases the Spaniards were driven from their guns by burning woodwork, and their fire mains were cut by shell. This experience will relegate all water mains and steam pipes to the hold well below the water line, with branches rising to the necessary connections on the upper decks."

THE VALUE OF RAPID-FIRE GUNS.

"The value of rapid-fire guns was so clearly shown at Santiago that improvement can hereafter follow only along the line of a more rapid fire. The smaller guns are already fitted with special mechanism to facilitate loading and firing, and we shall be obliged to extend the system to the whole battery. Our chief lesson, however, in connection with battleships is that we need more of them. The cost is great, but these ships are well-nigh impregnable; and they must continue to hold their own as our main reliance for offense and defense. Higher speeds will undoubtedly be demanded. The coal problem has apparently solved itself. Our ships found no trouble in taking coal from colliers at sea, and it was habitually done at Santiago before Guantanamo Bay was captured. It follows, therefore, that a coaling station is a convenience, and not an absolute necessity, in conducting a campaign far from home ports."

A SUGGESTION ABOUT CRUISERS.

"Cruisers like the *Columbia* and the *Minneapolis* had no real test. As scouts they are too large

and as fighting vessels they are of no real value against an armored fleet. The country would profit by putting the money for such ships into a subsidy for merchant vessels of sufficient size to serve as transports or scouts in emergency. The smaller cruisers and gunboats did fine work at Manila and on the blockade, but we must not conclude from their immunity against shore batteries in Cuba that they would be equally fortunate again. Some of the attacks seem almost foolhardy, and the use of torpedo boats in a fortified harbor, except as a desperate measure, should not be encouraged."

TORPEDOES PLAYED NO PART.

"We have learned next to nothing about torpedoes. They played no part in the war, except as a moral barrier at Santiago. It seems doubtful if they will ever prove dangerous to any but a careless foe; on the other hand, they may become a source of real peril to the ship which is trying to use them. Two torpedoes exploded on the *Almirante Oquendo* and killed a great number of men. One was reported to have been struck by the fragments of a shell and the other to have been set off by the heat of the flames near it. A loaded torpedo may thus become a more serious menace to friend than to foe. The fast torpedo boat accomplished none of the terrific feats we expected. The duties performed by our own boats have already been described, and the principal business of the Spanish destroyers was evidently to keep out of the way. Their defeat by an ordinary yacht must have been very humiliating. One advantage possessed by our fleet around the entrance to Santiago harbor added materially to their harmlessness: the attack could come only from one quarter, and the skillful manipulation of search-lights destroyed all hope of success. The contrast between our early fears of the torpedo-boat flotilla and its subsequent achievements is simply ludicrous. It would not be safe to draw sweeping conclusions as to the use of these craft in future wars. If the *Pluton* and the *Furor* had been handled by Englishmen, the *Gloucester* would probably be at the bottom of the sea and some of the larger ships might possibly have suffered a like fate."

MONITORS OUT OF THEIR ELEMENT.

"The monitors seem to have been out of their element on the blockade. We had no need of them in the defense of coast or harbors, and, with none of the excitement of the chase, they served principally as prisons for a few unhappy officers and men. Our experimental craft, such as the dynamite cruiser, the submarine boat, and the ram, had no opportunity to indicate their

possible utility. The *Vesuvius* threw a few hundred pounds of dynamite upon the hills outside of Santiago, and she may have exerted some moral pressure toward the surrender, but there is nothing to prove that she is of value to the country."

A TRIBUTE TO SECRETARY LONG.

"The head of the navy deserves the gratitude of the whole nation for a wise and sensible administration. There has been no interference with the duties belonging properly to trained officers, and no selection of civilians for duties which they could not perform. The efficiency of a navy depends as much upon the strength and intelligence which control it as it does upon the ships and *personnel*. Suppose, for instance, that a weak Secretary had directed Admiral Dewey to establish a pacific blockade of Manila! The result would have been disastrous, and the war might have been indefinitely prolonged."

IN SANTIAGO DURING THE SIEGE.

IN the November *McClure's* the diary of the British consul at Santiago, Mr. Ramsden, is continued. It gives a most vivid and interesting picture of scenes in the doomed city during the days immediately preceding its capture by Shafter's army. Not the least striking feature of Mr. Ramsden's narrative is his description of the suffering which the starved people of Santiago went through. He tells of distributing on July 7 to his British subjects the bread made from a hundred pounds of flour, a present from General Shafter for the Britishers in the city.

"Friday, July 8.—More correspondents, etc. Distributed biscuit, or rather bread, I had made. Got Edwards to take charge of distributing provisions for British subjects. The people are starving. The Red Cross Society cannot get provisions up in time for want of means of transportation, nor can the army. The people, thinking they had come out for but a couple of days and not being allowed to bring animals of burden with them, have now no provisions left, and round here the only thing obtainable is mangoes, of which there is a profusion. The streets are filled with the remains of these thrown down by the people, and they are in a state of ferment. The place is one big pig-stye, and soon there must be a frightful epidemic, with the people bathing and washing dirty clothes in the river, from which the drinking-water is obtained and to which any quantity of filth and refuse finds its way. In some houses you will find fifty in a small room, and among them one dying of fever, another with diarrhoea, and perhaps a woman in the throes of childbirth, and all that with not a

chair to sit on or a utensil of any kind, and all in want of food. You cannot buy anything for money, though I know one man lucky enough to buy five biscuits of about two ounces each for a five-dollar piece, and another who bought a small chicken for seven dollars, but he did not take it right off and the bargain was refused. People will exchange mangoes or other things for food, such as rice, biscuit, or pork, the things mostly looked after. Twenty-five good-sized biscuits were paid for three small chickens by the Red Cross man. The country is absolutely bare, and money will buy nothing and it is useless. Children dying for want of food; in fact, the situation is indescribable."

"Sunday, July 10.—Went round for distribution of provisions just arrived. The whole afternoon with people begging sugar or milk or rice or something to keep them from starving, or a sick child of a person from dying. I have now very little left, having been giving away what I could. At 5 P.M. Americans began to cannonade from field and siege batteries, with a few from fleet, until dark. Frightful scenes; children crying for food and nothing to give them; a few provisions arrived this afternoon, but not one-twentieth enough."

AFTER THE SURRENDER.

Mr. Ramsden gives an account of just what Spanish forces there were in and about Santiago opposed to the Americans, which is especially interesting as being an accurate and official testimony to the power General Shafter had to cope with. The consul says in his diary, under date of July 16:

"Santiago de Cuba has made a heroic defense, and the Americans have learned to admire the pluck of the Spaniards. On the first attack there were, including 1,000 men from the squadron, 3,500 men of all arms, with volunteers. Aldea had a column of 600 on the other side of the bay, and there were about 200 more between Morro, etc., and Aguadores. From Manzanillo 3,500 men arrived after the attack and helped to replace the killed and wounded. At Caney there were 500 men. There are now here and along the railroad, etc., 10,500 men. At Guantanamo 5,000, and Baracoa and others scattered 2,000, making a total of 17,000. Santiago had no defenses, but they ran up some earthworks and made trenches after the fleet began to blockade and the United States army to besiege them. The Spanish soldiers are half starved, have very little ammunition left, and are sick. Linares would have surrendered the place a week ago had he been in command, but Toral has been delaying, while Blanco and Madrid were against it."

GENERAL WEYLER THE MAN.

THE November *Cosmopolitan* begins with an anonymous article from a gentleman who is described by the editor as being the only representative which the United States had in Spain during the war activities, engaged in secret-service duties. This gentleman obtained a passport from a friend, changed it so that it would apply to his own case, and invaded the country within a few days after Cervera's destruction, in the guise of a German professor. He had the good fortune to meet in the dining-car of the Southern express "a pleasant, good-looking, well-dressed young fellow," who turned out to be Lieutenant Weyler, a son of the terrible general. Our disguised emissary "worked" this young man with such success that he was soon being entertained royally by the lieutenant's father. Of Weyler this writer says:

"The general's plate did not reveal the remains of a Cuban baby-pie, his eyes did not flash red fire, he did not browbeat the company, his conversation was not a combination of curses and boasts, and he did not represent six feet of brass buttons, gold lace, and epaulets. The General Weyler I found was a little man about five feet seven in height and not over one hundred and thirty-five pounds in weight, whose plain black civilian coat made him look even slighter. His voice is uncommonly soft for a Spaniard; his manner quiet, unassuming, and dignified, with a total absence of pose. His smile is decidedly winning and his sense of humor keen. In spite of all this, one sees at once that he is that which he professes exclusively to be—a soldier, self-contained, sparing of words, a trifle blunt, punctiliously polite. I found him quite the most charming, as well as most interesting, Spaniard whom I had encountered. His treatment of myself is an instance of his courtesy. Remember that I was an absolute nobody to him; I brought no recommendation to him except my supposed nationality and my expressed admiration; he could not hope even to get any return for his kindness. 'You are a German gentleman,' he answered once, when I mentioned this, 'and the people of my ancestors' country are dear to me.'"

SPAIN'S CONTEMPT FOR HER NAVY.

This writer makes some certainly extraordinary statements about the Spanish sentiment toward its sailors. "Nearly all the officers," he says, "I met in Madrid are of the army, and they took no pains to conceal their contempt for the sister service. 'Our navies,' said one, 'have always been beaten.' At the Escorial Lieutenant Weyler pointed at the tomb of Don Juan de Austria and remarked sadly: 'What a contrast

to Cervera!' On the other hand, these gentlemen have the greatest confidence in their own arms. 'The Spanish soldier,' said General Weyler to me, 'is the best in the world. He eats little and marches well.' I refrain from quoting him on the subject of the recent ministers of war poor Spain has been handicapped with. For once he looked savage and his prominent under lip was drawn in spasmodically. 'The best material in the world,' he said, 'is being wasted for lack of proper organization.'"

OUR WAR DEPARTMENT.

IN his monthly article on American affairs contributed to the *National Review* Mr. A. Maurice Low discredits the propositions that the United States War Department is a nest of corruption and that the break-downs in various bureaus during the late war were due to official dishonesty. He has a different explanation for the existing state of affairs—one more in accord with that suggested in the October *Review* by Lieutenant Parker. Mr. Low says:

"The Department is top-heavy with officers who have become 'soft' from too much ease. It must be remembered that since the close of the Civil War, now more than thirty years ago, of actual experience in the field line officers have had little and staff officers practically none. There have been a few Indian campaigns, but they have been mostly small affairs—troop and company fights in which not more than a few hundred men were engaged at any one time. Lieutenants, captains, majors, and occasionally a lieutenant-colonel, have been kept in condition by taking a company of infantry or a troop of cavalry and 'rounding up' a band of hostile redskins; but off-hand I cannot recall a single case of a general officer in recent years having had five thousand men under his command. The army is so small and so scattered, and it has been so kicked and starved by successive Congresses, each more unfriendly than the last, that experience in modern tactics or the simulated conditions of actual warfare has been impossible. Nothing like the recent maneuvers in Wilts and Dorset has ever been known in America, and, *en passant*, it may be added that the ease with which England carried on a brilliant campaign in the Soudan and simultaneously put nearly sixty thousand men in the field to be drilled, at the same time maintaining a great army in India and other parts of the empire, has created a profound impression here."

STAFF OFFICERS "REELS FOR RED TAPE."

Mr. Low trifles with official dignity so far as to expose certain comical phases of War De-

partment routine by way of illustrating his point :

" If officers in the field have been unable to acquire experience, it is easy enough to understand that staff officers—quartermasters, surgeons, and subsistence officers—have simply degenerated into fossilized clerks. Having no military duties to perform, they have become reels around which they have wound red tape of their own spinning. The heads of the staff corps must have something with which to amuse themselves, and they generally celebrate their appointments by going in furiously for ' reforms.' These reforms cover such weighty subjects as additional buttons on a tunic or providing new and complicated ' forms ' to record the momentous military fact that Private Smith has lost or sold one government tooth-brush ! Inasmuch as the tooth-brush appears on the quartermaster's returns as available property, and the quartermaster and his sureties are liable for its value, there is no way by which he can be released until a board of survey has been appointed, the tooth-brush officially condemned, the findings approved by the post commander, forwarded through the proper channels to the reviewing officer, indorsed by the department commander, and respectfully transmitted (as per Regulations, Current Series, Par. 47, Clause b) to the Secretary of War for indorsement of the quartermaster-general. In that office a lynx-eyed clerk discovers a fatal defect—the brush is described as having a wooden handle when the original voucher showed it to be made of bone. Back the papers go through the various methods of communication to their place of birth, and the board having been reconvened, the inaccuracy is corrected. Even then Private Smith is still the sport of officialdom. The Treasury has to take a hand in the matter. The Comptroller, from whose decision there is no appeal, disallows the account because there was no specific appropriation for the purchase of tooth-brushes, despite the fact that the War Department expressly directed commanding officers to supply their men with tooth-brushes, and the unfortunate quartermaster has the amount stopped out of his pay. If his heirs have sufficient influence Congress may refund the money twenty-five years later."

Mr. Low says that naval and military officers have complained in his hearing that they have been turned into recording clerks rather than commanding officers, and that they are required to devote more time to the making of reports than to their military duties. " A department chief soon becomes as ossified as the building in which he sits. He has no imagination, no latitude of action, no thought of anything beyond ' forms.' "

THE CONDUCT OF THE CUBANS IN THE LATE WAR.

GEN. O. O. HOWARD, in the *October Forum*, comes to the defense of the Cuban soldiers, whose conduct during the recent hostilities with Spain has occasioned so much hostile criticism.

To the charge that the Cubans under Garcia failed to cooperate effectively with our army before Santiago General Howard replies :

" There is some controversy with regard to the part the Cuban patriots bore on the extreme right of Shafter's line. At the time 4,000 Spaniards were allowed to come into the beleaguered city. Only 300 Cubans defended the Cobre road, and these were engaged by the Spaniards, 4,000 strong, and driven out, though not without considerable loss to the Spaniards. It appears to me that the Cuban contingent performed an important part in the advance on Santiago and did their work reasonably well. They did not bring from Gomez as many men as they had promised, and their manner of fighting, which they had been practicing for several years, did not accord with the American idea ; yet all due credit must be given by us to a coöperation without which the taking of Santiago would have been much more difficult."

NEITHER SAVAGES NOR THIEVES.

General Howard is not disposed to accept American officers' wholesale condemnation of the rank and file of the Cuban soldiery. He says :

" There are some stories about the Cuban soldiers picking up blankets, and others of their firing upon Spaniards helpless in the water, and the like ; yet no friend of the Cubans will believe that many, even of the common Cuban soldiers, did these things. They had for years been fighting an enemy that hardly ever spared a prisoner ; yet the Cuban commanders wonderfully refrained from retaliation and revenge when Spanish prisoners fell into their hands. Whatever may be said to show his degradation, the Cuban is not a savage nor is he a thief. It is, indeed, remarkable how he loves to dispense hospitality or to do one a service when he can—always without reward."

" The common Cuban has his vices and immoralities, and they need eradication. He has his feuds, his hatreds, his revenges, like the inhabitants of Sicily ; and there are corruptions, due to a perpetual state of war and to malignant oppression. All these will be swept away by the introduction of a thorough educational system and by a proper moral training under wholesome laws properly administered. I believe that after the Spaniards shall have gone and a good government shall have been established—a government

which shall encourage and foster, but not undertake to control, the offices of religion—Cuba will be a fruitful field, rich in the products of virtue and of loyalty to right; for the basis is a people of kindly natures and warm hearts.

THE NEED OF FORBEARANCE.

"With these convictions I am pained to see, on the part of some of our public journals and many private citizens, a disposition to alienate the Cuban patriots. We did not expect to find angels in the present Cuban people. Their old men, their women and children, *reconcentrados*, and non-combatants have been so badly treated, so degraded, that those who have not already perished furnish a pitiable sight to American eyes. It will take wholesome government, encouraged industry, and ample time to bring this generation out of the stupor of their prolonged woe. We need not despise any poor soul capable of salvation. Again, then, I call upon all our friends who have made sacrifices in this war to remember that the Cuban patriots have thus far acted loyally, if not so energetically as we could have wished, in cooperating with our commanders; and that, in spite of all assertions to the contrary, the Cuban people, as a whole, are worthy of our protection and our help."

Some of our officers have asserted that the Cubans did not suffer in any appreciable degree from the hardships of battle while our own troops were giving their lives in their behalf. "Show us any wounded men among the Cubans," these officers say. General Howard's answer to this is that there were several Cubans in every hospital he visited in Key West, and that in the large Cuban hospital at Firmega, in the mountains, there were 4,000 wounded men, besides the sick. He estimates that one-fifth of the number of wounded were killed in action.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT AT HOME.

THE November *McClure's* contains a character sketch of Theodore Roosevelt by Ray Stannard Baker, which sketches Mr. Roosevelt's life and particularly his political career, pausing to dwell on his cowboy phase.

ROOSEVELT AS A COWBOY.

Of this side of his hero's life Mr. Baker says: "During all of these years of intense political activity and long afterward Mr. Roosevelt found opportunity to make half a hundred expeditions into the wild heart of the West, to turn cowboy, ranchman, and hunter of big game, and to become more familiar, perhaps, with the

"rugged and stalwart democracy" of the pioneer frontiersman than any other Eastern man. He built a log ranch on the banks of the Little Missouri, among the buttes and Bad Lands of northwestern Dakota, working on it with his own hands. It was a low, rough building, with a wide veranda, shaded by leafy cottonwoods, and so far from the bounds of civilization that Mr. Roosevelt tells of shooting a deer from the front door. Here, in a flannel shirt and overalls tucked into alligator boots, he worked side by side with his cowboys during many an exciting round-up, coming home to sleep on bearskins and buffalo-ropes, trophies of his skill as a hunter."

THE COLONEL AT OYSTER BAY.

The following description is given of Mr. Roosevelt in his home at Oyster Bay, on the north side of Long Island:

"In 1886 Mr. Roosevelt married Miss Edith Kermit Carow, and they have five children, three sons and two daughters. Their home is at Sagamore Hill, about three miles from Oyster Bay, on Long Island Sound. A big, roomy, comfortable house stands on the top of the hill. Wide, green vistas open in front, so that a visitor sitting in one of the hospitable chairs on the veranda may see miles of wooded, watered country, a view unsurpassed anywhere on Long Island Sound. The rooms within everywhere give evidence, in the skins of bears and bison and the splendid antlers of elk and deer, of Mr. Roosevelt's prowess as a hunter. The library is rich with the books of which he is most fond—history, standard literature, and hunting. Portraits of the three greatest Americans, Lincoln, Washington, and Grant, have the place of honor over the cases, and there are numerous spirited animal compositions in bronze by Kemys, the American sculptor. Here Mr. Roosevelt lives and works. He never has been much of a society man, but he has drawn around him a society of his own, of men who have accomplished things in the world. He is a member of the Century Club, the Union League, and other clubs, and he is the organizer of the Boone and Crockett Club, of which he was for a long time the president."

ROOSEVELT NOT A WEALTHY MAN.

"Contrary to a somewhat general belief, Mr. Roosevelt is not a wealthy man, as wealth goes in a city like New York, although he has a moderate income, to which he has himself added materially by his literary work. He is a magnificent example of the American citizen of social position, means, and culture devoting himself to public affairs. Nothing can exceed the contempt

with which he speaks of the predatory and use-less rich.

"There is not in the world a more ignoble character," he says unsparingly, "than the mere money-getting American, insensible to every duty, regardless of every principle, bent only on amassing a fortune, and putting his fortune only to the basest uses—whether these uses be to speculate in stocks and wreck railroads for himself, or to allow his son to lead a life of foolish and expensive idleness and gross debauchery, or to purchase some scoundrel of high social position, foreign or native, for his daughter. Such a man is only the more dangerous if he occasionally does some deed like founding a college or endowing a church, which makes those good people who are also foolish forget his iniquity."

A FINE PHYSICAL SPECIMEN.

"Personally Mr. Roosevelt suggests two things at the very first glance: immense vitality and nervously active strength and courtesy. In build he is of medium height, thick of chest, and square of shoulders, and when he walks it is with a quick-planted, determined step that speaks out for his incessant energy. His face is round and bronzed, with a square chin, firm lips half hidden by a light mustache, and blue eyes looking out shrewdly from thick lensed, iron-rimmed spectacles. Although still a young man, his ruddy face and elastic step make him appear even younger than he is.

"In ordinary speech he is direct and nervously vigorous, although courteous, and he smiles much, showing his teeth. Although a busy man, he is unusually tolerant of interruption and ready to exchange a kind word or a greeting with any one, friend or stranger. It is the democracy of his character. In company of his choosing he tells a good story, especially if the tale has turned on hunting or ranch life, and he tells it with humorous appreciativeness."

MORE LIGHT ON THE DREYFUS CASE.

THE *National Review* again gives special prominence to the French military scandals. Mr. F. C. Conybeare presents "Side-Lights on the Dreyfus Case." The editor, Mr. L. J. Maxse, puts forward what he calls "The Key to the Mystery," besides dealing with it in the chronicle.

WHAT FORCED THE FORGERY TO LIGHT.

Mr. Conybeare gives his explanation of the reopening of the case:

"Long ago the Italian Government, through Count Ternielli, seems to have informed M.

Hanotaux that the letter naming Dreyfus, by brandishing which before the jury Le Pellieux and Boisdeffre secured the first condemnation of Zola, was a forgery. The Italian ambassador even extorted from M. Hanotaux a promise that it should not be used again on pain of exposure by himself. In July a new foreign minister, M. Delcassé, replaced M. Hanotaux, who, with the rest of M. Méline's ministry, had been cleared out. At once M. Cavaignac, with fresh *éclat*, brandishes the same forgery from the tribune of the Chamber. Result—the Italians, backed by the Germans, threaten exposure unless the French themselves make a clean confession. . . . Fairly cornered, the officials of the War Office, with the help of lime-light, detect as a forgery a document which half of them already knew to be such. Follows the *dénouement*, forced on the French Government by outside pressure, and not spontaneously undertaken, as our newspapers have supposed. A scapegoat is wanted. Henry is arrested, though, as he explained at Zola's first trial, he had only done his duty as he understood it. He is removed to the fortress of Mont Valérien, where there are no prying civilian functionaries about, and not to the *Cherche Mide* prison, where he would naturally have gone. It is feared that he will tell the whole story and compromise the rest of the gang; whereupon he is probably assassinated by those who dread his disclosures."

EVIDENCE OFFERED BY GERMANY.

Mr. Maxse, in unveiling what he calls "the most atrocious conspiracy to be found in human history"—one which has cost the French people "in moral prestige at least two Sedans and has inspired their European ally with a feverish desire to disarm rather than risk a contest" in which the French War Office would be co-partners—announces that "one who was anxious to ascertain the exact attitude of the German Government at the present time recently made some inquiries in Berlin, where he learned on unimpeachable authority that . . . as soon as the French Government manifests the desire to learn the whole truth the German Government will authorize Colonel von Schwarzkoppen (late military *attaché* in Paris) to speak."

"If the French Government finally decide to decline Germany's offer to permit her late military *attaché* to testify, either in Berlin or Paris, by affidavit or orally, the refusal will be due to one reason and one only. Were Captain Dreyfus guilty there would be no possible objection to receiving testimony which would relieve the French Government of a terrible burden. Their reluctance is due to their knowledge that Colonel

Schwarzkoppen is in a position to demonstrate that Captain Dreyfus is innocent."

This dismisses the bogey of a foreign war so often invoked against revision. Schwarzkoppen is ready to produce the documents enumerated in the *bordereau* and others which he received from Esterhazy in 1895 and 1896—i.e., after Dreyfus was transported.

"I state as a positive fact that these documents would have been published in facsimile in February this year in a leading London newspaper had it not been for the interference of the ambassador of one of the powers concerned. They are held in reserve and hang like a sword of Damocles which will fall upon the French Government when least desired."

"Schwarzkoppen would also be able to show that, emboldened by the conviction of Dreyfus, Esterhazy increased his activity and became a more fertile informant than he had been previously. The German *attaché* gathered altogether one hundred and sixty-two documents from Esterhazy, of which thirty are regarded as valuable prizes. Through this agency the Germans have acquired an extensive and practical knowledge of French military policy and system, and a distinguished general was lately heard to declare in Berlin that it would not be worth his while to have the run of the French War Office."

The Old Nobility In Command of the Army.

"The Dreyfus Case: A Study of French Opinion" is the title of a paper contributed by "K. V. T." to the *Contemporary*. This is perhaps the most important disclosure it contains:

"It has occurred to M. Urbain Gohier to compare the present French army list with that of the 'army of Condé'—that is, of the aristocracy who emigrated in 1791 and 1792 and fought in the ranks of the allies. His task is not yet complete. But he has already brought to light the fact that more than a thousand names, borne by several thousand officers, are identical in the armies of Condé and in the French army of to-day. The same families who, under the ancient *régime*, were in possession of the higher military grades, and who carried arms against France in the days of the Revolution, still hold the superior commands. . . . When followed out in detail this inquiry yields astounding results. It is the old nobility which recovered possession of the higher grades of the service; and consequently the bond which exists among the officers is a far stronger thing than the mere professional tie which unites officers of a humbler class. It is a caste union. He who attacks one attacks all."

The writer shows how this military caste is backed up by the Church. He deliberately ac-

cused the clerical party of "meditating a military conspiracy against civil society." It aims at capturing the army. Revision would reveal the encroachments of clericalism on the army. He traces the influence of Catholic education in the readiness of Frenchmen to put "army" for "church" and the "honor of the nation" for the "glory of God," subordinating the demands of justice to what they take to be the interests of the authoritative community.

"THE ANGLO-GERMAN AGREEMENT."

THE *Fortnightly* for October contains a paper on "The Anglo-German Agreement" by "Diplomaticus." After discussing the surmises which have been caused by the frequent and protracted visits of the German ambassador to the British Foreign Office, the writer frankly confesses that he owes his knowledge to "information received."

WHAT ARE ITS TERMS?

This is his disclosure:

"The new Anglo-German agreement is, in fact, an arrangement, resulting from certain negotiations with Portugal, by which the two great powers divide between them a right of preëmption in regard to all the Portuguese colonies in Africa. It defines the territorial sphere of each of the two contracting powers in those colonies, provides for the consideration to be paid as and when the colonies are alienated by Portugal, assesses the proportions of the purchase money or leasehold premiums for which each of the powers will be liable, and settles a multitude of minor questions connected with the eventual transfers. In short, Great Britain and Germany have become joint heirs to the estates of the Portuguese crown in Africa, and while undertaking the reversion in common, they have provided against any clashing of interests when the time arrives for entering upon and dividing their heritage."

PORTUGAL'S EXTREMITY.

The writer has little difficulty in finding the causes to which this alleged result is due. First and foremost stands the impecunious condition of Portugal. Chronic deficits, inability to raise loans on any terms, increasing taxation and decreasing trade, have brought her virtually to a state of hopeless bankruptcy. The proud prejudice of the Portuguese people against selling their colonies threatens less danger than the continuance of the present financial disorder. What gave urgency to the matter is thus explained by the writer:

"About a year ago it leaked out that the arbitrators in the Delagoa Bay Railway dispute

had practically made up their minds against Portugal, and were only awaiting certain data from South Africa to mulct her in swinging damages. This was serious news. Portugal could not pay the rumored award unless she negotiated a loan, and this was impossible while all the money markets of the world remained closed against her. On the other hand, if she did not pay she would probably find herself involved in a quarrel with Great Britain, who might, perhaps, seize the railroad, or even something more, in satisfaction of her colonies. In these circumstances informal negotiations were set on foot in London, and the good offices of Berlin were solicited. Count Burnay, the well-known Lisbon banker, and Maj. Mousinho de Albuquerque, the Governor of Mozambique, both seem to have been concerned in the *pourparlers*. At first they led to no result."

THE ANGLO-TEUTON OPPORTUNITY.

But the spectacle of Spain losing her colonies, not by purchase, but by war, deepened anxieties at Lisbon, and the prospect of the Delagoa award being delivered in October made an earlier arrangement most desirable :

"Count Burnay was once again sent flitting from Lisbon to London and thence to Berlin. This time the question was posed in a form which rendered it possible for the British and German governments to take counsel together. They were asked, as powers friendly to Portugal, to take into consideration, not the Delagoa Bay difficulty alone, but the general financial embarrassments of Portugal to which that difficulty threatened to make a serious addition. Portugal sought the advice and assistance of the two powers, and on this basis formal negotiations were set on foot, which resulted in the agreements already referred to. The first result of these agreements will be the leasing of Delagoa Bay by Great Britain."

THE NEW JOINT INHERITANCE.

Of the new territory to be parted between *Kaiser* and Queen, "Diplomaticus" writes most hopefully :

"The colonies dealt with in the two treaties consist of the provinces of Mozambique and Lourenço Marques on the east coast, Angola, Ambriz, Benguela, Mossamedes, and Congo on the west, and the small but ancient settlement of Guinea on the northwest, the whole possessing an area of nine hundred and fourteen thousand square miles, or rather more than seven and a half times that of the United Kingdom. . . . All these colonies are rich in natural resources, and they possess a trade of considerable volume and distinctly progressive."

"THE BEST HALF OF AFRICA."

Whatever comes of Portugal or the Portuguese people, England and Germany will, the writer declares, stick to their agreement. Already, "so far as Great Britain is concerned, a right of preëmption to all the Portuguese possessions south of the Zambesi" is secured by Article VII. of the treaty of 1891. But now "that agreement makes them partners in South Africa, controlling everything below the sixth parallel except the southern border of the Congo Free State. It is a magnificent sphere of influence. When we add it to Uganda, the Soudan, Egypt, the Niger territories, and the Cameroons, it covers more than half, and that certainly the best half, of Africa."

The writer rejoices in the happy effects likely to follow in the Transvaal :

"President Kruger has nourished not a few mischievous illusions with regard to the attitude of Germany toward the South African Republic. These he will now have to abandon. It will make no difference to his rights under the London convention, for Great Britain has no idea of violating them in any way ; but it is to be hoped that it will make a great difference so far as the good and equitable government of the Transvaal is concerned, and especially in regard to the Uitlanders."

He regards the agreement as a "veritable triumph" of the same policy as that which settled Anglo-French difficulties in Siam, and might even, he thinks, adjust British relations with Russia in Asia.

KING LEOPOLD'S BLACK EMPIRE.

"TWELVE Years' Work on the Congo" is the title of a warmly eulogistic article by Demetrius C. Boulger in the *Fortnightly*. The opening of the railroad to Stanley Pool last July supplies the occasion for a review of the progress made by the Congo State. Solely the work of Leopold II., it has nobly overcome its initial difficulties. It has suppressed the slave trade. It has put down cannibalism. It has prohibited the import of alcohol. It is educating the population—30,000,000 to begin with and now rapidly increasing—to industrial habits. Negroes are declared to be not lazy. They have only been disinclined to labor by tyranny, extortion, and insecurity of reward. Belgian justice and sympathy are stimulating their dormant energy. Mr. Boulger expresses warm "admiration for the noble work done by the handful of Belgian officers who have given their health and their lives to the practical realization of their King's work." He quotes a fine saying by Vice-Governor Van Gele, that "to know the negro a little drives him from

our sympathies, but to know him much draws him toward them."

NATIVE AFFECTION FOR BELGIANS.

As there has been much talk in an opposite direction, it is well to give here an instance, cited by the writer, of the affection inspired by Belgian masters:

"A Belgian officer had to leave his negro servant in a remote district of the Congo when he returned to Europe. After a short time the faithful black, sick from the separation, decided to rejoin his master by following him to Europe. He had no money, but he worked his way to the coast, where he engaged himself as cook on a steamer for Europe. The port of destination happened to be Marseilles, where the adventurous traveler landed without sixpence in his pocket. He took service in a restaurant, and he worked there until he had saved sufficient to buy his railroad ticket for Brussels. He discovered and presented himself at the house of his old master more than twelve months after their separation on the Congo. He entered the room of the astonished officer with the words: 'Here I am, master! I could not live without you!'"

THE DAWN OF A GREAT INDUSTRIAL ERA.

Mr. Boulger expects the revenue will soon balance the expenditure. The revenue has risen from £3,000 to £367,334. The exports from £70,000 to £600,000. Cocoa and coffee are expected to be produced in immense quantities. Mr. Boulger closes with this claim and prophecy:

"In twelve short years a good and remarkable piece of administrative work, as well as a great task in the name of humanity, has been performed on the Congo. What has been done, and still more, the spirit in which it has been done, is of good augury for the future. In Central Africa an era of extraordinary commercial and industrial activity and prosperity is about to commence. . . . It will not be long before the railroad to Stanley Pool will have its successors to the Nile on the one side and Lake Tanganyika on the other. The mineral wealth of such provinces as Katanga cannot be ignored and will assuredly not be neglected. The development of the material resources of the Congo region, it may be confidently assumed, will not lag behind the efforts made in its moral interest. . . . No fear need be entertained that the search for new markets, the discovery of fresh avenues for trade, and superabundant population will leave stagnant and untouched the resources of one of the most varied and productive portions of the globe. Nor is the outlook without interest for Great Britain. Over the heart of Africa

waves the flag of a neutral and a pacific state, pledged to the policy of 'the open door,' and performing, under onerous conditions, the common task of civilization and Christendom."

THE KAISER'S PLANS IN PALESTINE.

A HIGHLY speculative article, without the author's name attached, appears in the *Fortnightly* for October under the title "The German Emperor and Palestine." It opens by stating, among the host of surmises started by the *Kaiser's* projected tour, that "in Russian circles the contemplated progress of the German Emperor—the only possible modern representative of the temporal head of the defunct Holy Roman empire—to the Holy Land is regarded as likely to annihilate the hostility of the Roman Catholic and Protestant Germans in the furnace of a new religious revival."

The writer keeps his eye, however, not on the religious, but the commercial outlook. Already an English company is building a railroad from Haifa to Damascus, a city which has now 250,000 inhabitants. "In five years from now a German railroad will be running from Constantinople to Biredjik," on the upper Euphrates. The French hold a concession for a railroad to run from Biredjik to Damascus via Aleppo and Homs.

A NEW PEOPLING GROUND FOR GERMANY.

In view of these facts and the recent friendship cherished between Sultan and *Kaiser*, the writer hazards this guess:

"Nobody who has followed German policy, in even the most perfunctory manner, during the last ten years, will be very much surprised if the *Kaiser* gives proof of the great interest he takes in Turkey, and especially in that wonderful portion of Turkey to which he is going, by asking the head of the faithful to give him two small ports—Haifa, with its prosperous German colony, and another on the Persian Gulf. In Germany they evidently think something will come out of all this . . . and lately some interesting calculations have been made in the fatherland as to the number of its children who could conveniently dwell in Syria and Palestine. The numbers quoted are from 10,000,000 to 14,000,000, and to anybody acquainted with the fine climate and extraordinary fertility of the country such an estimate cannot appear excessive."

THE KEY TO AFRICA AND SOUTHERN ASIA.

The writer wants Great Britain to wake up and secure her vast interests in these rich possibilities. He thus insists on the cardinal value of Palestine:

"Within three years a man will be able to get

into the train at Ostend and travel straight through to Port Arthur. In five years a person will be able to travel in a railroad carriage from the Cape to Alexandria. There is yet a third great world line from Constantinople via Palestine, Persia, India, and Burmah to Hong Kong. The importance of these three great lines of communication cannot be sufficiently dwelt upon; it can certainly not be exaggerated. With the Siberian Railway we have nothing to do now; with regard to the other two this is to be noted: they both of them meet in Palestine. Palestine is the great center, the meeting of the roads. Whoever holds Palestine commands the great lines of communication, not only by land, but also by sea. Not only would the power in Syria control the railroads, but would be master of the Suez Canal, and, in addition, would dominate Egypt. With a modern power like France or Germany firmly established in Syria the British could only remain in Egypt on tolerance. Syria, with its mountain ranges, is easy to defend and hard to conquer; in the case of Egypt the reverse is true."

GREATER GERMANY AND A GERMANIZED TURKEY.

The writer goes on to discuss the Czar's re-script, which, while allowing the Czar to be perfectly sincere, he regards as a clever move of Russian diplomacy to gain time. He also has in prospect the probable break-up of the Austro-Hungarian empire on the death of Francis Joseph and the consequent union of the whole Teutonic race—some 70,000,000 strong—in one solid "race empire." Of this empire, which he regards as an early certainty, he says:

"It will undoubtedly endeavor to establish a connection with the Mediterranean and develop her trade with the East, either via Constantinople or through Palestine. It is certain that at the present moment Germany already has her face turned toward that immensely rich country which may be roughly called Asia Minor. A greater Germany, a Germany embracing the whole Teutonic race, in alliance with Turkey, would clearly imperil the position of Russia in southeastern Europe; she would also be a possible and very formidable rival to English commerce with the East. A Germanized Turkey, to use an uncouth phrase, would prove a dangerous antagonist to the Russian bear, and equally so to the British lion in Egypt."

The writer hopes for a continuance of England's present understanding with Germany and for better relations with Turkey. Great Britain and Germany, with the finest fleet and the finest army in the world, are yet eminently commercial and peace-loving.

HOW KITCHENER REMADE THE EGYPTIAN ARMY.

MR. JOHN MACDONALD writes in the *Nineteenth Century* on "Fellah Soldiers, Old and New." He recalls the common expression after Tel-el-Kebir, "The Egyptians cannot fight," and quotes Sir Evelyn Wood's indignant rejoinder in 1882, "Can't fight? They can. They have never had fair play. Treat them justly, train them well, and they will go anywhere and do anything."

"AN OBSCURE YOUNG LIEUTENANT."

This faith was to be turned into works of an indisputable kind under one who was then an obscure young lieutenant.

"Lieutenant Kitchener, R.E., came in the earlier rush of alert, versatile, adventurous men, whom the chance of a career, under the new order of things, attracted Cairoward from all over the East. Nor had he long to wait before Sir Evelyn Wood associated him with Colonel Taylor, of the Nineteenth Hussars, in the interesting task of bringing the new fellah cavalry into the world. . . . I had the good fortune to be one of the three present at the birth—as I suppose it may be named—of the new cavalry, to the command of which Taylor had just been appointed. Taylor had invited me the night before to accompany him and his friend to witness the operation which they were both to supervise. A tall, slim, thin-faced, slightly stooping figure in long boots, 'cutaway' dark morning-coat, and Egyptian fez somewhat tilted over his eyes—such, as I remember him, was the young soldier who was destined to fulfill Gordon's task of 'smashing the Mahdi.'

"QUIET BUT CLEVER."

"'He's quiet,' Taylor whispered to me as we were getting ready for the start; 'that's his way.' And again, with the characteristic jerk of the head which all will remember who knew Taylor, 'He's clever.' And so, in the raw, grayish, early morning of January 8, 1883, the three of us drove in our dingy rattle-trap over the white dusty road Nileward to meet the fellah cavaliers. Taylor did most of the talking. Kitchener expressed himself in an occasional nod or monosyllable. At the barracks we found some forty men waiting. I remember Kitchener's gaze at the awkward, slipshod group as he took his position in the center of a circular space round which the riders were to show their paces.

"'We begin with the officers,' said Taylor, turning to me; 'we shall train them first, then put them to drill the troopers. We have no troopers just yet, though we have four hundred

and forty horses ready for them.' And now began the selection of the fellah officers. They were to be tested in horsemanship. The first batch of them were ordered to mount.

"LIKE A CIRCUS MASTER."

"Round they went, Indian file, Kitchener, like a circus master, standing in the center. Had he flourished a long whip he might have passed for a show-master at rehearsal. Neither audible nor visible sign did he give of any feeling aroused in him by a performance mostly disappointing and sometimes ridiculous. His hands buried in his trouser pockets, he quietly watched the emergence of the least unfit. It was amusing to observe the difference in demeanor between the two men at some critical stage such as a bareback trot; while Kitchener looked on unmoved, Taylor's broad shoulders shook with a suppressed laugh. 'A good English troop horse would shake the teeth out of them,' Taylor remarked in one of his asides. In half an hour or so the first native officers of the new fellah cavalry were chosen. It was then that Kitchener made his longest speech. 'We'll have to drive it into those fellows,' he muttered, as if thinking aloud."

Mr. Macdonald considers Gessi's success at Bahr-el-Ghazal in the old days "a revelation of the native aptitude for the industrial life," and hopes that under the transforming power of British rule "even the boggara may be converted into an industrious man of peace."

HOW TO REGENERATE THE SOUDAN.

MR. ROBERT W. FELKIN discusses the Soudan question in the *Contemporary*. His paper is preceded by a facsimile of General Gordon's autograph of the territories he ruled. Mr. Felkin writes from "personal knowledge of all the districts in question," and his opinions are the "outcome of discussions with Gordon, Emin, Gessi, Junker," and other workers in the Soudan. He draws a marked distinction between the Arab and the negro portions of the Soudan. The Arab portion has suffered most from the rule of the Mahdi and will be late in reviving. The negro portion has suffered little and is capable of more rapid progress. The latter ought therefore to be immediately reoccupied.

GOVERNMENT.

The various features of Mr. Felkin's scheme may be shortly outlined:

"The Soudan should be divided into administrative districts thus: (a) Dongola and Berber; (b) Khartoum and Senaar; (c) Darfur and Kordo-

fan; (d) the eastern Soudan—Kassala, Suakim, etc.; (e) the Bahr-el-Ghazal and the Equatorial Province. There should be a governor-general of the whole Soudan—of course a European—and European governors over each of the five provinces, supported by a sufficient number of European officials to insure justice being carried out."

Capable, sympathetic men should be appointed and allowed a free hand in their respective districts.

SITE OF CAPITAL.

Khartoum being in ruins, Mr. Felkin revives an old project of Gordon's:

"I well remember Gordon Pasha telling me in 1878 that had the city not been built where it was, he would have greatly preferred for it to be either at Omdurman or on the right bank of the Nile a few miles north of the junction of the two rivers."

The present site is naturally very unhealthy. To make it healthy would be a very costly task.

RAILROADS NEEDED.

After soldiers and governors comes the locomotive:

"For the ultimate development of the Egyptian Soudan and also of the British protectorate between the east coast and the Albert Nyanza, including Uganda and Unyoro, the following railroads will be necessary, apart from the railroad which is already nearing completion from Cairo to Khartoum:

"(1) A railroad from Suakim to Berber, joining there the Cairo-Khartoum railroad, which could be constructed without very much cost. (2) The railroad from Mombasa to Uganda must have a branch line to a point a few miles to the north of Bedden. (3) In process of time a light railroad would be necessary from Omdurman to El Obeid, and eventually probably to El Fasher, the capital of Darfur. Until such time as this railroad, owing to the increase of trade, could be built, camel wagons, as suggested by Colonel Colston in his 'Report on Northern and Central Kordofan,' could be utilized with advantage.

"The railroad from Cairo to Khartoum ought to be completed and that from Suakim to Berber built at once, giving Great Britain an alternative route to India and rendering possible rapid communication between Khartoum and the Red Sea."

SLAVES AND MISSIONARIES.

The article closes with two recommendations:

"Slave raids must, of course, be put down with a firm hand, but in my opinion the abolition of the slave markets is the only way to put an

end to the traffic. For example, the status of slavery in Zanzibar must cease.

"With the object-lesson of Uganda before our eyes, it seems to me that it will be of the utmost importance for the Soudan government from the outset to make it impossible for Catholics and Protestants to plant their missions in close proximity to each other."

ENGLAND AND AMERICA.

MR. WILLIAM ARCHER in the October *Pall Mall Magazine* protests against England being styled the "mother country" of the United States. It is a misleading metaphor, though it can claim the authority of Lord Tenyson and Mr. William Watson. Mr. Archer maintains:

"The America of to-day is not the daughter of the England of to-day. They are both daughters and co-heiresses of the England of the past, and especially, we may say, of seventeenth-century England. . . . We have no shadow of an excuse for putting on maternal airs toward the Trans-Atlantic republic. We, no less than the Americans, are revolted children of the England of North and Grenville, though our revolt has been a bloodless one. Surely, then, our relation is fraternal, not parental and filial. Or, since a significant personification—a remnant either of mythology or of chivalry—makes nations feminine of gender, let us say that we are sister commonwealths.

"This is not the mere question of terms it may at first sight appear. The false metaphor begets false feelings on both sides. England, as 'the mother country,' falls into all the besetting sins of parenthood—a pedagogic habit, an assumption of superior wisdom, experience, even virtue, and a resentful amazement at every manifestation of individuality on the part of her 'offspring' that does not happen to be quite convenient. America, on the other hand, accepts the relationship in words, only to realize the more keenly the absence of any valid and essential fact behind it. 'If "mother" at all,' she instinctively feels, 'then "stepmother"!' and the result is apt to be an imbittered sense of friction."

AMERICAN EFFECT ON THE LANGUAGE—GOOD!

The writer goes on to object to the claim of language or literature as more specifically British than American:

"The English language occupies a unique position among the tongues of the earth. It is unique in two dimensions—in altitude and in expanse. It soars to the highest heights of human utterance and it covers an unequaled area of the

earth's surface. Undoubtedly it is the most precious heirloom of our race, and as such we must reverence and guard it. Nor must we islanders talk as though we held it in fee simple and allowed our Trans-Atlantic kinsfolk merely a conditional usufruct of it. Their property in it is as complete and indefeasible as our own; and we should rejoice to accept their aid in the conservation and renovation (equally indispensable processes) of this superb and priceless heritage."

Mr. Archer does not share the fear so common in English literary circles that American influence tends to the degradation of the common tongue:

"There can be no rational doubt, I think, that the English language has gained and is gaining enormously by its expansion over the American continent. The prime function of a language, after all, is to interpret the 'form and pressure' of life—the experience, knowledge, thought, emotion, and aspiration of the race which employs it. This being so, the more tap-roots a language sends down into the soil of life and the more varied the strata of human experience from which it draws its nourishment, whether of vocabulary or idiom, the more perfect will be its potentialities as a medium of expression. We must be careful, it is true, to keep the organism healthy, to guard against disintegration of tissue; but to that duty American writers are quite as keenly alive as we. It is not a source of weakness, but of power and vitality to the English language, that it should embrace a greater variety of dialects than any other civilized tongue. A new language, says the proverb, is a new sense; but a multiplicity of dialects means, for the possessors of the main language, an enlargement of the pleasures of the linguistic sense without the fatigue of learning a totally new grammar and vocabulary. So long as there is a potent literary tradition keeping the core of the language one and indivisible, vernacular variations can only tend, in virtue of the survival of the fittest, to promote the abundance, suppleness, and nicety of adaptation of the language as a literary instrument."

As "the Anglo-Saxon race has done and is doing more than any other people to undo the mischief wrought at the Tower of Babel," what we need to complete its work is not so much a "union of hearts" as a "union of imaginations." "An idea, an attitude of mind, is stronger than all the treaties ever signed, sealed, and delivered. And we may perhaps indicate, however roughly and inadequately, the idea which is growing on both sides of the Atlantic, if we say that Americans require England to complete her past and England requires America to crown her future."

"CHARMING LINKS IN THE ANGLO-AMERICAN ALLIANCE."

IN a paper in *Harmsworth's* for September, certain to be widely read and widely quoted, "Ignota" describes certain "American Wives of English Husbands" under the title quoted above. The writer observes that "every year Anglo-American marriages become more frequent, and there can be no doubt that on more than one occasion this fact has told significantly when affairs of moment were in question. . . . At the present time three of the most prominent personalities in the House of Commons—Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, Sir William Harcourt, and Mr. George Curzon—are each married to an American. . . . To take the peerage only, there are at the present time three American duchesses, and Lady Frances Hope (Miss May Yohe) may one day be Duchess of Newcastle. The only Trans-Atlantic marchioness is Lady Anglesey, but there are three American countesses, four baronesses, and many other ladies whose husbands are in possession of courtesy titles."

THE FIRST ANGLO-AMERICAN PEERESS.

The first Anglo-American peeress was, strangely enough, the daughter of a Spaniard and born in Cuba—a coincidence which the student of portents may like to remember. Her maiden name was Miss Consuelo Yznaga.

"Her mother," says "Ignota," "who had been a noted belle of New Orleans in the 50s, on her marriage to a distinguished Spaniard went to Cuba, where the future British duchess was born in the little village of Sant Espiritu.

"As has been the case with almost every family connected with Cuba, the Yznagas sustained great losses, which led to their settling once more in America, and it was there that Miss Yznaga first met Lord Mandeville, then traveling in the States. When visiting at her father's house he fell ill and was very kindly nursed and entertained till his recovery. The engagement excited exceptional interest owing to the fact that Lady Mandeville, as she became, was the first Anglo-American peeress.

"On the death of the seventh Duke of Manchester, in 1890, Lady Mandeville became at once the reigning Duchess of Manchester, and she was for a time the only American duchess in the peerage."

THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.

The writer tells the story of the unions which signalize the life of the fair American who was first Miss Price. She married a wealthy American—Mr. Hammersley; on his death the late Duke of Marlborough, and on his death Lord

William Beresford. Of the third peeress "Ignota" remarks:

"It is a curious fact that the young Duchess of Marlborough, *née* Miss Vanderbilt, is the god-child and namesake of Consuelo, Duchess of Manchester, owing to the circumstance that the latter and Mrs. Vanderbilt were intimate friends. The Duke of Marlborough first met Miss Vanderbilt when she was visiting her godmother, but the engagement and marriage took place, as all the world knows, in New York."

LADY RANDOLPH CHURCHILL.

Passing from the peerage, the writer touches on Miss Jennie Jerome, the American lady who is now Lady Randolph Churchill. She was said to be the only woman who was a match in repartee for her husband; and though "brought up in an intensely republican atmosphere, she developed into an enthusiastic Tory and a pillar of the Primrose League." About her the writer retails these pieces of gossip:

"She is very devoted to her two sons and is said to be as ambitious for them as she was for their father. It was at one time widely asserted that Lady Randolph was about to become the second wife of her millionaire fellow-countryman, Mr. William Waldorf Astor, but up to the present time the rumor has not been confirmed. Lady Randolph's great interest in life is music. She is a very fine pianist and sings almost as well as she talks. She has of late devoted a great deal of her spare time to theatricals."

TWO PARLIAMENTARY WOMEN.

Of Mrs. Joseph Chamberlain, *née* Miss Mary Endicott, "Ignota" says she has "now become quite an Englishwoman."

"She is devoted to her husband and has made herself thoroughly conversant with all that affects or that may affect his political ambitions. But she is quite content—unlike, it must be admitted, most American women—to take a second place, and she is liked and respected by many people who still retain their prejudice against the colonial secretary."

Lady Harcourt is warmly praised for her gifts as a hostess and her literary tastes:

"She was the daughter of the famous American historian, Motley, and much of her youth was spent in Europe, where her father, who was a diplomat as well as a student, was seeking materials for his great history, 'The Rise of the Dutch Republic.' Miss Motley married Mr. Ives when quite a girl, and after becoming a widow continued to live in England; and thus it fell about that Mr. Vernon Harcourt, himself a widower with one little boy, had the good fortune to

win as his second wife one of the most charming and kindly of women."

THE NEW VICE-EMPRESS.

The lady who began life as Miss Leiter and is now undergoing transformation from Mrs. Curzon to Lady Scarsdale naturally has much said about her. Her father is reported, we are told, to have settled on her at her marriage the sum of ten thousand pounds a year. The writer says:

"As Miss Leiter Mrs. Curzon spent several winters in Europe, and she met her future husband first in London, although their engagement and marriage took place at the bride's own home in Washington. Even in America, that land of beautiful women, Miss Leiter was distinguished for her exceptional good looks, and she was also said to be, as a girl, one of the best conversationalists in Washington. Owing to her intimate friendship with Mrs. Cleveland she was constantly at the White House, and while there became acquainted with all the diplomatic world. Indeed, at one time every foreign *attaché* in Washington was said to aspire to the honor of becoming Miss Leiter's husband. She speaks French and German perfectly and has always been interested in literary matters; indeed, her interest in Mr. George Curzon's literary work first caused them to become friends."

Other "American wives" mentioned are the Countess of Essex (*née* Miss Adele Grant), the Countess of Craven (*née* Miss C. B. Martin), Lady Terence Blackwood (*née* Miss Flora Davis), "the pretty young daughter-in-law of the Marquis of Dufferin," Lady Naylor-Leyland (*née* Miss Jennie Chamberlain), "the most beautiful American in society," Mrs. Arthur Paget (Miss Stevens), and Lady Grey-Egerton (*née* Miss Mary C. Cuyler).

A WOMAN'S NEWSPAPER.

IN the October *Critic* Marion Harwood describes the Parisian daily newspaper *La Fronde*, a journal "published, edited, and composed by women."

Madame Durand, the directress of *La Fronde*, received her journalistic training on the *Presse*, a paper edited by her husband, of which she took entire charge for one year. After that she worked on *Figaro*. The first number of *La Fronde* was issued December 9, 1897.

"Madame Durand believes in giving women an opportunity of proving that they can work on equal terms with men, and not of simply talking about it, and when the proof is given the pay is forthcoming. The compositors—of whom there are eighteen—asked for five francs a day, the

usual sum for women, but are given eight. 'If they do men's work they must receive men's wages,' said Madame Durand. Soon after the *Fronde* was started the hand of the law came down heavily upon it for infringing the statute which forbids women to work at night, and the case is not decided yet. Madame Durand says she hopes to have this law repealed, and has already the promise of several Deputies in her favor. Its passage was procured by men and not by women, as has been stated, and it is a stone in the path of woman's progress, for it is more difficult for her to get employment when the police are able to come and inquire if she has worked an hour over time, or in a room too warm or too cold, etc. At the same time she thinks that women are easier to work with than men. They do not gossip as much nor spend so much time over cigarettes."

Women journalists are almost unknown in France, but there has been no difficulty in getting women to do all the reporting for *La Fronde*. The paper numbers more men than women among its readers. Dramatic, literary, and art critics are employed on the staff; the doings on the Bourse are chronicled, and, of course, there is a "home" column.

A FEMININE "SANCTUM."

The office of *La Fronde* is a model of taste and daintiness of furnishing, the principal room being "hung with figured denim in artistic greens and having a carpet patterned with yellow poppies and soft green leaves; potted palms and flowers are scattered about, and in the corners electric lights form sprays of lilies. In this hall are held the reunions of the *Fronde*, and at the end is a buffet in green oak laden with delicacies. A dainty tea-service shows that 'five-o'clock' is in favor, and there are iced drinks also. Waitresses in neat aprons, caps, and cuffs preside here. All partitions are removed and one large room made of it for the reunions. A frieze of ragged tulips lights up the winding staircase as far as the waiting-room, decorated in green with dark cherry panelings and Morris chairs. From this one is ushered into the sanctum of the directress, a large room with three windows draped in white. Soft gray-blue walls, *affiches* in low tones, oak furniture, tall Vallauri vases, and flowers everywhere combine to make this a charming apartment and to banish the old-fashioned idea of journalism as inky dinginess and discomfort.

"The type-setting rooms are on this floor, and when I called the young women in big aprons were busy at their tasks. Upstairs are the rooms of the secretary, Madame Fournier, and of the

editors; and everywhere one sees well-dressed, attractive-looking women. The only thing in the guise of a man is one of the contributors, who dresses in man's clothes entirely, and who at first glance leads one to think that the aid of the male sex has had to be invoked after all."

WORKING GIRLS' HOMES.

IN the quarterly periodical called *Municipal Affairs* Alice N. Lincoln enumerates "Some Ways of Benefiting a City," advocating among such measures the building of apartment houses or small tenements especially for working girls:

"This is a crying need and one which has repeatedly been urged. We need some generous Mr. Mills to build, not lodging houses, but living houses, for working women. It is cruel that young girls who receive but a small amount for their services should be compelled to spend so large a proportion of it in rent. The average 'furnished room' is a poor article, yet because of its nearness to her work the girl hires it, and often pays dearly (besides the rent) for such accommodation as it affords. I have known of one young girl who ran the risk of serious pulmonary trouble from occupying a cold hall bedroom, and of another who nearly wrecked her constitution by sleeping in a room infected with sewer gas. Of course similar instances could be duplicated almost indefinitely, and it seems to me that here is an opportunity for some one with brains and means to do a positive benefit to that overworked member of the community, the shop-girl, and her hardly less exhausted sisters, the typewriter and clerk.

"The need is so urgent that I greatly hope that some woman with the generosity of a Helen Gould and the wisdom of an Octavia Hill will come forward to do for her working sister what building companies and capitalists have long been doing for other tenants, with no loss, but gain, to themselves. It should be a separate enterprise, entered into advisedly, by those who know what working women require, and who will not plan for them a woman's hotel or club-house, but a series of homes, where girls and women can keep house, together or separately. Such a scheme, well carried out, could not fail to benefit a municipality whose women wage-earners have never had a suitable provision made for them, and the records of whose hospitals and charitable institutions too often tell the pitiful story of those who have fallen by the wayside in the struggle for existence.

"If the dream of a people's palace was not too Utopian for realization in London, it may well be possible that some day, even in hard-working

and busy New York or in spacious and progressive Chicago, we shall yet see erected a model block of houses for the benefit of the women wage-earners of a great city."

FRANCIS JOSEPH OF AUSTRIA.

IN the November *Chautauquan* Mr. Sidney Brooks sketches the career of the Emperor Francis Joseph and describes the peculiar and chaotic conditions which surround him.

THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN BABEL.

"Austria-Hungary is a realm of almost unique conditions. Smaller than the State of Texas, it is peopled with a crowd of jostling nationalities, who dwell side by side without mingling, fiercely seclusive, jealous, and hostile. Among its 40,000,000 inhabitants are to be found nine or ten different languages and dialects and the branches of four distinct races—the Slav, the Teutonic, the Latin, and the Ural-Altaic. The Slavs, split up into Czechs, Slovaks, Poles, Ruthenians, Slovenes, and Servo-Croats, number over 22,000,000. Their influence is by no means so great as their numerical strength, partly because they are divided among themselves by differences of speech, creed, and political aims and partly because their geographical distribution makes racial unity impossible.

"The same position of inferiority belongs to the two branches of the Latin race, and for the same reasons. On the other hand, in the Austrian half of the monarchy the Germans form a compact and closely united body of over 8,000,000, superior in numbers to any of the surrounding sections of the Slav race. And in Hungary over 6,000,000 Magyars occupy the center of the country and another million is quartered in Transylvania close by. The position, therefore, is briefly this, that in one domain of the realm the Germans and in the other the Magyars are the dominant race, both ruling over hordes of subject nationalities of Slav and Latin extraction, and bent at any cost upon the maintenance of their ascendancy.

When the Emperor came to the front fifty years ago the whole empire was in revolt, and it cannot be said that he has won his position of the adored monarch through any lucky chance or favoring series of circumstances. He has won his popularity by the most indefatigable labor.

THE EMPEROR'S CHARACTER.

"There was a time, soon after the failure of the Hungarian insurrection, when the emperor was decidedly unpopular. The charms and beauty of his wife did much to turn the current in his

favor, but the complete reversal of public opinion concerning him, both at home and abroad, is due before everything else to his own personality. In an easy, indolent society the emperor has worked as very few day laborers would care to work. Bismarck, who was a good judge, put him down as the most industrious man he had ever known. In a peculiarly haughty and highly exclusive aristocracy the emperor has mixed freely with his people, meeting them as man to man without condescension and without formality. One day in each week has for years past been set apart for a public reception, the callers, down to the poorest in the realm, being shown one by one into the emperor's presence and encouraged to talk as to a friend whose age and kindly nature fitted him to advise and succor. While performing with exactitude all the ceremonial duties of his office, the emperor's private inclinations run on quieter and more homely lines. Simple in all his tastes, direct in speech, frank in manner and nature, patient and methodical in his work, his whole character is got up in good, plain black and white. Everybody can sympathize with him because everybody can understand him. Men of his stamp are common enough in private life and always popular and trusted in. On a throne such qualities as his are rare enough to arouse enthusiasm.

"His subjects have repaid his honest and ceaseless labors for their good with an affectionate devotion such as only one other ruler on this earth commands. The rivalries of the different races and factions have spent themselves in mutual attack and defense and left the emperor's popularity untouched. Francis Joseph is the one point of agreement common to the whole empire."

MARK TWAIN'S PLEA FOR HIGH TRAGEDY.

FROM one who may fairly be numbered among the comedians comes a demand for the revival of tragedy play in American theaters. In the October number of the *Forum* Mark Twain gives his impressions of the play called "The Master of Palmyra" as presented at the Burg Theater in Vienna. The devotion of the Viennese to Wilbrandt's masterpiece, which is now twenty years old and packs the house whenever it is put upon the stage, leads Mark Twain to suggest that such a play would have its votaries in America, where theater-goers are now "eating too much mental sugar" and are sadly in need of a tonic. This is his argument:

"It is right and wholesome to have light comedies and entertaining shows; and I shouldn't wish to see them diminished. But none of us is always in the comedy spirit; we have our graver

moods; they come to us all; the lightest of us cannot escape them. These moods have their appetites—healthy and legitimate appetites—and there ought to be some way of satisfying them. It seems to me that New York ought to have one theater devoted to tragedy. With her three millions of population and seventy outside millions to draw upon she can afford it, she can support it. America devotes more time, labor, money, and attention to distributing literary and musical culture among the general public than does any other nation, perhaps; yet here you find her neglecting what is possibly the most effective of all the breeders and nurses and disseminators of high literary taste and lofty emotion—the tragic stage. To leave that powerful agency out is to haul the culture-wagon with a crippled team. Nowadays, when a mood comes which only Shakespeare can set to music, what must we do? Read Shakespeare ourselves! Isn't it pitiful? It is playing an organ solo on a jew's-harp. We can't read. None but the Booths can do it.

A THEATER FOR TRAGEDY ALONE.

"What has come over us English-speaking people? During the first half of this century tragedies and great tragedians were as common with us as farce and comedy; and it was the same in England. Now we have not a tragedian, I believe, and London, with her fifty shows and theaters, has but three, I think. It is an astonishing thing when you come to consider it. Vienna remains upon the ancient basis: there has been no change. She sticks to the former proportions: a number of rollicking comedies, admirably played, every night; and also every night at the Burg Theater—that wonder of the world for grace and beauty and richness and splendor and costliness—a majestic drama of depth and seriousness or a standard old tragedy. It is only within the last dozen years that men have learned to do miracles on the stage in the way of grand and enchanting scenic effects, and it is at such a time as this that we have reduced our scenery mainly to different breeds of parlors and varying aspects of furniture and rugs. I think we must have a Burg in New York, and Burg scenery, and a great company like the Burg company. Then, with a tragedy-tonic once or twice a month, we shall enjoy the comedies all the better. Comedy keeps the heart sweet; but we all know that there is wholesome refreshment for both mind and heart in an occasional climb among the solemn pomps of the intellectual snow-summits built by Shakespeare and those others. Do I seem to be preaching? It is out of my line. I only do it because the rest of the clergy seem to be on vacation."

THE PERIODICALS REVIEWED.

THE CENTURY MAGAZINE.

IN the November *Century* Prof. Benjamin Ide Wheeler begins a life of Alexander the Great with the striking sentence, "No single personality, excepting the Carpenter's Son of Nazareth, has done so much to make the world of civilization we live in what it is as Alexander of Macedon." Professor Wheeler makes so charming a feature out of his biography of the great Greek that he quite puts the "timely" magazine subjects to shame.

In this number of the *Century* begins a series of personal narratives of the notable actions of the late war with Spain, told by the men who were at the front and the helm. This first paper is "The Personal Narrative of the 'Maine,'" told by her commander, Captain Sigsbee. Captain Sigsbee gives an excellently readable account of his arrival at Havana, the conditions which surrounded the vessel, and especially the evidences of Spanish sentiment toward the United States. Captain Sigsbee reserves the actual description of the destruction of the *Maine* for a subsequent chapter. He ends this paper by saying: "I did not expect she would be blown up, either from interior or exterior causes, although precautions were taken in both directions. Nevertheless, I believed that she could be blown up from the outside, provided a sufficient number of persons of evil dispositions, and with the conveniences at hand, were free to conspire for the purpose. It was necessary to trust the Spanish authorities in great degree for protection from without. I believe that the primary cause of the destruction of the *Maine* was an explosion under the bottom of the ship, as reported by the court of inquiry. How it was produced or whether it was produced by anybody intentionally I do not know; therefore I have carefully avoided accusation."

Noah Brooks contributes to this number of the *Century* a brief sketch of "Mark Twain in California." About 1867, when Mark Twain published his first book, "The Jumping Frog," he was also lecturing. His method, Mr. Brooks says, was distinctly unique and novel. "His slow, deliberate drawl, the anxious and perturbed expression of his visage, the apparently painful effort with which he framed his sentences, and above all, the surprise that spread over his face when the audience roared with delight or rapturously applauded the finer passages of his word-painting, were unlike anything of the kind they had ever known. All this was original. It was Mark Twain." The sketch is followed by a fanciful skit of the humorist entitled "From the London 'Times' of 1904."

Baron Pierre de Coubertin, with whose contributions to the *AMERICAN MONTHLY REVIEW OF REVIEWS* our readers are familiar, describes for the *Century* "The Building Up of a World's Fair in France," and Lieut. B. A. Fiske, of the United States ship *Petrel*, tells "Why We Won at Manila." He says that the Spanish fleet was very probably taken by surprise, and that the gun captains fired their guns with a great lack of coolness and care, though all fought with the courage of despair.

Mr. Talcott Williams sketches the life and career of Dr. S. Weir Mitchell, the physician, scientist, and author, telling how after this versatile man had

achieved great success as a physician and scientist he, when past fifty, began his literary pursuits, with the result that we all know.

HARPER'S MAGAZINE.

IN *Harper's* for November there is an article by Mr. Archibald R. Colquhoun on "Eastward Expansion of the United States," from which we have quoted in another department.

The number begins with Lieut. J. C. Fremont on "Torpedo-Boat Service," which makes little mention of the philosophy of the torpedo-boat arm, contenting itself with an account of his experiences on the *Porter*.

Mr. Frederic Remington appears twice in the number, once in his recital of the action at Las Guasimas, where he figured as a correspondent, very indignant that the Rough Riders had been dismounted, since he had gone there with the particular intention of making some magnificent pictures of a mounted charge. His facetious and yet vivid account of the hot fight is as good as any we have seen, and particularly noticeable is his brief comment on General Shafter, which may explain some things that had hitherto been rather inexplicable. Mr. Remington says: "When the first landing was made General Shafter kept all the correspondents and the foreign military *attachés* in his closed fist, and we all hated him mightily. We shall probably forgive him, but it will take some time."

Mr. Remington's second contribution is a further chapter of his communings with the piquant *Sundown* Leflare, entitled "Sundown's Higher Self," giving a suggestion of what religion meant to the fascinating and rascally half-breed.

Mr. Sidney Whitman contributes a sketch of Bismarck. "In an ideal sense," he says, "Bismarck is still to-day as much alive as ever Goethe has been since his death. Some of his pregnant sayings have already become part and parcel of the German language. Many passages of his speeches reveal the imagination of a poet, whose utterances latterly claim a place among the classics of his country. His political teachings are there for the guidance of those intrusted with the destinies of the German empire, and those who may presume to act in opposition to his precepts will find unwelcome monition rise up over his grave to warn them of the consequences."

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY.

WE have quoted among the "Leading Articles of the Month" from Mr. Ira N. Hollis' excellent paper on "The Navy in the War with Spain," in the November *Atlantic Monthly*.

Mr. Hamilton Wright Mabie writes on "The Intellectual Movement in the West." Of the student and scholar in the West Mr. Mabie says:

"He is likely to be not only energetic, but aggressively hopeful and ardently patriotic. He may not always disclose perfect balance of intelligence and feeling; he may sometimes err on the side of optimistic confidence in the value of what he is doing and what

his community is doing. But fortunate is the country in which scholars share those deep and vital impulses which keep races productive and masterful. In their greatest moments progressive races are likely to have a touch of audacity in their temper and a touch of arrogance in their manners."

President David Starr Jordan discusses "The Colonial Lessons of Alaska" to no very pleasant conclusion. After examining into the industries in Alaska and its waters in which our citizens have engaged, he can say under the present conditions: "With the sea otter all destroyed, the fur seal herd exterminated, the native tribes starved to death, the salmon rivers depopulated, the timber cut, and the placer gold fields worked out, Alaska is to be thrown away like a sucked orange. There is no other possible end if we continue as we have begun. If we are to have colonies, even one colony, there must be some sort of a colony bureau, some concentrated power which should have exact knowledge of its people, its needs, and its resources. The people must be protected, their needs met, and their resources husbanded."

Mr. John Muir contributes a nature study, "Among the Animals of the Yosemite," and Hugo Münsterberg contributes an essay, "Psychology and Art."

THE COSMOPOLITAN MAGAZINE.

THE November *Cosmopolitan* begins with an anonymous account of "A Dangerous Mission to Spain," by a United States secret service agent. We have quoted from the article in another department.

Warner P. Sutton gives his experience in "In Porto Rico with General Miles," and tells why the commander-in-chief changed his plan and invaded Porto Rico from the southwest instead of from the east. The best point of debarkation had been discussed from the information of one Lluveras, a life-long foe of Spain. Mr. Sutton brought this man to General Miles, and with Captain Whitney they studied and revised maps of the island, plans of ports and towns, Spanish forces, fortifications, roads, harbors, etc., with the result of deciding that Guanica, near the western end of the south coast, was the best point to begin operations. General Miles then gave orders which indicated an intention to disembark on the east coast. "However, before we left Newport News on the cruiser *St. Louis*, information came that the destination of the army had been changed—that Miles had gone to the westward and had landed and taken Guanica. It was a brilliant stroke. Without the loss of a single man or horse, or one dollar's worth of stores, or an hour's delay, he had captured the town and gained a deep-water, land-locked, hurricane-proof harbor, an ample refuge for our whole navy, with a good highway and railroad near at hand."

Mr. Harry Thurston Peck has an essay on "The Woman of Fascination," in which he poses as an expert in female charms and tells what kinds of eyes and what kinds of mouths may and may not fascinate.

Caroline Brown sketches "The Tragedies of the Kohinoor," and John E. Bennett has an article on "Placer Gold and How It Is Secured." The chief feature of the number in fiction is one of Frank R. Stockton's funny stories, "The Skipper and El Capitan."

T. C. Crawford describes the famous English promoter who has just blown up in a fury of financial fireworks, Ernest Terrah Hooley. Mr. Joseph Leiter, who

ought to know something about "Wheat and Its Distribution," writes on that subject, and advocates, rather vaguely, legislation which would tend to improve the tendency of the agricultural community toward a higher standard of excellence and production, affirming his belief that such would benefit not only the farmers, but also the elevator interests.

MCCLURE'S MAGAZINE.

WE have quoted among the "Leading Articles of the Month" from three articles in the November *McClure's* a character sketch of Theodore Roosevelt, by Ray S. Baker, the diary of the British consul at Santiago during the fighting, and "The Inner History of Admiral Sampson's Campaign," based upon the official dispatches, by W. A. M. Goode.

The number opens with Mr. H. J. W. Dam's article on "The Mystery of Vesuvius," a subject rendered timely by the recent activity of the great volcano. The most interesting part of Mr. Dam's article is his interview with Professor Semola, the director of the observatory on Mount Vesuvius. In answer to the question whether there was any means of knowing whether an eruption was about to come, Professor Semola said:

"That depends upon the character of the eruption; but eruptions vary greatly. In fact, no two are alike. In a normal or ordinary eruption, the bed of the crater slowly rises. It rose steadily, for instance, from 1875 to 1878, and the lava, then overtopping the brim, flowed down the side of the cone. In eccentric eruptions the action sets up suddenly and violently and breaks open new craters or blows out the cold lava that fills the old channels. The heat of the issuing lava varies also. It is usually about 1,800 degrees Fahrenheit, but may be much hotter. It remains fluid down to about 1,200 degrees."

Mr. George B. Waldron, who seems to have an enormous taste for statistics, tells about "The World's Bill of Fare" in an article bristling with figures, with the intention of showing the comparative amounts of food used by the principal nations of the earth. He finds that in the consumption of wheat France comes easily first, Great Britain second, the United States third, and Germany and Russia in the order named, this order being according to the number of pounds of wheat required for each inhabitant. The United States is the greatest meat-eater, the average citizen using 147 pounds each year, with Great Britain second, eating 100 pounds, Spain third, Switzerland fourth, and Italy fifth. Great Britain seems to have the sweet tooth, as she uses 3,000,000,000 pounds per annum, or 80 pounds to each inhabitant, while the citizen of the United States, in spite of the reputation he has as a sugar-eater, uses only 73 pounds. Then there is a tremendous drop to the Frenchmen, who use only 25 pounds per person, Germany with 18 pounds, and Spain with 7 pounds. In tobacco-using Belgium comes first, Turkey second, the United States third, Spain fourth, and the United Kingdom fifth, while it is rather unexpected to find Great Britain leading Germany in the consumption per capita of beer, with the United States third and the Netherlands fourth.

E. A. Fitzgerald in his article "On Top of Aconcagua," tells how he and his party had the first view of civilized man from the highest mountain peak in the western hemisphere in midwinter of 1897.

THE LADIES' HOME JOURNAL.

THE Thanksgiving number of the *Ladies' Home Journal* begins with Henry M. Stanley's account of his "First Fight in the Jungle," being a recital of the skirmishes with the natives during his expedition in 1874 which revealed the area of the Victoria Nyanza and the course of the Congo.

Mary E. Wilkins begins a serial which she calls "The Jamesons in the Country," and which centers about the same quiet, rural phases of life which made that writer's fame. The *Journal's* series of anecdotes of famous men is continued in a collection of stories about Mr. Moody. It may not have been logical, but it was a characteristic incident which happened during the World's Fair at Chicago, when Mr. Moody had bulletin boards made upon which large notices could be pasted. "These were placed outside the churches. In one case a church officer objected to this as being undignified. Mr. Moody was amused. 'Undignified!' he said. 'Why, that's like a lot of these fossils—killing their churches with dignity. I should like to know if it isn't a good deal more undignified to have a minister preach to an empty church fifty times a year? When you've something good to give a hungry world, let them know it and you will fill the church.'"

An article telling "How Richard Wagner Wrote His Operas," by H. S. Chamberlain, written, the *Home Journal* says, with the approval and assistance of Frau Wagner, is headed by the most excellent portrait of Wagner we have ever seen. Mr. Chamberlain tells us that no less than twenty-eight years elapsed between the inception of "The Ring of the Nibelung" and the final completion of the score, and that twenty-two years separated the first sketch of "The Master-Singers," and the last stroke of the pen, and in the same way "Parsifal" took twenty-five years to pass from latency to life. Wagner was very neat in his personal habits, and his manuscripts reflect his temperament, being beautifully written.

LIPPINCOTT'S MAGAZINE.

"LIPPINCOTT'S" complete novel in November is a new story by Mrs. Burton Harrison, "A Triple Entanglement," with scenes shifting between Italy, France, England, and Scotland, and with quite a high-sounding company of characters.

William Ward Crane calls to mind the fanciful predictions of war which appeared from several sources months and years before the real struggle last summer. "On the whole," he says, "so far as we can now judge, a comparison between these fictitious contests and the real war suggests what Mark Tapley said about New York, that it reminded him of old York quite vividly by being so unlike it." Mr. Crane thinks that as notes of warning these imaginative predictions may have served a useful purpose, especially "The End of New York," which had an important effect in calling general attention to our depleted and old-fashioned navy.

The same writer discusses "Our Soldier Songs," and tells us that "Marching Through Georgia" had been well known, so far as the music was concerned, for hundreds of years in Ireland, and that nearly all our patriotic songs have been fitted to music that was in existence long before the songs were made.

THE CHAUTAUQUAN.

IN the November *Chautauquan* D. N. Willey gives a direct and lucid summing up of what is known about the Nicaragua Canal and the problems which it presents. The following paragraph shows briefly the engineering task ahead of the canal builders:

"The topography of Nicaragua is remarkable. A steamship of six hundred tons, drawing ten feet of water, can go from New York to a point twelve miles from the Pacific Ocean, which one can see from her masthead. In a distance of one hundred and fifty-five miles from the coast is an elevation of one hundred and ten feet. Yet a navigable waterway exists the entire distance through the San Juan River, entering the Caribbean Sea at Greytown or San Juan and Lake Nicaragua, of which it is the outlet. The isthmus is nearly cut in two by this feature of the country. But a great barrier exists on the Atlantic side in the foot-hills of the mountains. Here the waters encounter a rocky formation three miles in thickness and nearly one hundred and fifty feet in height. The work of cutting through this barrier constitutes the main portion of the undertaking, compared with which the balance is child's play."

The *Chautauquan* translates a German article on "The Klondike Gold Fever," from *Ueber Land und Meer*, which shows that the Germans have a pretty clear idea of just what the situation is in Alaska.

William G. Irwin writes of "The Campaign in the Philippines" from the point of view of a participant, as he was with the Tenth Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers at Manila. He describes Manila as being a busy place indeed now that the flag has been raised. The river is now thronged with the sails of a dozen nations. The custom-house is again full of action, and the chief business streets of the city, La Escolto and the Roasrio, now resemble business streets in New York or London. In Santa Cruz, in Quiapo, and in San Miguel are evidences that Manila is entering upon days of greater prosperity than she has ever known in her long history.

We have quoted in another department from the article on the Emperor of Austria, by Mr. Sidney Brooks.

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

IN our department of "Leading Articles" we have quoted from the articles by Mr. Hazeltine and Mr. Dunnell on the relations of the United States to the far East.

Mr. Clinton Rogers Woodruff contributes to the October *North American* an instructive and suggestive résumé of the recent progress made by the movement in this country for municipal reform. He mentions the various ways in which reformers are working in many of our principal cities. He shows that law-enforcing associations have grown in effective strength, and that organizations to promote municipal ownership, parks and playgrounds, public education, and general city improvement are becoming more and more numerous and influential, while the National Municipal League performs a sort of clearing-house function for all who are actively interested in municipal problems.

General Breckinridge writes on "Our National Folly and Its Victims," laying much stress on the fatal state

of unpreparedness in which the Government found itself on the outbreak of war, due to a mistaken policy toward the army which has been followed through all our national history.

"It is the blood of brave men that cries aloud from the ground against such unpreparedness. What an improvised army needs is as easily determined as what a regular army needs, and should be as carefully provided in advance. But have we had any law upon the statute-book heretofore authorizing, compelling, such preparation? The dangers of camp life which, if not so imposing to the imagination, are equally dread with those of battle, fall principally upon the volunteer. This was clearly demonstrated at Chickamauga, when the regulars were ordered thence to win the victories of Santiago de Cuba, while the surgeons protested against the volunteers even taking a practice march in the lamentable state of their health, which was due principally to preventable diseases."

General Breckinridge insists that we should always have ready for immediate use tentage, arms, staff, and supplies for 250,000 men, and these of the finest quality.

Admiral Colomb, writing on "The United States Navy Under the New Conditions," seems to advocate the employment by our Government of an elaborate system of torpedo-boat defense in preference to the building of many great battleships. Spain, he thinks, made a great mistake in building up a fleet without reference to her strategical position and simply in imitation of other navies. Torpedo-boats might have served her purposes better, in Admiral Colomb's opinion. It is to be noted, however, that the few she did own availed her little when the test of real war came.

Mr. Elliott Flower has found after a careful investigation that only about 10 per cent. of the school population derive any benefit from manual training as conducted in our American schools, and that, as a rule, the other 90 per cent. stand more in need of it.

Mr. Thornton Cooke discusses the proposition for increasing banking facilities, especially in the West and South. Instead of lowering the minimum capital line for national banks, Mr. Cooke would raise it, and would then permit each of the strong banks thus to be secured to establish branches in the State where its head office is located. With this permission must go authority to issue notes based on assets.

Summing up the results of the last legislative elections in France, Mr. Walter B. Scaife says:

"All parties had individual gains, as well as losses, but the only party which really gained ground was the socialist. However, to a foreign observer, perhaps the greatest cause of surprise is that a thinker and writer of international reputation, like Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, should receive only 2,082 votes, and be distanced by a socialist with more than 1,000 majority. What better illustration could be had of the fact that the people demand a representative who will voice their sentiments and vote as their delegate, rather than a representative who will think for them?"

Rear Admiral Beardslee enumerates some of the difficulties likely to be encountered in assimilating Hawaii. He urges the necessity of some special effort to pacify ex-Queen Liliuokalani and her followers.

Mr. J. P. Grund publishes another interesting installment of Motley's correspondence with Bismarck.

Prof. Goldwin Smith reviews Sutherland's "Origin and Growth of the Moral Instinct;" the Right Hon. Horace Plunkett, M.P., describes "Organized Self-

Help and State Aid in Ireland;" Mr. George Ethelbert Walsh writes on "Cable-Cutting in War;" Mr. Speed Mosby deplores the "Danger of Political Apathy;" Kate Garmett Wells contrasts the "fancy work" of the day with nature studies; the Rev. Dr. Rede asks "How Can Homicide be Decreased?" and Winifred Buck suggests some of the possibilities of boys' clubs.

THE FORUM.

FROM the October *Forum* we have selected Mark Twain's paper "About Play-Acting" and Gen. O. O. Howard's defense of the conduct of the Cubans in the late war for review and quotation elsewhere.

Mr. A. Maurice Low finds much cause for complaint in the way our volunteer troops were handled. He calls us "amateurs in war" and advises us to profit from our recent "costly and disgraceful experience" by destroying our present War Department system, giving our soldiers more practical as well as theoretical training, and going to work to manufacture a real army.

Prof. William MacDonald sets forth "The Dangers of Imperialism." He says in conclusion:

"We have no political ills to be remedied by foreign enlargement and no political gains yet visible commensurate with the risks involved. We have no lack of territory, no pressure of population, no limited resources, and no want of respect from the world at large. If at any time we have been disliked abroad or accorded a consideration beneath our due, it has commonly been because of our own irritating acts. Imperial dominion and imperial influence, dissociated from the sordid elements attending them, are fascinating objects of national ambition; but they would be indeed dearly bought if their price were the sacrifice of any of the things which thus far have made us great."

In an article on "Tammany Past and Present" Mr. Edward Cary contributes this bit of testimony regarding the reign of corruption in the New York police department:

"The value of various precincts is being quoted among the police and the politicians. One, whence a transfer has recently been ordered, is estimated at \$18,000 a year, on the basis of a monthly contribution of \$10 from each privileged dealer. In the downtown east side region, and in that peculiar quarter the richness of which in police revenue gave it the name of 'the Tenderloin,' values are quoted still higher and are based on a more revolting class of privileges."

Mr. E. Lamar Bailey defines a "hobo" as a better sort of man than a tramp—perhaps a tramp in the first stage. Most of the 100,000 men on the road to-day are "hoboes." They will not become tramps if they can help it, and Mr. Bailey thinks they can be saved.

Prof. William P. Trent writes on "The Byron Revival." He considers Byron as properly classed with the world poets in three respects:

"(1) He has written a sustained masterpiece; (2) he is a representative character who has been accepted by the world at large; and (3) he possesses a tremendously powerful personality. No other modern Englishman is so connected with the world poets; but Byron himself falls below them in respect to the inferior nature of his masterpiece and of his own moral, intellectual, and artistic qualifications. Yet there is also another, though a secondary, feature of his work that binds him to his masters and distinguishes him from most of his con-

temporaries and successors—I mean the wide scope taken by his versatility."

The Rev. Charles H. Eaton reviews "A Decade of Magazine Literature" as represented by five of the leading American and English monthlies. These publications, he says, "make a library of permanent value, in which are represented the ablest thinkers and statesmen, the wisest scholars and scientists, the subtlest critics and philosophers."

The Hon. Geoffrey Drage, M.P., discusses the relations between England and Russia in the far East; Senator Morrill combats what he terms "the Populist conceit"—free coinage of silver; Mr. Henry Litchfield West considers the immediate political results of our war with Spain; Prof. Dietrich Schäfer writes a tribute to Bismarck; Mr. Cecil F. Bacon contributes an article on intercollegiate debating, and Mr. Jacob Schoenhof criticises government statistics on industrial and agricultural subjects.

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW.

THE two most interesting articles in the *American Historical Review* for October are the paper on "Spain and the United States in 1793," by Mr. George L. Rives, and Prof. L. W. Spring's breezy account of "The Career of a Kansas Politician."

Mr. Rives in his paper shows how profoundly the motives which shaped Spanish policy more than a century ago affected the history of that part of the United States lying west of the Alleghanies and east of the Mississippi—a region now embracing ten States and inhabited by about twenty-five millions of people. The diplomatic relations of Spain and the United States have always been imperfectly understood. Mr. Rives throws new light on one of the most obscure episodes in the whole history of our foreign relations.

The "Kansas politician" of whom Professor Spring writes was Senator James H. Lane, and a more adventurous career has never enlivened the annals of American politics. Lane migrated from Indiana to Kansas as a Douglas Democrat, but soon espoused the cause of the "free State" men, and after several years of border warfare became the first United States Senator to represent the new State at Washington. In the Andrew Johnson impeachment proceedings Lane defended the President against his party associates. He died by his own hand. As Professor Spring remarks, "it is a curious illustration of the perversities of fate that some tardy, fitful blossoming of statesmanship should have proved an occasion of ruin to a man whose follies and sins had been so ample."

In concluding his paper Professor Spring says:

"The personal magnetism of Lane, his enormous energy, his remarkable gifts of stump-oratory, and his impulsive patriotism, were accompanied by qualities of rashness, demagogism, and moral obliquity, which made him, in spite of all that belongs to his credit, and the sum of it is not inconsiderable, a dangerous man."

Other articles in this number are "The Historical Opportunity in America," by Prof. Albert Bushnell Hart, "The Execution of the Duc d'Enghien" (second paper), by Sidney B. Fay, and "The Outcome of the Cabot Quater-Centenary," by Henry Harriase. Several important original documents are printed for the first time, and the book-review department, as usual, is exhaustive and authoritative.

THE FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW.

THE October number of the *Fortnightly* is full of excellent matter, actual and up to date. The articles requiring special notice elsewhere make up nearly one-half of the whole list.

A NEW TEMPERANCE REFORM.

Mr. E. D. Daly, from his experiences as magistrate's clerk, writes on what he terms "A Forgotten Aspect of the Drink Question"—namely, the lack of criminal remedy of wives against drunken husbands who steal or destroy their property. He advocates the enactment of this provision:

"On application of any wife, and on proof that her husband is (a) habitually intemperate and drunk, or (b) that he habitually fails, without reasonable excuse, to provide due maintenance for her and for their children, whom he is liable to maintain, or (c) that he habitually and unlawfully assaults her or them, a court may grant to her an order protecting her earnings or separate property," clothes, school requisites, or earnings of her children, and household necessities; violation of this provision to be punished as a common assault. He would similarly protect employers of drunken workmen and by these means discourage drunkenness.

BISMARCK AND RICHELIEU.

An interesting contrast is drawn by Mr. J. F. Taylor, Q.C., between the founder of French absolutism and the unifier of Germany, very much to the advantage of the cardinal. Of Bismarck the writer observes in fine:

"His place in history is that of the man in whom all the historical and political forces of his country met, and who, never needing to take thought of what was to be done, applied terrific powers of intellect and will to the accomplishment of an allotted task. But it is all done in the spirit of a great adventurer. Failure would have meant the abasement of Prussia, but not, I think, the destruction of German hopes of unity. I can see little that is elevated, nothing that is beautiful, in this colossal statesman. His true monument is the state, the material structure of German greatness. In Richelieu there is a greatness rivaling Bismarck's, but there are original conceptions, generous ideas, vast designs, sober toleration, and an intense passion of devotion to his country. . . . Splendid literature closed in Germany when Bismarck's era of blood and iron began; splendid literature dawned in France when Richelieu's work was done."

OTHER ARTICLES.

"Ouida" pens a diatribe against "canicide," and laments that tax, fine, muzzling order have put an end to the kindly companionship of the dog and the poor man's child. The worst of it is in her eyes that "tolerance of canicide comes from tolerance of liberticide."

Mr. E. E. Marriott pleads for the establishment in India of monometallism, but of silver, not of gold, and essays to show that during the years 1873 to 1890, judged by a multiple standard of one hundred and fourteen commodities, silver remained practically stable, while gold was vastly appreciated. Mrs. Spear writes in praise of Salvatore Farina, whom she describes as the Goldsmith of Italy.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

THERE are many important papers in the October number which have been quoted elsewhere in these pages. There is plenty of variety, but this issue of the *Nineteenth Century* enjoys the distinction of making no comment on the Dreyfus case.

MOSELEMS AND THE DOWNFALL OF MAHDISM.

The Moulvie Rafiuddin Ahmad, a literary exponent of "the Pan-Islamic revival," writes on "The Battle of Omdurman and the Mussulman World." He hastens to explain that "the Mahdi had no political recognition whatever in the Mussulman world . . . religiously he was recognized even less." But he warns the British Government of the new responsibilities assumed in the acquisition of a vast tract of Moslem territory. Of the proposal "to establish a missionary college at Khartoum for the benefit or otherwise of the Arabs," he says:

"Nothing would be more distasteful to the Arabs than an attempt to tamper with their religion. Such an attempt would at once set a spark to the religious fury of the Soudanese, and, for that matter, of all the African Mussulmans, and an explosion would occur."

British railroad schemes require Moslem confidence and sympathy; for, says the Moulvie, "from the Cape to Cairo and from Cairo to Karachi is a great ideal; perhaps its realization will come earlier than is generally imagined."

He is satisfied that "the Pan-Islamic revival has suffered nothing by the fall of Khartoum; if anything, it has profited by it." He loyally recognizes that British rule alone which enables Moslems to reunite. "The first Mussulman university upon a modern basis" is being set up in India under British auspices.

CIVILIZATION AND DYNAMITE.

M. Henry de Mosenthal contributes an interesting sketch of Alfred Nobel, the inventor of dynamite, in which he remarks:

"The invention of dynamite marks an epoch in the history of civilization. In judging of the degree of culture of a people, we are guided to a great extent by the roads and waterways they constructed, and still more by the facility with which they obtained metals and applied them to the arts. . . . The introduction of dynamite, three times as powerful and much more reliable than gunpowder, made it possible to execute the gigantic engineering works of our times, and brought about that prodigious development of the mining industry of the world which we have witnessed during the last twenty-five years."

Nobel was a life-long bachelor and a son devoted to his mother. His hobby was poetry, his favorite poet Byron. He held that by developing high explosives and increasing the dangers of war he was promoting permanent peace.

OTHER ARTICLES.

Lady Wimborne denounces what she calls "The Ritualistic Conspiracy" for Romanizing England, but confesses that the evangelical party alone is not able to cope with it. She therefore invokes the old high-church party to come to its assistance and save the Church from Romanism or disestablishment. Ford Fortescue, writing on the Benefices act, extols the practice of private patronage. Sir Hubert Jerningham,

writing on the French people, expresses his belief that "any government is possible which, while guaranteeing French contentment and self-respect at home, can also insure French prestige abroad."

THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW.

THERE is a large quantity of excellent matter in the October number. The leading questions of the hour have due prominence accorded them. Most of the papers have been noticed separately.

HAVE THE FRENCH FAILED IN TUNIS?

"The French in Tunisia" and what they have accomplished there form the subject of severe depreciation at the hands of Mr. Herbert Vivian. In marked contrast to the eulogy passed by Sir H. H. Johnston, Mr. Vivian is not afraid to say:

"The results of French rule amount to little more than a few roads for the benefit of an army of occupation, a system of tyranny and espionage under the pretext of public security, and a costly post-office, supported by a people which rarely writes letters."

Of its future he writes:

"One thing is certain, that the present anomalous form of government in Tunisia cannot possibly be permanent. Either the French people will insist upon some experiment of representation and Tunisia will be reduced to the pitiful level of Algeria, or the Arabs, in a wave of religious enthusiasm, will drive the French into the sea; or else a French reverse in Europe will lead to the annexation of the regency by another of the great powers. Who, then, will be their successor? . . . England alone among those who have definite interests in the Mediterranean deserves to be considered. The large Maltese population in Tunisia has already provided us with a foothold, and our success in Egypt and India proves us to be the most obvious instrument for the reasonable civilization and competent administration of Mohammedan races."

THE RELIGIOUS OUTLOOK IN GERMANY.

Mr. Richard Heath, writing on "The Church and Social Democracy in Germany," sketches a very gloomy outlook for Christianity as at present organized and directed. One fact may suffice:

"In Berlin the socialists have three times as many meeting-places as there are churches, and while the latter are empty the former are crowded with audiences, ranging from three hundred to one thousand men and women."

"The one side look for the increase of power in the throne, the other for the increase of power in the people; and the mediating power of the Church, or rather of Christianity, no longer existing, the struggle will continue till the throne or the people succumb, and then will arise a tyranny which will either turn German Protestantism into a worse Caesar worship than under the Roman empire or one that will crush out German Protestantism altogether."

The "simple remedy" Mr. Heath finds suggested in the question of a Chemnitz workman: "Why don't the great people follow the teachings of Christ themselves?"

"What would be the result of the evangelical clergy of Germany determining, cost what it might, to follow

the teachings of Christ? They must at once resign their connection with the state and live among the people, sharing in their work and in their poverty. And this of itself would produce a most real improvement in the condition of the people, morally and socially."

THE ORIGINAL LIFE OF ST. FRANCIS.

It is a delightful article in which Rev. Canon Rawnsley describes the time he spent "With Paul Sabatier at Assisi." He tells of Sabatier's last great work, the reconstruction and rediscovery of the *Speculum perfectionis*, the life of St. Francis, written by Brother Leo, within six months after the saint's death:

"Here now we have the perfect mirror of a very perfect gentleman, the saintliest and most Christ-like man who was raised up to teach the higher life to Europe of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Here we have the portrait to the life of St. Francis as he appeared to his daily companion, his confidant, his confessor, the sharer of his sorrows and his hopes. . . . Henceforth the blessed Francis moves among us as a real person. We hear him talking to men of his own time. We breathe the atmosphere he breathed and realize something of his heart's desire for the country and the people of his love."

Mr. Vaughan Nash exposes the remarkable discrepancy between the estimates of water-supply and of population in the East End of London made by the East London Water Company and the actual figures. He concludes that, quite apart from exceptional seasons, the company has come to the end of its resources.

THE NATIONAL REVIEW.

THE papers on the Dreyfus case and the Czar's manifesto in the *National Review* for October have claimed separate notice.

THE BRITISH WAR OFFICE SELF-CONDEMNED.

Mr. Arnold Forster, M.P., expresses his delight over the finding of the committee on the decentralization of the British War Office business. He heads his paper "A Daniel Come to Judgment." As he puts it:

"The War Office appeared in the dock upon its trial. The War Office also appeared on the bench as judge, and after a patient hearing the court found the accused guilty upon all counts, and gave its verdict without so much as a recommendation to mercy."

Two out of the many charges formulated and sustained may be quoted:

"The War Office is over-centralized, its methods of administration are complicated, ineffective, and absurd, choked with unimportant detail and careless of matters of real importance.

"The War Office imposes upon the army the burden of a gigantic and, for the most part, unnecessary correspondence and bookkeeping, which is conducted with the sole object of giving work to War Office clerks, and thereby furnishing an excuse for prolonging the existence of those clerks."

WHAT IS PROVED OF LIFE AFTER DEATH.

Mr. F. W. H. Myers writes on "some fresh facts indicating man's survival of death," with special reference to Dr. Hodgson's report on Mrs. Piper's trance revelations of the continued existence of "George Pelham."

It appears that Mrs. Piper's "recent control by intelligences above her own has increased her stability and serenity." It is alleged that as the ghosts in hades flocked to taste the sacrificial blood shed by Odysseus, so "through Mrs. Piper's trance the thronging multitude of the departed press to the glimpse of light." Mr. Myers holds that the proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research have actually proved (1) survival after death; (2) communication between the worlds spiritual and material; (3) retention of memory and love after death. On these certainties the writer bases the inquiry:

"If we define religion as 'man's normal subjective response to the sum of known cosmic phenomena, taken as an intelligible whole,' how different will that response become when we know for certain that no love can die; when we discern the bewildering sum of things—beyond all bounds of sect or system, *streptitumque Acherontis avart*—broadening and heightening into a moral cosmos such as our race could scarcely even conceive till now!"

OTHER ARTICLES.

Lord Rothschild's statement before the Indian Currency Committee is reprinted, the editor rejoicing that so eminent a financier disapproves England's Indian currency policy and leans to the reopening of the mints to silver. Mr. Maxse is deeply dissatisfied with the appointment of Lord Curzon as viceroy, as his "ignorance of economic questions is only surpassed by his contempt therefor." Mr. Theodore Morison describes the new Mohammedan university which it is proposed to form at Aligarh, a college now part of the University of Allahabad. It is to teach modern arts and sciences and will have a large staff of European professors. "A Veteran" replies to Mr. Shadwell's paper on "Journalism as a Profession," and shows that compared with other professions journalism earns a very poor pay. In the *Chronicle of Greater Britain* two remarks are worth quoting: "It is the plain truth—slowly recognized in the United States and Canada—that continental Europe, the absolutist area from St. Petersburg to Lisbon and from Copenhagen to Constantinople, detests the Anglo-Saxon world." And "we believe Mr. Rhodes to be a thoroughly bad despot, but he might be a valuable public servant if kept properly in hand."

THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW.

ACTUALITY, as opposed to mere academic interest, is making headway in the *Westminster*, although the October number can afford thirteen pages to the seventh installment of an archaeological disquisition on forms of the signs of the cross.

THE TWO KINDS OF EMPIRE.

"Aspects of Empire and Colonization, Past and Prospective," is the title of a paper in which R. D. Melville elaborates the distinction between the extension of the nationality with the state and the extension of the state beyond the nationality. The former is sound and stable, the latter weak and insecure. In the latter category are classed the Roman empire, the Holy Roman empire, the Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, French, and Russian empires; also the British empire up to the war of American independence. "The homogeneity of the new British empire is that which distinguishes it

from every other, past and present.' The empires of the future are to be empires of colonization and conquest. Mr. Melville "puts India aside" in his generalizations about the British empire—a fairly large "exception," the population of which so immensely outnumbers the rest of England's dominions.

"THE UNIVERSAL STATE."

Mr. G. W. Mansfield discusses the theories of Rousseau, Bluntschli, Ruskin, and others concerning the state and its subjects. He remarks on the growth of the sense of rights against the state, so that in place of the old and pious sentiment "The Lord will provide," we are more apt to say "The state will provide." National states are regarded by the writer as but stepping-stones to the universal state, which is the ideal of human progress. This universal authority is a possible, if not an inevitable, fact of the future. It will conserve and promote the freedom of each national state, even as the national state conserves and promotes by equal law the freedom of each individual.

A NOVEL POOR-LAW REFORM.

The new unionism gives occasion to Mr. J. T. Baylee to inveigh against the extension of state employment, which would, he expects, result in a caste of permanently linked officials on the one hand and a caste of serfs on the other. He offers as an alternative suggestion such a reform of the Poor law as would enable every worker when faced with conditions in the open market which do not square with his inexorable standard of health and comfort to retreat to the workhouse, there to submit to strict discipline and heavy work, but without moral degradation. "Deliberately to maintain the industrial standard of life through the agency of the Poor law" may seem startling, but Mr. Baylee holds it is the natural object of all poor-law legislation.

OTHER ARTICLES.

Florence Dixie contributes an enthusiastic paper on the "True Science of Living, the New Gospel of Health," which turns out to be the somewhat hoary recommendation to eat only when we are hungry, and then only to satisfy that hunger; and when we are sick, to fast until we are better. Mr. H. G. Keene enforces Michelet's description of the French Revolution as a violent effort of the Gallo-Roman race to throw off the yoke of the Teutonic ruling caste, and argues that "the modern French are therefore one of the youngest of nations, younger than that other great republic of the West which can still plead some of the indiscretion of youth." "A Naval Architect" heads his plea for an increase of the British torpedo fleet, "Our Vincible Navy." Mr. S. White, in his "Reminiscences of the Great Sepoy Revolt," does not anticipate another Indian mutiny, but warns England against employing Indian troops in African wars. "Ignota" concludes her paper on women in sanitary administration with the sensible remark that "motherly thought and influence are needed everywhere, and not simply in the individual home."

BLACKWOOD.

THERE is not much of unusual importance in *Blackwood* for October. Mr. Kipling is eulogistically reviewed by a writer who leaves the impression that, whether he knows it or not, his high opinion of the poet is due more to Mr. Kipling's politics, and especial-

ly his unionism, than to his literary genius. The fun of the suggestion that, according to arguments adduced for the Baconian authorship of Shakespeare's plays, Mr. Kipling is but the name of a hack through whose pen eminent soldiers, sailors, tinkers, tailors express themselves, runs rather heavily. "The Romance of the Fur Trade" is told in the story of the North American trading companies.

Sir James Forrest discusses the new game law for Norway, which gives the landowner game rights over his own ground formerly open to all, and tends to keep Norwegian game for Norwegian sportsmen.

The writer of the article entitled "Between Two Stools" regrets that Lord Salisbury in his Chinese policy did not stand from the first by England's "im pregnable line of defense—the treaty of Tien-tsin."

CORNHILL.

IN *Cornhill* for October Mr. Michael MacDonagh gives many stories to illustrate the subject of "Great Men: Their Simplicity and Ignorance." Another anecdotal article in this number is devoted to "The Humors of Hospital Life."

The "Fights for the Flag" selected this month by Mr. Fitchett are the cavalry charges at Balaclava, which Lord Tennyson immortalized—those of the Heavy and of the Light Brigade.

Of "Two Relics of '98," one consists of Mr. Purdon's extracts from the hitherto unpublished diary kept by Dr. Garnett during his medical attendance on Lord Edward Fitzgerald in his last days in the Dublin Newgate. The diarist was practically fellow-prisoner and most sympathetic. His entries dispel the idea of poisoned fruit having ended the rebel leader's days. The other is from the "loyal" side—a letter by Mrs. B. Thompson, wife of the dean of Killala, describes the siege of that town when held by the French and insurgents against the British troops.

Miss C. J. Hamilton contributes a study of the somewhat checkered career of Aphra Behn, whom she styles "the first lady novelist."

COSMOPOLIS.

IN the October number of *Cosmopolis* Mr. Edward Dicey discusses the complications between England and Russia. While by no means an alarmist, Mr. Dicey does not attempt to evade the fact that the British people are irritated by Russia's recent aggressive advance "as being prejudicial to our political and mercantile interests." There are difficulties, however, in the way of a conflict between a military and a naval power. "England has not a sufficient army to undertake by herself a land campaign against Russia, while the latter has not a sufficient navy to undertake a naval war against the former." Still the situation is strained. "To say that there is peace when there is no peace is the surest way to bring about a war." Mr. Dicey regards the present aspect of affairs between England and Russia as ominously like the situation which preceded the outbreak of the Crimean War. Furthermore, Mr. Dicey does not see that the Czar's rescript materially changes the condition of things.

Mr. John G. Robertson writes about Friedrich Nietzsche and his influence on the German literary movement. Men like Nietzsche, says this writer, "go

through their age like plowshares; they tear up the weeds of conventionality and expose fresh soil to the air. They force men to think the vital thoughts of life all over again."

"Sixty Years of the *Revue des Deux Mondes*" is the title of an extremely interesting sketch by Mademoiselle de Bury. During the ten years 1859-68 M. Eugène Forcade wrote the "political chronicle" for the *Revue*—the chronicle which, as Mademoiselle de Bury says, influenced the march of European politics and was eagerly awaited by ministers of every country.

But poor Forcade's success proved to be his ruin.

"On the 14th and 30th of each month he was to be seen alighting from his carriage about 8 in the morning before the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. Until 10:30 he went over the heap of daily papers awaiting him on his

table. At 11 he sat down to a lunch as formidable as Lerminier's dinners, which he discussed alone with two bottles of Burgundy, brought from his own cellar. After his coffee and cigar he began his task at 12:30, having as sole witnesses of his labor two decanters of fine champagne. At 6 he rose, with the task accomplished and the bottles empty. His pen had run over the paper from 12:30 to 6 without a single interruption, without the slightest correction or erasure. His sheets, thrown on the ground beside him, were taken away every two hours by a messenger from the printing office.

"This fortnightly production, at high pressure, lasted ten years. The machine exploded in 1868. The very day after the publication of one of his chronicles Forcade went mad."

THE FRENCH REVIEWS.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES.

THE *Revue* for September must be pronounced on the whole of exceptional interest, though there is nothing markedly topical. M. Charmes, who "does" foreign politics for the *Revue*, significantly refrains from mentioning Fashoda, though he is fully impressed by the importance of the victory of Omdurman and the downfall of the Mahdi.

THE CATHOLICS IN THE EAST.

The situation with regard to the protectorate of the eastern Catholics is not without a quaint humor. For a long time France has possessed the duty or privilege of looking after the interests of the Catholics in the East, both in the dominions of the Sultan and also in the far East, and the Pope, in a recent letter to Cardinal Langénieux, has formally confirmed that protectorate of France. The German Emperor has long been desirous of acquiring this privilege for himself, and an anonymous article, which is given the place of honor in the first September number of the *Revue*, attributes William II.'s attitude to an old and steadily pursued design. It is, we are told, a logical development of German commercial policy to obtain a footing in those regions which yield more or less loose allegiance to the commander of the faithful. The old hostility between Bismarck and the holy see has given place to a singularly close *rapprochement*, and one of the great instruments in the change has been Cardinal Ledochowski, the famous martyr of the *Kulturkampf* and the particular enemy of Prince Bismarck. This view, it is evident, has a certain justification in the journey of Prince Henry of Prussia to Peking, and still more in the projected pilgrimage of the Emperor to Jerusalem. The position of the Vatican in the matter is extremely difficult, for while the anxiety of the Emperor to maintain the protection of the eastern Catholics is warmly supported by the Catholics of Germany, it is no less bitterly opposed with the whole strength, not only of Catholic, but also of secular, France. The writer of this article believes that the present Pope, at any rate, will not yield to the blandishments of the Emperor, but will support France in guarding her ancient rights.

THE DRAINING OF SOUTHERN ITALY.

M. Goyau has a very pathetic paper on the constant flow of emigration from southern Italy to South Amer-

ica and also to the United States. The article forms a terrible indictment of the modern kingdom of Italy, for the draining of the life-blood of the country is comparatively a new thing, and is attributed without hesitation by M. Goyau to the military ambitions of the reigning dynasty. The excessive taxation which is laid upon the peasantry is a burden too heavy to be borne, and they have become the prey of swindling emigration agencies in their efforts to escape from their miseries. The women, even more than the men, feel a desire to better themselves abroad. Many of them used to go to Egypt as wet-nurses, and in this way apparently the idea of seeking better pay in foreign countries spread in southern Italy.

* M. POBIE DONOSTZEFF.

M. Valbert reviews in an interesting manner the reflections of this great Russian statesman, but he has only had before him the French and German translations, and does not appear to have seen the English edition published by Mr. Grant Richards. M. Valbert says that this Russian, who has superintended the political education of two emperors, condemns all modern ideas wholesale as a deplorable poison propagated in Russia by dangerous visionaries and a crew of *doctrinaires*, and says: "Woe to the nation which accepts them, woe especially to the nation which invented them." M. Valbert praises his author very highly, and talks of his great elevation of thought and close, well-knit reasoning, which is, however, combined with a certain mystic idealism.

MR. JOHN BULL AND HIS DEBTS.

To the second September number of the *Revue* M. Lévy contributes an able study of the British national debt. His knowledge of English politics is evidently considerable, though he is under the impression that it is the chancellor of the exchequer who sits upon the woolsack at Westminster. He is profoundly struck by the contrast drawn last year by Sir Michael Hicks-Beach between the financial condition of England in 1837 and 1897. That the annual interest payable on the national debt should have fallen in that time from twenty-two shillings per head of the population to nine shillings, and that the credit of the state should have risen in proportion, fills M. Lévy with admiration, especially when he contemplates the enormous sums spent upon the army and navy.

OTHER ARTICLES.

Among other articles may be mentioned M. Dehérain's on agricultural education in France, apropos of the recent creation of a superior council to superintend the agricultural schools. M. Dehérain insists on the importance of constantly supplementing the theoretical work of the laboratory with practical work in the fields. M. Cat deals with some remarkable religious fraternities in Morocco, and M. Benoist draws an amusing picture of an election contest in France up to date.

REVUE DE PARIS.

IN some ways the most interesting feature of the *Revue de Paris* for September is the fact that the editor has secured a story of Rudyard Kipling's. It is the wonderful tale of Mowgli from the jungle group, and it is a pleasure to read it in the admirable translation of M. Fabulet and M. d'Humières.

THE BIBLE OF HUMANITY.

M. Sully-Prudhomme is given the place of honor in the first September number for his preface to Michelet's "Bible of Humanity." With certain reservations he agrees on the whole with the conclusions of the famous historian, and it is interesting to note, in view of the Czar's proposal, puts in a plea for the abolition of war.

THE PETROLEUM TRUST.

The questions of the flash-point of petroleum and the comparative merits of Russian and American oil are tolerably familiar to us now, and therefore it is sufficient to note that M. de Rousiers, in his pair of articles on the petroleum trust, gives a detailed account of the Standard Oil Company and the efforts that have been made in America to limit the operations of the great monopolies.

THE CZAR'S PROPOSAL.

M. Lavissee writes upon the Czar's proposal an article which he entitles "The Condemnation of Armed Peace." M. Lavissee does justice to the young Emperor's enthusiasm in the cause of humanity, and sees clearly the difficulties which will have to be surmounted by the conference as well as the epoch-making character of the conference itself. M. Lavissee believes that England is skeptical and the triple alliance enthusiastic as regards the scheme. He regrets the manner in which the French Government has always treated the Russian alliance, not explaining it, but allowing it to be the foundation for limitless hopes which the Czar's proposal has now shown to be largely illusory. At the same time it is significant that he regards Russia and France as the only two really pacific powers, for he thinks that England would fight at any time if it paid her to do so, while as for the triple alliance, he evidently regards the nations forming it as fire-eaters by nature.

NOUVELLE REVUE.

MME. JULIETTE ADAM'S review for September is fully up to its usual standard, and contains a number of interesting papers written in light and readable style.

Madame Adam has secured a story by Count Tolstoi's

son, which is entitled "Chopin's Overture." In this story M. Tolstoi devotes himself to refuting the theories put forth by his distinguished father in the "Kreutzer Sonata." In his opinion the sexual problem can only be solved naturally and logically by marriage, which should be the rule on the attainment of maturity. Ideal purity he regards as unattainable except by real saints, whose numbers are few.

MR. GLADSTONE.

M. Hamelle concludes his study of Mr. Gladstone's career and character. M. Hamelle sees very clearly that Gladstone was a patriot belonging to two countries. The first, England, to which he was genuinely devoted, he regarded as bound up with the compass of the United Kingdom. He was essentially a Little Englander, bred in the Manchester school, and he could not follow the imperialist dreams of Lord Rosebery. The other country to which Mr. Gladstone owed allegiance was the ideal country of humanity, and his ambition was always to subordinate the first to the second, or, in other words, to substitute moral forces for material forces in the government of the world.

THE FRENCH NAVY.

Experts tells us that the French navy is not so much a navy in the ordinary sense of the word as an interesting museum of almost every conceivable type of ship. The perpetual alterations of policy, due to the mixed control of admirals and politicians, are responsible for this dangerous condition of affairs. Commandant Chassériaud, in an article on the extra-Parliamentary commission on the French navy, appears to be fully sensible of the unsatisfactory state of the service. He thinks that the work of the commission will be productive of the happiest results.

THE POSITION OF BELGIUM.

M. van Keymeulen discusses the relations between Belgium and Germany, or rather the Pan-Germanic spirit. For forty years after its constitution as an independent nation Belgium was a little sister of France, from whom she borrowed her laws, institutions, social life, literature, and arts. But now a strong current is drawing her nearer to Germany. It is remarkable that the trade of Belgium with France fell from 705,000,000 francs in 1891 to 583,000,000 francs in 1895. There is the usual story of German commercial enterprise within the borders of Belgium. Certainly the Flemish character has more in common with the Teutonic than the Gallic, and it is notorious that Germany would be glad to secure a decisive influence over the affairs of Holland. The writer of the article points out very clearly that the interests of France lie in maintaining the unity and independence of Belgium.

OTHER ARTICLES.

M. Lainé has a well-written travel article on Andalusia, and M. Saint-Genis writes on some expensive examples of French bureaucracy. It is interesting to note that Madame Adam in her articles on foreign politics does full justice to the Sirdar's victory at Omdurman, and regards the whole campaign as a lesson to France in view of the badly managed Madagascar expedition, though she does not seem very hopeful that France will profit by the example.

THE NEW BOOKS.

RECENT AMERICAN AND ENGLISH PUBLICATIONS.

HISTORY AND POLITICS.

The Origin and Growth of the English Constitution. By Hannis Taylor. Part II. 8vo, pp. xlv, 645. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$4.50.

When the first part of his work was published, some years since, Mr. Taylor announced that his task would be "to draw out, within the limits of two octavo volumes, the entire historic development of the English constitutional system, and the growth out of that system of the federal republic of the United States." The completion of the second volume rounds out one of the most important recent achievements of American scholarship. The concluding chapters of the work are less concerned with American institutions than the reader may have been led to expect from a perusal of the introductory volume, but the essential unity in the development of the British and American political systems is consistently kept in view throughout both parts.

Modern Political Institutions. By Simeon E. Baldwin. 8vo, pp. 387. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. \$2.

Among the ideals which Judge Baldwin puts before his readers in this collection of addresses and essays are unity of social policy, uniformity of statute law and judicial procedure, and solidarity of national beliefs. More specifically, the effect of general incorporation laws on modern society is discussed from an institutional point of view, and there are chapters on such topics as "Salaries for Members of the Legislature," "Permanent Courts of International Arbitration," and "The Monroe Doctrine in 1898." The paper on "American Jurisprudence," while primarily addressed to members of the legal profession, has a suggestive interest for the laity.

The State: Its Nature, Origin and Functions. By L. T. Chamberlain. 12mo, pp. 50. New York: The Baker & Taylor Company. 50 cents.

An address before the Patria Club, of New York City, having especial reference to the duties of the citizen.

A History of the Presidency. By Edward Stanwood. 12mo, pp. 586. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$2.50.

Mr. Stanwood's "History of Presidential Elections," originally published in 1884 and revised every four years thereafter, has now been expanded into a volume which includes much material relating to the presidential office besides that pertaining strictly to the quadrennial elections. In a sense Mr. Stanwood's book has become a history of our national politics: it includes an account of every political party that has grown up in this country to the dignity of a national organization, however short the life of such a party may have been. Party platforms are reprinted in full. For reference purposes the book is invaluable.

John Adams, the Statesman of the American Revolution. With Other Essays and Addresses. By Mellen Chamberlain. 12mo, pp. 476. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$2.

Judge Chamberlain's historical studies have long deserved collection and republication in suitable form. Several of the papers included in this volume are critical reviews which have a permanent value. The book will be welcomed by all students of American history.

The Goede Vrouw of Mana-ha-ta. By Mrs. John King Van Rensselaer. 8vo, pp. xxii, 418. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$2.

A history of the old Dutch family life in New Amsterdam and New York from the earliest settlement to the

passing of the last of the Dutch matrons. The narrative is based on unpublished letters and other family documents and gives a bright and truthful picture of life in colonial Manhattan.

England and the Reformation. By G. W. Powers. 16mo, pp. 143. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 50 cents.

This is the fourth volume in the series of "Oxford Manuals of English History." These little books are the work of Oxford men who are actively engaged in teaching history. They are designed to combine the advantages of general histories with those of essays on specific periods. Each volume is complete in itself, but all are fitted together and may be read and studied consecutively.

The Romance of the House of Savoy: 1008-1519. By Alethea Wiel. 2 vols., 12mo, pp. 269-277. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$4.

The oldest reigning dynasty in Europe is the house of Savoy, and the history of that house for its first five hundred years is sufficiently crowded with romantic incidents to justify Mme. Wiel's choice of title for her book. English-speaking people have but a slight acquaintance with the story of Italy's royal family. In these handsome volumes Mme. Wiel presents the results of much research in various unexploited sources of information. The illustrations are chiefly reproductions from contemporary sources. Mme. Wiel's long residence in Italy and her familiarity with the history of the country, as shown in her former works, have well qualified her for the present task.

Historical Tales. Russian. By Charles Morris. 12mo, pp. 328. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. \$1.25.

Historical Tales. Japan and China. By Charles Morris. 12mo, pp. 353. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. \$1.25.

In these volumes of "Historical Tales"—"The Romance of Reality"—considerable information is presented, albeit in a rather informal and disconnected way. The stories are well told, and we assume that Mr. Morris has taken pains to assure himself, so far as possible, of their general fidelity to historic fact.

A Comic History of Greece, from the Earliest Times to the Death of Alexander the Great. By Charles M. Snyder. 8vo, pp. 446. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. \$2.

This book, as the author pleads, was undertaken "for the purpose of getting even with Greece for ever having ventured to have a history." We are sure that if the ancient Hellenes were permitted once to peruse the volume they would readily concede that the author's vengeful aim had been fulfilled. Mr. Snyder is "even with Greece" at last. The publishers were considerate in labeling the book very carefully for the benefit of the unwary and indiscriminate reading public.

BIOGRAPHY.

Ulysses S. Grant: His Life and Character. By Hamlin Garland. 8vo, pp. 543. New York: Doubleday & McClure Company. \$2.50.

In behalf of Mr. Hamlin Garland's book on General Grant the claim is made that it is the first *personal* life of the great commander. Mr. Garland himself prefers to call it an attempt at characterization, rather than a biography in the

ordinary sense. At any rate the work is the result of an almost unexampled diligence in the study of original sources of information. We are told, for instance, that the author traveled 85,000 miles in quest of his material, visiting every place where General Grant ever lived, and inspecting every battle-field on which his hero commanded.

The publishers make the unusual announcement that this book will be sent post-paid to any address on approval, to be paid for if satisfactory, or to be returned if not wanted after examination.

The Reminiscences of Neal Dow. 8vo, pp. 781. New York : National Temperance Society and Publication House. \$2.50.

This volume of General Dow's reminiscences contains the story of the temperance agitation of a half-century ago which resulted in the enactment of the famous "Maine law." During the long period—nearly seventy years—in which General Dow participated in public affairs he had many stirring experiences apart from his career as a temperance reformer, and his acquaintance with public men was unusually extensive. It is a fact now generally forgotten that during the Civil War General Dow as a prisoner of war was exchanged for Gen. Fitzhugh Lee.

John Hancock, His Book. By Abram English Brown. 12mo, pp. 298. Boston : Lee & Shepard. \$2.

If not the long-awaited biography of Hancock, this volume at least supplies important data, hitherto unpublished, which must be utilized by any biographer who may attempt in the future to write the life story of this Revolutionary leader. Mr. Brown has developed his work from John Hancock's original letter-book. His hero is permitted to tell his own story in his own way. The book is illustrated on the plan so successfully worked out in Mr. Brown's former historical publications—photographs of historic buildings, scenes of great events, and original portraits of important personages, together with characteristic bits of manuscript, etc., are reproduced and effectively employed in conjunction with the text.

Life and Administration of Sir Robert Eden. By Bernard C. Steiner. Paper, 8vo, pp. 142. Baltimore : The Johns Hopkins Press. \$1.

The subject of Dr. Steiner's most recent contribution to the Johns Hopkins "Studies in Historical and Political Science" was the last provincial governor of Maryland, the friend of Washington and of other American patriots in the years preceding the Revolution.

Best Lincoln Stories Tersely Told. By J. E. Gallaher. 16mo, pp. 122. Chicago : James E. Gallaher & Co. 50 cents.

Besides a number of anecdotes presumably based on actual incidents in Lincoln's career, this little volume contains the famous Gettysburg address and the second inaugural.

SOCIOLOGY AND ECONOMICS.

The Science of Finance. By Henry Carter Adams. 8vo, pp. 586. New York : Henry Holt & Co. \$3.50.

This work by Professor Adams is the first American text-book of the science of public expenditures and public revenues. In this volume Professor Adams undertakes an analysis "of the wants of the state and of the means by which those wants may be supplied." He covers the broad field of this inquiry in a thoroughly systematic manner and apparently leaves no important topic related to the main subject untouched. His treatment of budgetary legislation in different countries and of the various systems and theories of taxation is especially luminous and suggestive. The author has had constantly in view the peculiar requirements of federal and local government in the United States.

Labor Copartnership. By Henry Demarest Lloyd. 12mo, pp. 351. New York : Harper & Brothers. \$1.

Mr. Lloyd's brief account of modern co-operative industry in Great Britain contains not a few surprises for the

average reader. The statements, for example, that the co-operative establishments now in successful operation in that country number more than one hundred and fifty, that they have an aggregate capital of more than \$5,000,000, that their annual sales amount to \$10,000,000, and their annual profits to \$500,000, help to bring us to a realizing sense of the importance of the British movement in the direction of "labor copartnership"—something quite distinct from the more familiar business of the great distributive stores and the Co-operative Wholesale Society. These establishments, as Mr. Lloyd says, have been "planned, set up, operated, and managed by workingmen's brains, money, and morals; and that not capitalistically, but co-operatively."

The New Economy. By Laurence Gronlund. 12mo, pp. 364. Chicago : Herbert S. Stone & Co. \$1.25.

The author of "The Co-operative Commonwealth" is optimistic enough to look forward to "a peaceable solution of the social problem"—a phrase which he employs as a subtitle for his latest work, "The New Economy." A representative of the Fabian socialists, Mr. Gronlund has a programme of specific reforms to advocate, and he sets forth this programme with clearness and force. The greater portion of his book is devoted to "Practical Statesmanship," including the discussion of such topics as "State Aids to Employed Labor," "State Help to Unemployed Labor," "Municipal Enterprises Under State Control," "The Liquor Traffic," "A National Telegraph," "National Control of Fares and Freight-rates," etc.

Loom and Spindle, or, Life among the Early Mill Girls.

By Harriet H. Robinson. Introduction by Carroll D. Wright. 16mo, pp. 228. New York : Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. \$1.25.

This is a fascinating picture of industrial and social conditions at Lowell, Mass., more than fifty years ago, in the days of the Lowell *Offering*, when Mrs. Robinson was herself a mill girl there, with Lucy Larcom and other women who later won distinction in literature and art. The book describes an important episode in our economic history.

The Standard of Life, and Other Studies. By Mrs. Bernard Bosanquet. 12mo, pp. 219. New York : The Macmillan Company. \$1.50.

A series of essays dealing for the most part with the condition of the English laboring classes and with various phases of the social problem.

Christ in the Industries. By William Riley Halstead. 12mo, pp. 179. New York : Cincinnati : Curts & Jennings. 75 cents.

This little book discusses present-day industrial problems from the Christian believer's point of view.

The Social Crisis. By D. Ostrander. Paper, 12mo, pp. 288. New York : F. Tennyson Neely. 50 cents.

The Coming Revolution. By Frederick L. King. Paper, 12mo, pp. 124. Chicago : F. L. King. 25 cents.

The Game in Wall Street, and How to Play It Successfully. 12mo, pp. 80. New York : J. S. Ogilvie Publishing Company. \$1.

Limitation of Wealth ; or, How to Secure Prosperity for All. By E. N. Olly. Paper, 8vo, pp. 31. New York : Robert Lewis Weed Company. 10 cents.

Twelfth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor. 1897. Economic Aspects of the Liquor Problem. 8vo, pp. 275. Washington : Government Printing Office.

Commissioner Wright's last annual report relates entirely to the economic aspects of the liquor problem and gives the results of a special investigation authorized by Congress. Information was sought particularly in regard to the traffic in liquors and the revenue derived therefrom, as well as the experience and practice of employers in relation to the use of intoxicants.

Twenty-Eighth Annual Report of the [Massachusetts] Bureau of Statistics of Labor. 8vo, pp. 367. Boston : Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

Annual Statistics of Manufactures [in Massachusetts.] 1897. Boston : Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

Economic Studies. The American Federation of Labor. By Morton A. Aldrich. Paper, 12mo, pp. 52. New York : The Macmillan Company. 50 cents.

In the series of "Economic Studies" published under the auspices of the American Economic Association Dr. Morton A. Aldrich contributes an account of the history, organization, policy, and achievements of the most comprehensive labor body in this country, the American Federation of Labor.

Truths for the Times : Good Citizenship Series. New York : League for Social Service, 4th Av. and 22d St. Leaflets, 35 cents per 100.

The League for Social Service recently organized in New York under the presidency of the Rev. Dr. Josiah Strong is publishing a series of leaflets designed to further the work of political education to which the organization has committed itself. Of especial timeliness are the essay by Dean Hodges on "The Value of a Vote," the story bearing the same title by "Peter Linn," and the "Abstract of Laws Concerning the Welfare of Every Citizen of New York" (to be followed by like abstracts of the laws of other States.)

ESSAYS AND MISCELLANY.

Our Conversational Circle. By Agnes H. Morton. With Introduction by Hamilton W. Mabie. 16mo, pp. 238. New York : The Century Company. \$1.25.

This little book expounds the principles on which good conversation is based, starting with the assumption that good talking comes only by the training of the intellect and the sensibilities. The discussion is conducted in an easy and graceful style, abounding in forceful and epigrammatic statement.

Worldly Ways and Byways. By Eliot Gregory. 12mo, pp. 293. New York : Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.50.

The "Idler" who hits off American social foibles and idiosyncrasies so cleverly in the columns of the New York *Evening Post* has collected a volume of his essays under the title of "Worldly Ways and Byways." "Bohemia," "Social Exiles," "The Small Summer Hotel," "Men's Manners," "An Ideal Hostess," "American Society in Italy," "The Newport of the Past," and "A Conquest of Europe" are some of the themes of the "Idler's" meditations as given to the world in these papers.

Reflections of a Russian Statesman. By K. P. Pobedonostseff. Translated from the Russian by Robert Crozier Long. With a Preface by Olga Novikoff. 12mo, pp. x, 271. London : Grant Richards. 6s.

These frank comments of the Procurator of the Holy Synod of Russia on what he is pleased to term "the supreme political lie which dominates our age," namely, parliamentary government, while they may be unwelcome to English and American readers, are nevertheless significant as showing the interpretation put upon modern political history by a representative Russian thinker. The essays also give expression to the Russian conception of the ideal relation between church and state. The author is a man of profound religious convictions and has had no slight influence on the destiny of his government as a peace-preserver among the nations. His work had already been translated into French, German, and Italian.

Music and Manners in the Classical Period. By Henry Edward Krehbiel. 12mo, pp. 277. New York : Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.50.

The essays collected in this volume, partly critical but more largely biographical, have to do with Haydn, Mozart,

Beethoven, and other masters. Mr. Krehbiel has contrived to weave into his papers an astonishing amount of interesting personal information, most of which, to American readers at least, has the charm of freshness.

OUT-OF-DOOR LIFE : NATURE STUDY.

Residential Sites and Environments : Their Conveniences, Gardens, Parks, Planting, etc. By Joseph Forsyth Johnson. Large 4to, pp. 118. New York : A. T. De La Mare Printing and Publishing Company, Ltd. \$2.50.

It is a good sign that works on landscape gardening begin to make their appearance in increasing number in this country. Nature has given us a land with great diversity and beauty, with a marvelous wealth of trees, shrubs and minor plants, and the greatest opportunities in the world to profit by the experience of older countries, and to take counsel of men of correct taste and judgment in making our parks, roadways and private grounds permanently beautiful. Not every one who has a little planting to do can employ a firstclass landscape architect, but there must at least be many who cannot employ an expert who would be glad to give some study to the principles of the laying out of grounds and the planting of trees and shrubs. There is a great deal in Mr. Johnson's book that makes it valuable. It is especially strong upon what we may call the botanical side.

American Woods, Exhibited by Actual Specimens. By Romeyn B. Hough. Part I. 8vo, pp. 86. Lowville, N. Y. : Published by the Author. \$5.

Mr. Hough has prepared a valuable series of specimens of American woods accompanied by descriptive text. These specimens are from one-eighth to one two-hundredths of an inch in thickness—so thin as to be translucent. Three such slices are made of each distinct wood, one transverse and two longitudinal to the grain, showing both the heart and sapwood. These sections are mounted in card-board frames bearing the botanical name of the tree and also the popular name in English, French, German and Spanish. Such a collection of woods, systematically arranged and described, cannot fail to be of the greatest practical assistance in forestry and in all schools and colleges where instruction in botany is given.

Outlines of the Earth's History : A Popular Study in Physiography. By Nathaniel S. Shaler. 12mo, pp. 417. New York : D. Appleton & Co. \$1.75.

An admirable introduction to the study of geology, appropriately illustrated. Professor Shaler has long been recognized as a most entertaining writer on scientific subjects.

Feathered Pets. By Charles N. Page. 16mo, pp. 142. Des Moines, Ia. : Published by the Author. 75 cents.

Mr. Page has compiled a brief manual on the food, breeding, and care of canaries, parrots, and other cage birds. We should suppose that a book of this kind at a low price would be greatly in demand among the thousands of people in this country who keep birds as pets.

TRAVEL.

An American Cruiser in the East. By John D. Ford. 8vo, pp. 468. New York : A. S. Barnes & Co. \$2.50.

An American naval officer's account of his experience on a recent voyage to the Aleutian Islands, Siberia, Japan, Korea, China, Formosa, and the Philippines. The volume is well illustrated.

The World's Rough Hand. By H. Phelps Whitmarsh. 12mo, pp. 233. New York : The Century Company. \$1.25.

This book is the record of a young English sailor's adventures in Australia. It gives a vivid picture of life in that part of the world, at the same time throwing light on various ways of making a living which may be adopted by the youthful traveler when funds are low.

FICTION AND DRAMA.

Stories by Foreign Authors: French, German, Spanish, Russian, Scandinavian, Italian, Polish—Greek—Belgian—Hungarian. 10 vols., 16mo. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 75 cents each.

A selection of the best Continental short stories by contemporary, or nearly contemporary, writers. Each volume represents the best recent fiction of the nation for which it stands. Three volumes are apportioned to French, two to German, and one each to Spanish, Russian, Scandinavian, and Italian literature, while the selections from Polish, Greek, Belgian, and Hungarian writers are comprised in a single volume. Each book in this admirable series is beautifully printed and contains an excellent photogravure portrait of some representative author. Altogether, there are fifty-one tales in the collection.

The Head of the Family. By Alphonse Daudet. Translated by Levin Carnac. 12mo, pp. xxiii, 325. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$1.50.

This is Daudet's last novel and has been classed among his better ones. The present translation is prefaced by a critical sketch of Daudet from the competent pen of Professor Cohn, of Columbia University. The volume is illustrated by Marchetti.

Paris. By Émile Zola. Translated by E. A. Vizetelly. 2 vols., 12mo, pp. x, 744. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$2.

This is the standard English translation of M. Zola's latest novel. The neatness of its topography and binding commend it to all readers of the great French novelist.

Cyrano de Bergerac. By Edmond Rostand. Translated from the French by Gertrude Hall. 16mo, pp. 243. New York: Doubleday & McClure Company. 50 cents.

This translation of Rostand's now famous play comes at an opportune time. For more than a year past the play has been presented before European audiences, and it is now receiving interpretation at the hands of Mr. Richard Mansfield in New York. The publishers deserve our thanks for this convenient and attractive translation.

Midst the Wild Carpathians. By Maurus Jókai. Translated by R. Nisbet Bain. 12mo, pp. 270. Boston: L. C. Page & Co. \$1.25.

The authorized English translation of the great Hungarian writer's latest historical novel.

The Day's Work. By Rudyard Kipling. 8vo, pp. 431. New York: Doubleday & McClure Company. \$1.50.

A collection of a dozen short stories from Mr. Kipling's pen, most of which have appeared in the popular magazines during the past five years. Perhaps the most famous tale in the series is the one entitled "The Ship that Found Herself."

The Prisoner of Zenda. By Anthony Hope. 12mo, pp. 307. New York: Henry Holt & Co. \$1.50.

Rupert of Hentzau. By Anthony Hope. 12mo, pp. 386. New York: Henry Holt & Co. \$1.50.

His American publishers now offer the admirers of Anthony Hope an opportunity to possess his two most famous romances in uniform style. The volumes contain several full-page illustrations by Mr. Charles Dana Gibson.

Helbeck of Bannisdale. By Mrs. Humphry Ward. 2 vols., 12mo, pp. 309—336. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$2.

Mrs. Ward's last novel deals with the relations of modern agnosticism to Roman Catholicism, and suggests "Robert Elsmere."

The Girl at Cobhurst. By Frank R. Stockton. 12mo, pp. 415. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.50.

A clever and entertaining romance, in the course of which Mr. Stockton indulges his mischievous habit of decoying the reader into fruitless guesses at the sequel.

Hurrah for America: A Tale of Welsh Life. By Alice Reese. 12mo, pp. 204. Dayton, O.: Press of the U. B. Publishing House.

This little work, which comes from the quaint and beautiful Welsh community of Shandon, O., is not so much a story as a study of Welsh life and sentiment, domestic traits, and moral and mental peculiarities as exemplified in the little communities which have been built up in this country by pioneer immigrants from Wales. There are a number of communities of this kind, notably in Pennsylvania and Ohio, and also in Michigan, Illinois, Iowa, and other states. No finer people have ever come to the United States than these Welsh settlers. Miss Alice Reese, who writes the book, is of Welsh parentage, and writes out of the fullness of her knowledge and sympathy.

The Fall of the Sparrow. By M. C. Balfour. 12mo, pp. 396. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$1.

The Golden Crocodile. By F. Mortimer Trimmer. 12mo, pp. 318. Boston: Roberts Brothers. \$1.50.

The Headswoman. By Kenneth Grahame. Paper, 16mo, pp. 54. New York: John Lane. 85 cents.

The King's Daughter and the King's Son. A Fairy Tale of To-day. By Agatha Archer. 12mo, pp. 279. New York: Fowler & Wells Co. \$1.

The Man of Last Resort; or, The Clients of Randolph Mason. By Melville Davison Post. 12mo, pp. 284. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$1.

The New Man: A Chronicle of the Modern Time. By Ellis Paxson Oberholtzer. 12mo, pp. 487. Philadelphia: The Levytype Company. \$1.

The Rainbow of Gold. By Joseph A. Altscheler. 12mo, pp. 228. New York: Continental Publishing Company. \$1.

The Rejuvenation of Miss Semaphore. A Farcical Novel. By Hal Godfrey. Illus., 12mo, pp. 239. Boston: L. C. Page & Co. \$1.25.

The Revenge of Lucas Helm. By Auguste Blondel. Translated from the French. 12mo, pp. 76. Philadelphia: Drexel Biddle. 50 cents.

The Senator's Wife: Being a Tale of Washington Life. By Melville Philips. 18mo, pp. 240. New York: F. Tennyson Neely. 50 cents.

The Statue in the Air. By Caroline Eaton Le Conte. 24mo, pp. 120. New York: The Macmillan Company. 75 cents.

The Sword of the Pyramids. A Story of Many Wars. By Edward Lyman Bill. 12mo, pp. 363. New York: F. Tennyson Neely. Paper, 50 cents.

The Tragedy of Ages. By Isabella M. Witherspoon. 12mo, pp. 290. New York: F. Tennyson Neely. \$1.50.

The Tragedy of a Widow's Third. By Anna Christy Fall. Illus., 16mo, pp. 117. Boston: Irving P. Fox. 75 cents.

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AP.	American Amateur Photographer, N. Y.	ER.	Edinburgh Review, London.	NEM.	New England Magazine, Boston.
ACQ.	American Catholic Quarterly Review, Phila.	Ed.	Education, Boston.	NIM.	New Illustrated Magazine, London.
AHR.	American Historical Review, N. Y.	EdRL.	Educational Review, London.	NW.	New World, Boston.
AJS.	American Journal of Sociology, Chicago.	EdRNY.	Educational Review, N. Y.	NC.	Nineteenth Century, London.
AJT.	American Journal of Theology, Chicago.	EngM.	Engineering Magazine, N. Y.	NAR.	North American Review, N.Y.
ALR.	American Law Review, St. Louis.	EM.	España Moderna, Madrid.	NR.	Nouvelle Revue, Paris.
AmonM.	American Monthly Magazine, Washington, D. C.	FR.	Fortnightly Review, London.	NA.	Nuova Antologia, Rome.
AMRR.	American Monthly Review of Reviews, N. Y.	F.	Forum, N. Y.	OC.	Open Court, Chicago.
AAPS.	Annals of the American Academy of Pol. and Soc. Science, Phila.	FrL.	Frank Leslie's Monthly, N. Y.	O.	Outing, N. Y.
APS.	Appleton's Popular Science Monthly, N. Y.	GM.	Gentleman's Magazine, London.	Out.	Outlook, N. Y.
ARec.	Architectural Record, N. Y.	GBag.	Green Bag, Boston.	OM.	Overland Monthly, San Francisco.
AA.	Art Amateur, N. Y.	GMag.	Guntton's Magazine, N. Y.	PMM.	Pall Mall Magazine, London.
AI.	Art Interchange, N. Y.	Harp.	Harper's Magazine, N. Y.	PRev.	Philosophical Review, N. Y.
AJ.	Art Journal, London.	HM.	Home Magazine, N. Y.	PA.	Photo-American, N. Y.
Art.	Artist, London.	HomR.	Homiletic Review, N. Y.	PT.	Photographic Times, N. Y.
AM.	Atlantic Monthly, Boston.	IJE.	International Journal of Ethics, Phila.	PL.	Post-Lore, Boston.
Bad.	Badminton, London.	IntS.	International Studio, London.	PSQ.	Political Science Quarterly, Boston.
BankL.	Bankers' Magazine, London.	IA.	Irrigation Age, Chicago.	PRR.	Presbyterian and Reformed Review, Phila.
BankNY.	Bankers' Magazine, N. Y.	JAES.	Journal of the Ass'n of Engineering Societies, Phila.	PQ.	Presbyterian Quarterly, Columbia, S. C.
BW.	Biblical World, Chicago.	JF.	Journal of Finance, London.	QJEcon.	Quarterly Journal of Economics, Boston.
BSac.	Bibliotheca Sacra, Oberlin, O.	JMSI.	Journal of the Military Service Institution, Governor's Island, N. Y. H.	QR.	Quarterly Review, London.
BU.	Bibliothèque Universelle, Lausanne.	JPEcon.	Journal of Political Economy, Chicago.	RN.	Rassegna Nazionale, Florence.
Black.	Blackwood's Magazine, Edinburgh.	Kind.	Kindergarten Magazine, Chicago.	Refs.	Réforme Sociale, Paris.
BTJ.	Board of Trade Journal, London.	K.	Knowledge, London.	RRL.	Review of Reviews, London.
Bkman.	Bookman, N. Y.	LHJ.	Ladies' Home Journal, Phila.	RRM.	Review of Reviews, Melbourne.
CanM.	Canadian Magazine, Toronto.	LH.	Ladies' Home Journal, Phila.	RP.	Revue de Paris, Paris.
Cass.	Cassell's Magazine, London.	Lipp.	Lippincott's Magazine, Phila.	RDM.	Revue des Deux Mondes, Paris.
CasM.	Cassier's Magazine, N. Y.	LQ.	London Quarterly Review, London.	RG.	Revue Générale, Brussels.
CW.	Catholic World, N. Y.	Long.	Longman's Magazine, London.	RPP.	Revue Politique et Parliaméntaire, Paris.
CM.	Century Magazine, N. Y.	LuthQ.	Lutheran Quarterly, Gettysburg, Pa.	RSoc.	Revue Socialiste, Paris.
CJ.	Chambers's Journal, Edinburgh.	McCl.	McClure's Magazine, N. Y.	R.	Rosary, Somerset, Ohio.
CRev.	Chauties Review, N. Y.	Mac.	Macmillan's Magazine, London.	San.	Sanitarian, N. Y.
Chaut.	Chautauquan, Meadville, Pa.	MA.	Magazine of Art, London.	SRev.	School Review, Chicago.
CR.	Contemporary Review, London.	Men.	Menorah Monthly, N. Y.	Scots.	Scots Magazine, Perth.
C.	Cornhill, London.	Met.	Metaphysical Magazine, N. Y.	Scrib.	Scribner's Magazine, N. Y.
Cosmop.	Cosmopolis, London.	MRNY.	Methodist Review, Nashville.	SR.	Sewanee Review, Sewanee, Tenn.
Co.	Cosmopolitan, N. Y.	MidM.	Methodist Review, N. Y.	Str.	Strand Magazine, London.
Crit.	Critic, N. Y.	MisH.	Midland Monthly, Des Moines, Iowa.	SunM.	Sunday Magazine, London.
Dem.	Demorest's Family Magazine, N. Y.	MisR.	Missionary Herald, Boston.	TB.	Temple Bar, London.
DH.	Deutscher Hausschatz, Regensburg.	Mon.	Missionary Review, N. Y.	USM.	United Service Magazine, London.
DeutR.	Deutsche Revue, Stuttgart.	M.	Monist, Chicago.	WR.	Westminster Review, London.
D.	Dial, Chicago.	MunA.	Month, London.	WM.	Werner's Magazine, N. Y.
DR.	Dublin Review, Dublin.	MM.	Municipal Affairs, N. Y.	WWM.	Wide World Magazine, London.
		Mus.	Munsey's Magazine, N. Y.	WPM.	Wilson's Photographic Magazine, N. Y.
		NatGM.	Music, Chicago.	YR.	Yale Review, New Haven.
		NatM.	National Geographic Magazine, Washington, D. C.	YM.	Young Man, London.
		NatR.	National Magazine, Boston.	YW.	Young Woman, London.
		NCR.	National Review, London.		



THE AMERICAN MONTHLY REVIEW OF REVIEWS.

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW.

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FRANCIS JOSEPH, EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA.

(Who will have reigned fifty years on December 2.)

THE AMERICAN MONTHLY

Review of Reviews.

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NEW YORK, DECEMBER, 1898.

NO. 6.

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD.

*The Verdicts
of
November 3.*

The State and Congressional elections of 1898 have passed into history. The results have been gratifying for reasons far removed from mere partisan considerations. It was not expected in any quarter that the new House of Representatives would be Republican by any such majority as that of 1896. It had not happened since 1886 that the House elected midway between Presidential elections had given a majority to the President's party. There may be some reasons why in ordinary times this mid-term reaction, which tends to put a brake upon the positive programmes of legislation, should be regarded as not an unmixed evil. But conditions this year were certainly very exceptional. Our intervention on behalf of Cuba, resulting in war with Spain, was in no sense a partisan affair; for Democrats, quite as generally as Republicans, had contributed toward the swelling tide of public opinion that compelled the Government to act. Having taken the critical step and having waged a successful war, it was highly important, in view of the attitude of foreign nations, that the country should unmistakably support the President in all matters which are in their nature of a non-partisan char-

HON. JOSEPH W. SABCOCK, OF WISCONSIN.

(Chairman of the Republican Congressional Committee and a prominent candidate for the United States Senate.)

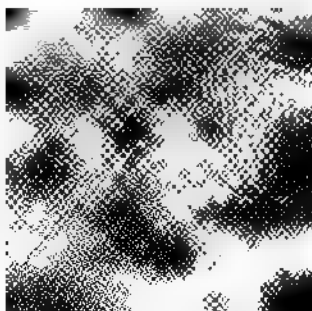
acter. There will be plenty of opportunity in the year 1900 for parties to assert themselves without any danger whatever to our foreign relations. The results this year have strengthened us abroad and have undoubtedly promoted the cause of peace throughout the earth.

*A Clear In-
dorsement of
Sound Money.*

Meanwhile, the smallness of the Republican majority in the new House (the Republicans have 55 majority in the present House of Representatives and will have about 10 in the one just elected) shows that there is plenty of material for a healthy opposition, and that the Republican party must be strictly on its good behavior if it wishes to secure support two years hence. In the West, where

THE PRESIDENT STANDS APPROVED.
From the Times (Los Angeles).

free silver was an avowed Democratic doctrine in this campaign as in 1896, the Republicans, as a rule, have not only held their own very substantially, but have in many States gained ground. In the East, where the Democrats declined to indorse the Chicago platform and ignored the money question, and where candidates for Congress actually refused to disclose their opinions, the Republicans did not fare so well. That is to say, the voters were evidently inclined to think sound money safe in any case, regardless of parties. The fact is that there is no doubt whatever about the prevailing sentiment of the Eastern States on the money question; and the silence of candidates merely meant an agreed policy between the two wings of the Democratic party not to open the old wound. There will be an ample sound-money majority in the new House—a majority considerably larger than the margin between the Republican and Democratic sides of the chamber. A special session may be needed.



HON. G. D. MEIKLEJOHN, OF
NEBRASKA.

(Assistant Secretary of War and
prominent candidate for the
United States Senate.)

*An Assured
Republican
Senate.*

As for the Senate, the Republicans have been more fortunate than they had expected—quite as fortunate, indeed, as they had dared to hope. The Senate, as at present constituted, has 44 members who are regarded as regular Republicans, while the remaining 46 of the 90 members are either Democrats, Populists, or ex-Republican free-silver men whose affiliations are now Democratic. The political character of the Legislatures chosen on November 8 makes it certain that enough regular Republicans will be sent to the Senate, as it will be constituted after March 4, to give the Republicans somewhere between 50 and 55 members. The combined opposition would therefore have from 35 to 40 members, and the assurance of a clear working majority for the Republicans is not in dispute. It has been pointed out that as a result of this sweeping Republican victory there will be scarcely a Democrat left in the Senate from any Northern State. All of the New England States, New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and all of the Western States north of the Ohio will be represented by Republicans, save Missouri, Kansas, Colorado, Nevada, and the new States of Idaho, Utah, and Washington. Senator James Smith, Jr., of

New Jersey, has failed in his strenuous effort for reelection, along with his friend Senator Edward Murphy, Jr., of New York. In Delaware Mr. Kenney, Democrat, has not served out his term; but his distinguished colleague, Mr. George Gray, will have to make room for a Republican. In Maryland Mr. Gorman's successor has already been chosen by a Republican Legislature. Senator David Turpie, of Indiana, must retire in favor of a Republican successor. Senator Allen, of Nebraska, will make way for a Republican, as will Senator Roach, of North Dakota, and Senator Mitchell, of Wisconsin. Even in West Virginia the Republicans will choose a successor to Senator Faulkner. Senator White, of California, also will disappear from the Democratic side of the Senate, and a California Republican will emerge on the other side. Naturally the candidates for Senatorial honors are numerous and active. In New York Dr. Chauncey M. Depew has well-founded expectations, while Hon. Elihu Root, who has also been urged for the English ambassadorship, has many supporters for the Senate who would like to have the President send Hon. Joseph H. Choate to London.

*A Settled
Question and
a Lost Cause.* It happens that the States that will be represented in the Senate by sound-money Republicans comprise not only a considerable numerical majority of the forty-five commonwealths of the Union, but also include probably more than two-thirds of the

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN TO THE RESCUE.
From the World (New York).

population of the country and more than three-fourths of its wealth. The political complexion of the United States Senate—with its six-year tenure and its plan for retiring one-third of the members every two years—is not subject to very rapid fluctuations. As a result of this year's elections the free-silver programme as a practical policy of the United States is blocked for at least six or eight years. Many of those who have had their serious doubts about the gold standard have at least been discerning enough to perceive that uncertainty in the monetary system of the United States is exceedingly detrimental to the prosperity of the country. After the election two years ago we did not hesitate to declare that for practical purposes the cause of free silver had been placed on the shelf along with other lost causes, and that the best thing in the world to do was to accept the existing monetary standard, raise crops, carry on business, and consider that the period of good times had made its advent. All this was true enough two years ago, although many people denied it. There will not be so many to deny it now. We are more likely in this country to turn the republic into a monarchy inside the next half dozen years than to change the gold standard for the monetary system advocated in the Chicago platform of 1896. This is merely an observation touching things as they are, and without the slightest reference to what one might prefer. For the present and for some years to come the cause of free silver in the United States is thoroughly and hopelessly defeated. Surely there can be no transcendent

Photo by Alne Dupont.

HON. ELIHU ROOT, OF NEW YORK.

(A distinguished Republican who was urged last month both for the English ambassadorship and for the Senate.)

virtue in stubbornly denying a fact that is as patent as the rising of the sun.

Colonel
Roosevelt's
Victory.

The most interesting of the State contests was Col. Theodore Roosevelt's gallant and successful campaign for the governorship of New York. In the short period between his nomination and the election day Mr. Roosevelt made about three hundred speeches—most of them brief ones from the platform of a railroad car. His perfect frankness and his well-earned reputation for honesty and truthfulness under all circumstances carried the day. The Democrats believed that they would win on the ground that there had been scandalous waste and mismanagement in the expenditure of a nine-million-dollar appropriation for the State canals by the present Republican administration. The people of the State, regardless of party, were inclined to think that there was a great deal of truth in these charges; nevertheless, they also deliberately decided to take Theodore Roosevelt at his word when—without committing himself at all to the opinion that anything wrong had been done—he gave his simple pledge

WHO'LL GET THE BLUE RIBBON?

Apropos of the expectation that Senator Platt will be able to name his own colleague—From the *Herald* (New York).

that he can possibly do it. If machines or bosses get in the way there will be no compromises. He will take counsel freely, but make his own decisions and take the full responsibility.

In Other States. In Pennsylvania the regular Republican ticket was victorious by a large plurality, although it would have

been defeated if the supporters of the reform ticket headed by Dr. Swallow and the Democratic ticket headed by Mr. Jenks had been united upon a strong anti-Quay candidate. It is altogether probable that the Republican Legislature will give Mr. Quay another term in the Senate. In our "Record of Current Events" department will be found a summing-up of the more important results of the elections throughout the country. A conspicuous victory was that of the Hon. John Lind, who, as a fusion candidate for the governorship of Minnesota, succeeded in defeating Mr. William H. Eustis. Among men who will be missed from the House of Representatives are Mr. Walker, of Massachusetts, chairman of the Committee on Banking and Currency, whose district went against him on grounds of a local rather than a political character, and Mr. Quigg, of New York City, whose place has been won by Capt. William Astor

Chanler. Mr. Chanler had made some reputation as an African traveler before winning laurels in the Spanish war. Mr. Pingree rolled up a great majority as a candidate for another gubernatorial term in Michigan, while California gave the full Republican ticket a strong indorsement.

CAPT. WILLIAM ASTOR CHANLER.

THE ROUGH RIDER'S LATEST CHANGE.

From the World (New York).

as a man of truth and courage that he would deal unflinchingly, without party or personal bias, with the canal and with all other questions of administration. And they did not take very much stock in Tammany's large promises of administrative reform, because they know that Tammany can always be arranged with by those who have ends to gain.

A Triumph of Personal Character

The people of New York had nothing in particular against Mr. Augustus Van Wyck, but they knew nothing whatever about him except that he was the personal selection of Richard Croker. They did know everything about Theodore Roosevelt and trusted him. It was a great victory and a splendid lesson for all young politicians. Mr. Roosevelt had attained what was a simply irresistible popularity through the cumulative process of making himself unpopular from time to time by doing his duty regardless of consequences. He will enter upon the governorship under many pledges and under heavy obligations; but those pledges and obligations are not to any political leaders or supporters, but wholly and entirely to the people of the State, who gave him his nomination in the first place and elected him on November 8. It is not likely that he conceives it to be his direct mission to smash political machines or to quarrel with party bosses. He will be entirely absorbed in doing the varied work of his great office in the best way

Southern Politics.

The prevailing Democratic victories of the South are not necessarily to be construed as a verdict of that part of the country against the Spanish and international policies of the McKinley administration. The Southern Democrats—broadly speaking—were probably more eager for American action of some kind on behalf of Cuba as against Spain than any other element in the

HON. W. E. STANLEY.
(Governor-elect of Kansas)

Photo by Bell.

HON. J. D. SAYERS.
(Governor-elect of Texas.)

HON. C. S. THOMAS.
(Governor-elect of Colorado.)

whole country. The expansion policy of the past has given us Florida, Texas, and the great Louisiana region, not to mention New Mexico, Arizona, and California. The South is naturally favorable to the development of American influence in the West Indies, the construction of an interoceanic canal, and the growth of American commerce in the Pacific. It is not easy, therefore, for the student of last month's elections to find in them a rejection of the policy set forth in the peace protocol as matured and maintained by our commissioners at Paris. The Democrats of the South, under leaders like Senator Morgan, are more radical than the President and his Cabinet in their anti-Spanish and "pro-expansionist" views; and indeed the public opinion of the whole country, without regard to party, is very strongly of that same way of thinking. The statistics show that the Southern Populists have been largely reabsorbed in the Democratic party.

Personality in the Campaign. Mr. Roosevelt's victory is by no means the only instance where personal character counted for a great deal more than party creeds in the balloting of November 8. Governor Wolcott, of Massachusetts, ran more than 30,000 votes ahead of the aggregate Republican vote for Congressmen, and this was due to the confidence he has earned by the high character of his administration. Governor Pingree's surprising majority in Michigan was wholly due to the belief of the people in his strength and sincerity as the champion of the community against monopolies and private interests. The heavy shrinkage of the Republican vote in Illinois is expressly attributed, in the

language of the *Outlook*, to "Governor Tanner and the Allen bill in favor of street-railroad monopolies." In Minnesota the personality of the Hon. John Lind has long been a valuable political factor, for there is a widespread belief in his absolute integrity, and the race pride of the Scandinavians was bound to outweigh party considerations. Independent voting is on the increase.

Dissentient Populism. Populism has shown itself too independent an aggregation of reformers to be easily led or held together. Its overthrow in Kansas was due in considerable part to its total inability to harmonize the anti-Republican factions. Ex Senator Peffer, for example, at one time the most conspicuous Populist in the country, ran for governor this fall on the Prohibitionist ticket in Kansas, because Governor Leedy's views on the liquor question were under suspicion. In Colorado the fusion arrangement of two years ago had fallen to pieces, and in general the disunion of the elements that ardently supported Bryan two years ago gave the Republicans the opportunity to win.

Negotiations at Paris. Our commissioners at Paris have had a tedious experience, and it is probable that their labors will have come to a complete or a virtual conclusion by the time these pages are printed. On Monday, November 21, they submitted to the Spaniards what was really an ultimatum, to be accepted or rejected within a week. Under this proposal the United States takes the Philippines, pays Spain \$20,000,000 for her outlays there, promises to give Spain equal trading privileges for a term of years, guarantees practical free trade in the isl-

ands for all nations, and waives all claims against Spain, public and private, growing out of losses in Cuba previous to our intervention. The Spaniards asked for a two days' adjournment, and they will hardly have ventured to reject what in any case would be enforced. We assured our readers well in advance that Spanish statesmanship

sense of these discussions, and that the mere trick of calling a part of the debt of Spain a Cuban debt was not a sufficient reason for piling financial obligations either upon the island or upon the people of the United States. This answer being absolute, the Spaniards at length yielded.

JUDGE DAY TO SEÑOR RIOS AT THE PARIS CONFERENCE:
"As to this Philippine question, I suggest that we just stop talking and flip a coin for the islands. Heads I win, tails you lose!"—From *Geddon* (Madrid).

and Spanish public opinion alike had, in point of fact, realized that the colonial possessions were lost beyond recovery, and that the Philippines were doomed as well as Cuba. But Spanish statesmanship was perfectly well aware that neither President McKinley nor the American people as a whole were at all eager to assume responsibility for the Philippine archipelago. On the other hand, it was plain enough that circumstances had placed us where we should hardly be able to avoid the acquisition, at least temporarily, of those distant islands. The Spanish fleet being annihilated and the Philippine insurgents being determined under no circumstances to submit to a reestablishment of Spanish rule, there was nothing left but the juridical question of sovereignty rights. The Spanish mind loves to weave hair-splitting arguments which ignore plain facts, and thus it would be easy for a Spanish lawyer or statesman to prove that Spain has never lost any of the colonial empire that she possessed a hundred years ago. His argument would be conclusive, but tangible facts and conditions would not bear out his fine words; and so it has been at Paris. There were floods of beautiful argument to show why the Cuban debt must go with Cuba just as a roof goes with a house. To which, of course, the short and simple answer was that there was no Cuban debt at all in the

When it came to the Philippine question, there remained all the time the palpable fact that the Americans were in actual possession and control at Manila, with the Spanish army in the position of prisoners of war and with no communication between Spain and the Philippines of any sort, except by American courtesy. There is a dwindling but ever-faithful group of people in England who adhere to the cult of the Stuart family, and are ready to prove at any time that Queen Victoria is a most palpable usurper, and that somebody else is the rightful sovereign of England—all of which has scant practical importance in view of the hard facts of the situation. Spanish sovereignty in the Philippines—though it will take a little time to make the fact perfectly clear to some minds—is as defunct for practical purposes as Spanish sovereignty in Mexico. This is merely a statement of historical truth, quite irrespective of what one's preferences might be touching the policy of the Government of the United States.

Spain was simply in the position of a former holder of property who is asked to remove any possible cloud from the title by giving a quit-claim deed, and who was quibbling with the object of obtaining as large a consideration as possible for yielding up all technical claims to what was already quite beyond hope or chance of actual recovery.

"DON QUIXOTE," OF MADRID, SUGGESTS
THE ABOVE AS "ONE WAY TO SOLVE THE
PHILIPPINE QUESTION."

*Consider
the
Alternatives.*

All intelligent opinions during the past month have been in confirmation of the view that the only salvation for the Philippine archipelago lies in the full establishment there of American authority. The Spanish forces would be wholly unable to quell the rebels under Aguinaldo and other leaders. But, on the other hand, the rebels themselves are not sufficiently unified in leadership and purpose to establish peace and order. If left to themselves they would break into warring factions at once, Manila would be looted, all foreign and commercial interests would be sacrificed, and anarchy would prevail. Already they are acting independently in different islands. Spain would, of course, endeavor to sell the islands to European powers. But here, again, all sorts of trouble would instantly arise. French influence predominates in Spain; and France and Russia would by no means be willing to see Germany installed at Manila. Germany and England, on the other hand, would assuredly not be willing

D. EUGENIO MONTENEO RIOS.

(President of the Spanish Senate and head of the Spanish peace commissioners at Paris.)

to see France or Russia fall heir to the islands. The continental powers, in a group, would protest against an English solution of the Philippine question. The Japanese, undoubtedly, would be glad to take the islands, but neither Europe, on the one hand, nor the Filipinos, on the other, would tolerate that. The loss of the Philippines by Spain has really been inevitable for a long time. Spanish unfitness for colonial administration had become too glaringly apparent in the light of nineteenth-century civilization to survive far into the twentieth. Even if we had not taken Manila, the destruction of Cervera's fleet and Spain's loss of the West Indies would have fanned the spirit of Philippine revolution into a great flame, which Spain's diminished resources would have been unable to quench. It is only when one gives careful consideration to the possible alternatives that the necessity for the further presence of American power in the Philippines seems clear.

*Our Work
at Manila.*

We shall not be able to do impossible things through the mere presence of the American flag in those distant islands, but we may certainly hope to improve conditions there several hundred per cent. Our work in the Philippines can be done without

SEÑOR RIOS IN HIS CAPACITY OF PEACE-MAKER—AS THE CARICATURIST OF "LA REVISTA MODERNA" (MADRID) DEPICTS HIM.

making the inhabitants of those islands citizens of the United States, precisely as England's work in India does not make the people of India citizens of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. The word "annexation" is not a fortunate one as applied to the Philippine question, and ought not to be used. We annexed

province. The distress there is alarmingly great. We have spoken elsewhere of the death of Colonel Waring and of his sanitary mission to Cuba. It is to be hoped that a most thorough-going plan of sanitary reform will be instituted with the least possible delay after our Government takes control of the city of Havana. Meanwhile the appeals for the relief of destitution that Admiral Sampson and others have been making ought to receive the most generous response from sources both public and private. The paralysis of industry has left the population of Cuba in an appalling condition. The death-rate at Havana and in the towns at the western end of the island has continued to be almost incredibly high. At Santiago and in the region where the United States has for some weeks been in full control there has been a great alleviation of distress and a corresponding reduction in the death-rate.

SPAIN TO SEÑOR RÍOS: "Adéu, Thiers!"

Don Quirote, of Madrid, in this picture suggests that Ríos, in ceding Spanish territory to the United States, takes a place in history with Thiers, who ceded Alsace-Lorraine to the Germans.)

Texas by arrangement with the Texans; we annexed Florida by purchase from Spain; and we annexed California by conquest, followed by treaty with Mexico. In no such sense does any one propose to add the Philippine Islands to the domain of the United States. For the good of the inhabitants and for the reasonable ends of international commerce it is necessary that there should be some kind of governmental authority exercised in those distant islands, and the people of the United States will have to exercise that authority through Congress, which, in turn, will authorize the President to create such civil and military institutions in the islands as may seem best fitted to the task of promoting the welfare of the population. We are not to exploit the Philippines for our own benefit or to "possess" them after the discredited Spanish fashion.

Conditions in Cuba.

It is now understood on all hands that the United States will not have relieved Spain of full authority at all points in Cuba until about January 1. It is reported, however, that the Spaniards have now consented to begin, rather than end, evacuation at Havana, and that the American army will soon be in possession of that city and

The Cuban leaders are much exercised at present over the question of annexation. They admit that the ultimate destiny of Cuba must be absorption by the United States, and they go so far as to recognize the necessity for the rapid substitution of the English for the Spanish language. It is said, indeed, that thousands of people in Santiago and the eastern part of Cuba are now doing their best to learn English. But the Cubans of influence who led the insurgent cause are apparently almost unanimous in the view that it would be better both for Cuba and for the United States if the

WHICH WILL GET HER?

Uncle Sam and the insurgents struggle for possession of the island.—From Don Quirote (Madrid.)

Gamazo. Puigcerver Correa. Almodovar Del Rio. Sagasta. Groizard. Capdepon. Auzan. Romero Giron.
 A COUNCIL OF THE SPANISH MINISTRY, THE QUEEN RECENTLY PRESIDING.

island could go through a period of reconstruction and preparation under the flag of the Cuban republic. On the other hand, there are important business interests at work to secure annexation

without delay, on the ground that Cuba needs the repose and security which can only come under the direct auspices of a powerful government like that of the United States. A good deal of the difficulty that will be experienced in adjusting the future political status of Cuba will be due to the fact that there are selfish private interests at stake on both sides of the main issue. Certainly the United States must not do anything that would look like a selfish policy of aggrandizement.

*Spain's
 Unhappy
 Condition.*

The political condition of Spain is deplorable. Parties are splitting into fragments, and there has been agreement about only one thing, namely, that Prime Minister Sagasta should not be relieved of the unpleasant responsibility of bringing the peace negotiations to a conclusion. It is equally well understood that as soon as the treaty question has been disposed of there will be an end of the Sagasta administration. But what will follow it no one, either in Spain or outside, seems to know. The Carlists are supposed to be preparing for a formidable attempt to seize the monarchy, while the republicans, on the other hand, have some hopes of overthrowing the monarchy altogether. In the army there are declared to be on foot rival schemes for military dictatorship under leaders of as different quality as General Campos and General Weyler. No American worthy of the name has any ill-will toward the heavily burdened Spanish people. It is hard to believe, however, that they can escape a period of very considerable difficulty in the readjustment of their domestic politics.

THE DREAD SPECTERS OF CARLISM AND REPUBLICANISM
 THAT ALARM THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT.
 From *Cometes* (Barcelona).

*No Haste
Necessary.*

It is believed that the President will advise the utmost care and deliberation in devising the permanent system under which the United States will exercise sovereignty in Porto Rico and the Philippines. For some time to come it will be necessary to carry on governmental work under military authority, and it will be best for everybody concerned to have the military government last long enough to allow time for thorough study of the question what to do next. Natives will be utilized, it is reasonable to suppose, as rapidly as possible for all sorts of local administrative work, and will be gradually employed for police and garrison duty, so that there may be no need of maintaining large bodies of American troops at these outlying points. In Cuba it will be imperative that Cubans should be employed as largely and as speedily as can be arranged.

THE IMPERIAL ENCAMPMENT AT JERICHO.

with the Philippines. Later and correct advices, however, dashed the Spanish hopes that had been raised for a brief moment. The President had a great deal more to fear from the adverse effects at the polls of "Algerism," so called, in the army administration than from disapproval of the terms of the peace protocol and the demands of our commissioners at Paris. It was seemingly the Spanish notion that the election results would weaken President McKinley's "nerve," and that the European powers might be correspondingly emboldened to assert themselves on Spain's behalf in the matter of the Philippines. Arrangements were made to have the German Emperor visit Spain on his way home from Palestine. For one reason or another his sensational Oriental visit was shortened somewhat, and it seemed to be definitely arranged that he was to accept the Spanish invitation and go to Madrid. Just what changed his plans at the last will perhaps not be made public in our time. It is likely enough, however, that the Hon. Andrew D. White, our ambassador at Berlin, could throw some light on the matter if he were at liberty to do so. The last thing that Germany wants is serious trouble with the

EMPEROR WILLIAM IN HIS PALESTINE UNIFORM.

*Emperor
William's
Change of
Plan.*

It was evident that the Spanish peace commissioners were making delay at Paris by instructions from Madrid, in the hope that something would turn up in the Spanish interest. There was an ill-founded impression in Europe that the nature of the demands made by the American peace commissioners might be considerably modified in case of a Democratic victory on November 8. The first reports, indeed, of the American elections as disseminated in Europe were to the effect that the voters had condemned the administration and were averse to the plan of having anything to do

"LITTLE BILLIE" COMES BACK.

WILLIAM: "Oh, bother Jericho! If there's going to be a row in Europe I must be in it."
From *Westminster Budget* (London).

United States, and Mr. White was in a position, undoubtedly, to inform the German foreign office that the American demand at Paris for the cession of the Philippines was to be taken literally and absolutely. The German foreign office, in turn, had abundant opportunity to communicate with the Emperor, and to show him the reasons why a visit to Madrid at the critical moment of the peace negotiations would be inopportune, to say the least.

*Austria
and
America*

The Austrian Emperor, who will this month complete his rounded fifty years on the throne, is evidently not intending to have the United States bear him or his government any lasting grudge on account of the Austrian sympathy with Spain in the late war. Like all other experienced European statesmen, Francis Joseph long ago learned to accept accomplished facts. His government has indicated its desire that its diplomatic representative at Washington and ours at Vienna should be raised from the rank of minister to that of ambassador. It is understood that Baron Hengelmüller is to leave his post at Washington and represent Austria at the Swiss capital, while Count Kuefstein, who is now Austrian minister to Switzerland, will become ambassador at Washington. Mr. Charlemagne Tower, of Philadelphia, who represents us at Vienna, will presumably find himself an ambassador at a very early day. It would be a good thing for the United States if it should mark its new era in foreign affairs and international relationships by purchasing or building permanent United States headquarters in all of the principal European capitals. The money could hardly be better invested.

*A Victory
for Justice
in France.*

In France the Fashoda incident and the much-discussed strain of relations with England have by no means afforded the most absorbing popular topic. The supreme question has continued to be that of the army versus the revision of the Dreyfus case. The anti-revisionists overthrew the Brisson ministry, only to find that the Dupuy ministry would not or could not turn the tide that had at last set toward justice and fair play. The supremacy of the civil over the military authority in France in times of peace has been declared just as firmly by the Dupuy ministry as by Brisson. The Court of Cassation, having been authorized to decide whether or not there should be a re-opening of the Dreyfus case, has made its investigation and has ordered the revision. Capt. Alfred Dreyfus, in his far-away prison off French Guiana, has been notified through the provincial governor of Guiana that his case is to

be opened. The legal representatives of Captain Dreyfus, by order of the Court of Cassation, will have an opportunity to examine the alleged evidence upon which Dreyfus was originally condemned, the nature of which at the time was kept secret. The ordeal through which France has been passing will be worth all that it has cost if it brings justice to pass in the end.

CAPT. ALFRED DREYFUS.

*British Naval
Activity*

There were extraordinary naval preparations in the great British ports and shipyards last month at just about the time when the talk of German interference on behalf of Spain was most general. It will be remembered that the German Emperor had also intended to visit Egypt as the guest of the Khedive. It is said that the Khedive had urged the Emperor to come, and had complained to him bitterly of British usurpation of authority in the domains over which the Khedive would like to exercise his own undisputed sway. There was apparently some project on foot—partially involved in the friendly conference between the Emperor William and the Sultan at Constantinople—for a more vigorous assertion of the Turkish suzerainty over Egypt, with the object of checking England's rapidly growing prestige through the whole course of the Nile country. It was generally supposed that England's immense naval preparations were intended to convince the French that Major Marchand was a mere scientific

explorer and not a government agent authorized to set up French sovereignty at Fashoda. But this is scarcely credible, inasmuch as nobody could well attach great political importance to Major Marchand's very interesting and heroic expedition. Possibly we may be informed some day that if the German Emperor had visited the Khedive with the result of raising any question whatever about the British status in Egypt, Lord Salisbury would instantly have declared Egypt either a permanent British protectorate or a full-fledged British colony, and backed up the announcement by the mobilizing of two or three flying squadrons. In certain indirect ways, moreover, it is not at all improbable that England's decisive manner had its effect upon Spain, as convincing the government at Madrid that none of the great powers of the continent would venture to dispute the demands of the United States. The assertiveness of the Anglo-Saxon vexes continental Europe, but nobody will venture to pick up the gauntlet.

*Kitchener
as Railroad
Builder.*

General Kitchener, now "Lord Kitchener of Khartoum," has been the recipient of endless honor and ovations in England. The fighting blood of our British cousins has not been so keenly stirred up for half a century as in the past month or two. They are confident in the vast power of their navy, and such an achievement as that of General Kitchener also gives them new pride and belief in their army. As for General Kitchener himself, he is evidently the engineer more than the fighting man, and justly looks upon his victory as a triumph won by patient and precise adaptation of means to ends in the construction of his Nile railroad, the utilization of his specially designed river gunboats, and the organization of his services of supply. While England is feasting him, giving him swords, and glorifying his prowess, he is busy with the engineering and financial details for the completion of his railroad into the Soudan. "From Cairo to the Cape" is more than ever now the motto of the British colonial

LORD KITCHENER RECEIVING A SWORD OF HONOR FROM THE LORD MAYOR OF LONDON.

enthusiasts, and they are certain to realize their object in the early future.

*Tasks for
American
Engineers.*

American army engineers, like those of England, may find in territorial expansion a very important field of activity. Public works will be demanded in the Philippines; harbor improvements must be made in the West Indies; the Nicaragua Canal is now a naval and a military as well as a commercial necessity; and there will have to be a trunk railroad from one end of Cuba to the other. Naval engineers and constructors are full of enthusiasm over the prospects of a rapid enlargement and improvement of our collection of warships, and incidentally they have had something to think about in the possibility of recovering some of the Spanish vessels sunk at Santiago and the raising of some of those that went to the bottom in the battle of Manila on May 1. The *Maria Teresa*, of Cervera's fleet, had been finally gotten afloat and was in process of being towed to the United States. Unfortunately a bad storm was encountered, and it became necessary for the towing vessels to cut the hulk adrift. Subsequently it was found that she had gone ashore

on one of the Bahama Islands. There is still some faint hope of saving her, but the best expert opinion seems to be that her case is beyond recovery. Lieutenant Hobson is entitled to very high praise for his persistence and ingenuity in the endeavor to secure one or more of Cervera's ships as trophies and as valuable additions to the American navy. May he yet succeed!

The Army Inquiry.

The President's board of inquiry into the state of the army and the conduct of the war has been pursuing its work upon a plan which cannot be intelligently estimated until the report is made. If the newspapers are to be believed, the commissioners have the habit of giving their emphatic approval to any witness who will declare that he found everything all right and has no complaints to make; while they browbeat the poor fellow who has the temerity to give them the sort of information they are supposed to be seeking. It appears that the commission has been taking its testimony for the most part in secret, and therefore it will be well not to conclude that it is so preposterously a white-washing affair as one would have to believe if the newspaper reports were taken without a grain of salt. It is at least, however, known by the public what witnesses were summoned and in what order they have been heard. A great deal of plain truth has been set forth by Lieutenant Parker in the valuable article we publish this month on the supply services of the army, and there are suggestions of the highest value in the plans set forth by him for the organization of a general staff. Lieutenant Parker, by the way, has just brought out a little book entitled "The Gatlings at Santiago." It is a fascinating story of the organization and work of the Gatling gun detachment which Lieutenant Parker originated and led so brilliantly. Besides this, it is extremely valuable for its frank and unapologetic comments upon all phases of the Santiago expedition as Lieutenant Parker saw them.

The Joint High Commission.

The joint high commission has been in session at Washington, where, according to all accounts, its labors promised to be successful in a high degree. Lord Herschell, as head of the commission, has received many honors, and the Canadian premier and his colleagues have been made to feel themselves as welcome as they could be at any place in the whole world. American sentiment is very easily touched, and British friendliness, as expressed during the past year, has aroused reciprocal feelings throughout this country that bid fair to have permanence and tangible results. The most difficult question the commission has

to deal with is that of a reciprocity tariff, but even this question, we are informed, is likely to be brought to the point of a reasonable agreement. Meanwhile, it will be a great thing to

LIEUT. JOHN H. PARKER.

clear up boundary disputes and ancient controversies over fishing rights, transportation privileges, canal navigation, and other points of friction.

Southern Race Conflicts.

At certain points in North Carolina and South Carolina the strife of the political season led to race conflicts last month, with a deplorable amount of fatal shooting and with still further deaths by lynching. A great deal of uneasiness has followed among colored men throughout the country. While these occurrences have been most scandalous, it remains true that the colored race in the South, upon the whole, is in a better condition at the end of this year 1898 than it has ever been in before. The North cannot in any specific sense help to settle these local difficulties in the Southern States. Federal interference would do a hundred times more harm than good. The best thing the colored men in the South can do is to follow the advice of their wisest leaders like Booker T. Washington, who tell them to keep out of politics, to gain the good-will of the best white people of their own neighborhoods, and to cultivate industry, temperance, and thrift, to-

gether with the right kind of education. Sensible men in the North should try to understand something of the great difficulties under which both races are placed in certain districts of the South, and should remember that the solution of difficult social and political problems having their origin in a long series of historical facts must of necessity require much time for the working out of remedial processes. It is hardly necessary to say over and over again to intelligent readers that the fact of our having domestic problems to deal with cannot excuse us from doing our part of the world's international police work. We should most assuredly not be left in a position to deal any more satisfactorily with race questions at home, by virtue of deciding against trying to help keep order and promote the gradual growth of civilization in the Philippines, for example.

America and England. It was significant in the recent parade of London streets on Lord Mayor's Day, which is strictly an official affair, that one of the most conspicuous of the emblematic floats was devoted to the good understanding between England and the United States. It is not merely on informal occasions, but even on those of a good deal of political and governmental importance, that the use of American

Photo by Rinehart, Omaha.

OMAHA EXPOSITION—PEACE CELEBRATION.

colors has become quite the common thing in England. In the various peace "jubilees" and celebrations throughout this country, on the other hand, the British flag has been similarly honored and everywhere applauded. Philadelphia, Chicago, and Omaha are among the cities which have celebrated the termination of hostilities in a manner important enough to be historic, President McKinley attending all of the celebrations. It is reported from Omaha that in spite of the difficulties involved in running an exposition in a war year, the great trans-Mississippi fair has been a success financially as well as in every other respect, and that it will be carried on next year on a still larger scale.

Two Surveys of Old-World Problems. We publish elsewhere a very interesting survey of current affairs in the Old World as they appeared last month to Mr. W. T. Stead in the light of an extensive journey he has taken through the continental capitals. His article was written in Russia, where his inquiries convinced him that the Czar's peace manifesto must be received in the most serious sense, and that the proposed conference for gradual disarmament ought to have the most fortunate results for the peoples of Europe groaning under the burdens of militarism. Mr. Stead calls attention to the remarkable growth of German influence in the Turkish empire and to the manner in which the Germans have succeeded lately in superseding the Russians in influence at Constantinople, while leaving all rivals behind in the commercial scramble. Mr. William E. Curtis, from exceptionally good sources of information, writes instructively and entertainingly of recent events in China.

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS.

(From October 21 to November 20, 1898.)

October 26.—A joint session of the peace commissions is held in Paris....Some of the Spanish sailors captured during the war and held at Manila are released by the American authorities....General Wood instructs the American commandant at Manzanillo, Cuba, to issue no rations to Cubans in arms.

October 27.—Spain's peace commissioners at Paris accept the views of the American commissioners respecting the Cuban debt.

October 28. The War Department investigating commission visits Camp Thomas.

October 29.—The occupation of Cuba is discussed in conference by President McKinley, Secretary Alger, and Adjutant-General Corbin.

October 30.—The First Tennessee Regiment sails from San Francisco for Manila.

October 31.—At the meeting of the peace commissions in Paris the American commissioners present the demand of the United States for the Philippine Islands, with a proposition to assume such part of the Philippine debt as was incurred for the actual improvement of the islands, but distinctly declining to pay any military indemnity.

November 1.—The American commissioners on the evacuation of Cuba present the demand of the United States that evacuation be completed on or before January 1, 1899....The cruiser *Infanta Maria Teresa*, flagship of Cervera's squadron, is abandoned in a gale north of San Salvador.

November 2.—Committees of the War Department investigation commission take testimony in Washington, D. C., and in Lexington, Ky.

November 3.—The War Department issues an order for the movement of troops to occupy Cuba....The Cubans employed in cleaning and repairing the streets of Santiago de Cuba strike for higher wages.

PEACE JUBILEE ARCH AT CHICAGO.

THE UNITED STATES AND SPAIN—ENDING OF THE WAR.

October 21.—General Wood, as military governor of Santiago de Cuba, issues a proclamation guaranteeing personal rights to the inhabitants...The American and Spanish peace commissions held their seventh joint session in Paris....The War Department investigating commission inspects the hospital at Fort McPherson, Georgia.

October 22.—The War Department investigating commission inspects the camp at Anniston, Ala....The transport *Rio de Janeiro* arrives at San Francisco from Manila with 140 sick soldiers and reports 7 deaths on the voyage.

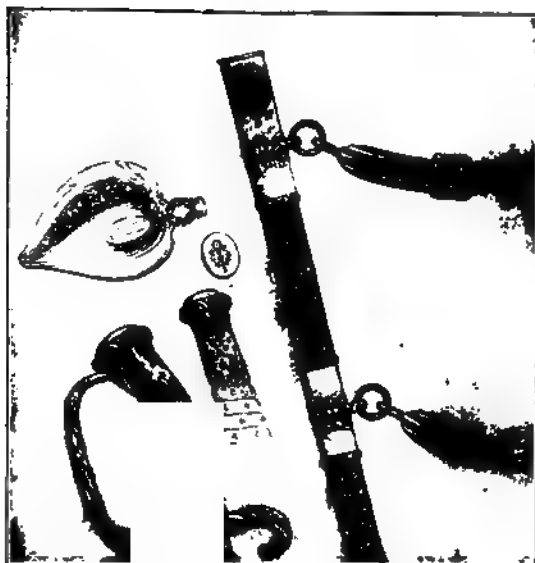
October 23.—Admiral Sampson's report of the naval operations resulting in the destruction of Cervera's fleet is made public....The transport *Manitoba*, with the Third Wisconsin, sails from San Juan and the hospital ship *Relief* from Ponce, Porto Rico, for the United States.

October 24.—The American and Spanish peace commissions hold a joint session....The last of the Spanish troops in Porto Rico, under General Ortega, sail for Spain...The time limit for the evacuation of Cuba by Spain is extended by President McKinley from December 1 to January 1....The first session of the Cuban Assembly is held at Santa Cruz del Sur.

October 25.—The Spanish Government protests against the action of the United States in sending the battleships *Oregon* and *Iowa* to Manila, alleging violation of the spirit of the peace protocol.

Photo by Bell.

THE RECENT GAS EXPLOSION IN LAW LIBRARY, CAPITOL BUILDING, WASHINGTON, SHOWING BURNED DOCUMENTS.



SWORD OF HONOR VOTED TO ADMIRAL DEWEY BY CONGRESS.
(Designed by Tiffany & Co., New York.)

November 4.—The Third Illinois Regiment sails from Ponce, Porto Rico, for New York....The Fifty-first Iowa sails for Manila on the transport *Pennsylvania*.

November 5.—The United States makes public the text of the peace protocol signed August 12.

November 6.—It is announced that 8 post-offices have been established by the United States in the Department of Santiago de Cuba.

November 7.—The Cuban Assembly is called to order at Santa Cruz del Sur by Gen. Calixto Garcia; Domingo Mendez Capote is elected president....The commission investigating the War Department holds a session in Chicago, taking testimony relative to conditions at Camp Thomas.

November 8.—The transport *Newport*, with troops for the Philippines, sails from San Francisco....The Cuban Assembly at Santa Cruz del Sur votes for the disbandment of the Cuban army.

November 9.—The American and Spanish peace commissioners hold a joint session at Paris.

November 10.—The resignations of President Maso and his associates in the provisional government of the Cuban republic are presented to the Cuban Assembly and accepted; the insurgent government is now in the hands of the Assembly...General Wood appoints General Perez (Cuban) mayor of Guantanamo.

November 13.—The transport *Manitoba* sails from Savannah, Ga., for Nuevitas, Cuba, with General Carpenter and six troops of the Eighth United States Cavalry.

November 14.—General Breckinridge testifies before the commission investigating the War Department....In a fight between soldiers of the Ninth Regiment of immunes (colored) and a party of Cubans, twenty-five miles north of Santiago de Cuba, 4 of the latter and 2 of the soldiers are killed and several persons are wounded; General Wood offers a reward of \$1,000 for the names of the men doing the shooting.

November 15.—Spain's request for further delay in evacuating Cuba is refused, and that government is notified that American occupation will not be postponed beyond January 1, 1899.

November 16.—Spain's peace commissioners at Paris request that the terms of the protocol relating to the Philippines be submitted to an arbitrator for interpretation.

November 17.—General Wood decides to remove the three negro regiments from the town of San Luis, in the province of Santiago de Cuba.

November 18.—The commission investigating the conduct of the war meets in New York City and takes testimony....The *Charleston* and *Concord* return to Manila from Iloilo, reporting most of the island of Payay in the hands of the insurgents.

November 19.—Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Vanderlip leaves for Porto Rico and Cuba to investigate financial conditions.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—AMERICAN.

October 23.—A committee of one hundred is appointed by the New York Bar Association to conduct the judiciary campaign against Tammany.

October 24.—The United States Supreme Court decides the Joint Traffic Association case in favor of the Government and against the railroads.

October 25.—Governor Russell, of North Carolina, issues a proclamation on the subject of lawlessness in connection with the political campaign.

October 26.—The two factions of Colorado Republicans unite on a ticket headed by Henry R. Wolcott for governor.

November 1.—The voting of the New York soldiers in camp at Middletown, Pa., is begun.

November 8.—Elections are held in forty-two States, in half of which governors are chosen, as follows: California, Connecticut, Kansas, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Dakota, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, and Wyoming choose Republican governors; South Carolina, Tennessee, and Texas



SWORD OF HONOR GIVEN TO
GENERAL KITCHENER.

elect Democrats; Nevada elects a "Silver" candidate, and Democratic-Populist fusionists are successful in Colorado, Idaho, Minnesota, and Nebraska, while in South Dakota the official count will be needed to determine the result; of the Legislatures which will have the choosing of United States Senators, the Republicans secure majorities in California, Connecticut, Delaware, Indiana, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, New Jersey, New York, North Dakota, Pennsylv-

vania, Washington, Wisconsin, and Wyoming, the Democrats and fusionists in Florida, Missouri, Montana, Nevada, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, and West Virginia; this insures a Republican majority in the United States Senate after March 4, 1899; the national House of Representatives is Republican by a majority of 9....At Phoenix, S. C., there is a serious race riot in connection with the election; 8 negroes are lynched and killed.

November 10.—A new municipal government is established at Wilmington, N. C., by the whites; the office of a negro newspaper is burned and 8 negroes are killed....Senator Quay, of Pennsylvania, announces his candidacy for reelection.

November 11.—The new city government of Wilmington, N. C., compels negro leaders and white Republicans to leave the city.

November 14.—The municipal assembly of the Greater New York adopts the city budget for 1899, formally fixed at \$93,520,082.03 by the board of estimate.

November 15.—The Michigan Supreme Court declares boycotting in labor disputes illegal.

November 17.—The United States Court of Claims awards nearly \$2,000,000 to New York Indians for lands in Kansas sold by the Government.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—FOREIGN.

October 24.—An anarchist suspected of designs on the life of Emperor William of Germany is arrested in Alexandria, Egypt....Opening of the French Chamber.

October 25.—The French ministry resigns on account of the Dreyfus case.

October 27.—The appeal for revision of the Dreyfus case is argued before the Court of Cassation at Paris....The British cabinet meets in London.

October 29.—The Court of Cassation at Paris decides to grant a revision of the Dreyfus case.

October 31.—A new French ministry is organized, with M. Dupuy as premier and minister of the interior....The Japanese cabinet resigns.

November 1.—The new French cabinet agrees to give its aid to the securing of justice in the Dreyfus case.

November 4.—The French Chamber of Deputies reassembles.

November 5.—A new Japanese ministry, under Field Marshal Marquis Yamagata Aritomo, is announced.

November 6.—The Newfoundland minister of finance resigns office on the demand of the governor.

November 7.—The Greek cabinet resigns office.

November 10.—Lucchesi, the assassin of the Empress Elizabeth of Austria, is tried and convicted in Geneva and sentenced to imprisonment for life....The capital of the new United States of Central America is located at Chinandega, Nicaragua.

November 12.—The Earl of Minto is sworn in as governor-general of Canada.

ARRIVAL OF GENERAL KITCHENER IN ENGLAND.

Following are the names of the governors-elect (those marked * are reflected):

California.....	Henry T. Gage.
Colorado.....	Charles S. Thomas.
Connecticut.....	George E. Lounsbury.
Idaho.....	Frank Stennessberg.*
Kansas.....	W. E. Stanley.
Massachusetts.....	Roger Wolcott.*
Michigan.....	Hazen S. Pingree.*
Minnesota.....	John Lind.
Nebraska.....	William A. Poynter.
Nevada ..	Reinhold Sadler.
New Hampshire ..	Frank W. Rollins.
New Jersey.....	Foster M. Voorhees.
New York.....	Theodore Roosevelt.
North Dakota.....	F. B. Fancher.
Pennsylvania ..	William A. Stone.
South Carolina.....	William H. Ellerbe.*
Tennessee.....	Benton McMillin.
Texas ..	Joseph D. Sayers.
Wisconsin.....	Edward Scofield.*
Wyoming.....	De Forest Richards.

November 9.—Four negroes are lynched at Phoenix S. C., for participation in the shooting of an election officer.

November 5.—A Russian admiral and forty sailors are refused permission by the Chinese Government to proceed from Tien-tsin to Peking.

November 6.—The Japanese minister in China has an audience with the Emperor of China and the Empress Dowager. . . . Russia suggests the name of Prince George of Greece for commissioner-general of Crete.

November 7.—The Russian admiral at Retimo, Crete, forcibly conveys some Turkish troops aboard a transport.

November 10.—The joint high commission on disputes between the United States and Canada begins sessions in Washington.

November 16.—Mr Chamberlain speaks in London on the desirability of cooperation between the United States, Great Britain, Germany, and Japan. . . . The landing of a French force on Italian territory in Africa causes excitement in Italy.

November 17.—The Anglo-American joint high commission in its session at Washington considers the fisheries and reciprocity questions.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH.

October 22.—Fourteen negroes and one white are killed in a race conflict near Harperville, Miss. . . . The Emperor and Empress of Germany leave Constantinople for Palestine.

October 23.—Dr. Hermann Mueller, of Vienna, dies of the bubonic plague in that city.

October 25.—The triennial convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States adjourns to meet in San Francisco in 1901.

October 26.—Sixty Japanese are drowned as the result of a collision between two steamers.

October 29.—The Emperor and Empress of Germany enter Jerusalem and visit the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

November 4.—The Joint Traffic Association is formally dissolved.

November 5.—The roof of a theater under construction in Detroit falls, killing 11 workmen and injuring a number of others.

November 6.—A gas explosion and fire wreck the United States Supreme Court room in the Capitol at

PRINCE EDWARD OF YORK. (From his latest photograph.)

November 15.—Decorations for bravery at Khartoum are bestowed on various officers by the British Government. . . . Sir Francis Grenfell is appointed governor of Malta.

November 16.—The Italian Parliament is opened.

November 19.—A new cabinet is formed in Brazil.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

October 23.—Chinese soldiers attack a party of English engineers at the Marco Polo bridge, on the Peking-Hankow Railway.

October 24.—The commissioners on the boundary dispute between Nicaragua and Costa Rica report another disagreement. . . . The British foreign office issues a paper dealing with the Fashoda incident.

October 30.—The announcement is made at St. Petersburg that all the great powers have accepted the invitation of the Czar to take part in the proposed conference on disarmament.

October 31.—Emperor William of Germany receives from the Sultan of Turkey a plot of ground at Jerusalem said to have been the site of the abode of the Virgin Mary and presents it to the German Catholics.

November 2.—A strong Russian fleet is assembled at Port Arthur; the British warships at Wei-Hai-Wei are cleared for action.

TURKISH FRIGATE TAKING TROOPS AWAY FROM CRETE BY ORDER OF EUROPE.

Washington and damage many public records and works of art.

November 12.—The mining troubles at Virden, Ill., are adjusted satisfactorily to both sides....Princeton defeats Yale at football by a score of 6 to 0.

November 13.—The United States battleships *Oregon* and *Iowa* arrive at Rio de Janeiro.

November 17.—Collisions between negro miners and striking white miners occur near Pana, Ill....President Dwight, of Yale University, tenders his resignation.

November 18.—The ship *Atalanta* is wrecked on the Oregon coast and all but two of her crew of thirty men are lost.

November 19.—Harvard defeats Yale at football by a score of 17 to 0.

OBITUARY.

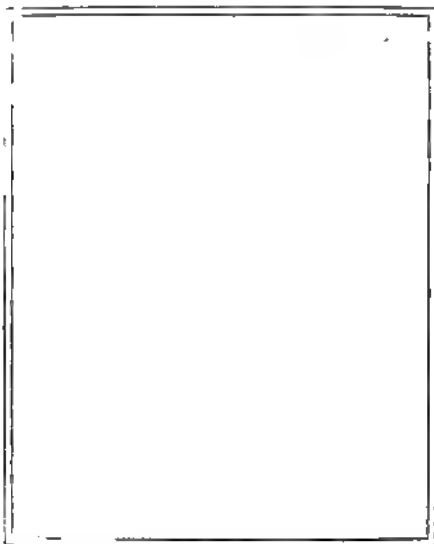
October 21.—Col. John J. Upham, U. S. A., retired, 61.

October 24.—Lieut.-Gen. Sir William Howley Goodenough, in command of the British troops in south Africa, 68.

October 25.—Pierre Pavis de Chavannes, the celebrated French painter, 73. (See page 714.)

October 27.—Silas Sadler Packard, the well-known business educator, 73.

October 29.—Col. George E. Waring, Jr., 65. (See page 682.)



THE LATE DAVID A. WELLS.

October 30.—Rev. Dr. Samuel White Duncan, foreign secretary of the American Baptist Missionary Union, 60.

October 31.—Lady Theodore Martin (Helen Faült), celebrated English actress, 81.... Gen. Sir Edward Lugard, of the British army, 88.... Gen. Joseph Rodman West, formerly United States Senator from Florida, 76.... Ex-Representative Joshua G. Hall, of New Hampshire, 70.

November 5.—David Ames Wells, distinguished American economist, 70.

THE LATE M. PAVIS DE CHAVANNES.

November 7.—Gen. Robert Lenox Banks, of Albany, N. Y., 70.

November 8.—Max Alvary, the German operatic tenor, 42.... Ex-Lieut.-Gov. Byron Weston, of Massachusetts, 66.

November 9.—Ex-Mayor De Witt C. Cregier, of Chicago, 60.

November 11.—Carl Steen Andersen de Bille, formerly Danish minister to the United States.... Col. Enoch Totten, of Washington, D. C., 68.

November 12.—Rev. Dr. Luke Hitchcock, of Chicago, 66.... Clara Fisher Maeder, once an eminent actress, 97.

November 14.—William Hickley Gross, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Oregon, 61.... Albert Dauphin, Senator of France, 71.

November 16.—Rev. Dr. Samuel Colcord Bartlett, former president of Dartmouth College, 81.

November 17.—Rev. Dr. Stephen Higginson Tyng, 59.... Prof. Henry Van Ingen, of Vassar College, 65.

November 18.—Hermann Heinrich Meier, founder of the North German Lloyd Steamship Company, 89.... Col. Thomas C. Donaldson, of Philadelphia, 53.... John W. Keely, of "Keely motor" fame, 61.

November 19.—Gen. Don Carlos Buell, veteran of the Mexican and Civil wars, 80.... Ex-Judge George R. Sage, of Cincinnati, 70.... Sir Stuart Knill, former lord mayor of London, 74.

November 20.—Sir George Smyth Baden-Powell, British economist and authority on colonial affairs, 51.



From the *Evening Post* (Denver).

CURRENT HISTORY IN CARICATURE.

COL. THEODORE ROOSEVELT, governor-elect of New York, was the favorite subject of American caricature last month. The New York cartoonists had the ill-luck to find themselves employed on papers that were enlisted more or less zealously in the vile cause of Tammany. Those same cartoonists were undoubtedly

delighted with Colonel Roosevelt's success, and they were particularly glad to have the campaign come to an end. The Western cartoonists, like Steele, of Denver, and Bowman, of Minneapolis, have appreciated the victory of the Rough Rider over the Tiger quite as much as anybody.

BAGGED HIS GAME.
From the *Tribune* (Minneapolis)

"HA! HA! I'VE EATEN THE TIGER!"
From the *World* (New York).

The Spanish cartoonists have been allowed wide latitude in dealing with the peace commission, although the press censorship has not been discontinued. Señor Ríos, head of the Spanish commissioners, and Prime Minister Sagasta have been caricatured without any reserve whatever. One thing has been evident from the Spanish papers for some weeks past, and that is the

drawing represents Judge Day and Señor Ríos as respectively studying the Spanish and English grammars, while the last cartoon on the page puts Uncle Sam in the attitude of picking up smoking cigar-ends from the street, by which one is intended to get the idea that the United States is grabbing for played-out odds and ends of Spain's old empire.

UNCLE SAM'S METHOD AT PARIS.
From *Blanco y Negro* (Madrid).

fact that the Spaniards have really had no idea whatever of retaining the Philippines, and that the tone taken by their representatives at Paris was solely for the purpose of driving as good a financial bargain as possible. The cartoon on this page which represents McKinley as a head waiter offering the bill of fare to Sagasta puts the situation exactly. The guest in the restaurant has got to take his fried eggs or go hungry. Sagasta has at least saved the bones of Columbus out of the wreck of Spanish dominion in the West Indies, and two cartoons on this page have reference to the removal of those precious relics from the cathedral at Havana. Another

SAGASTA SAVES THE BONES OF
COLUMBUS.

From *Blanco y Negro* (Madrid).

GUEST (Sagasta) TO WAITER (McKinley): "There doesn't seem to be anything but fried eggs on the bill of fare. What choice do I have if I don't like fried eggs?"

WAITER: "You can at least take your choice between eating and not eating!"—From *Nueva Mundo* (Madrid).

DAY AND RÍOS STUDYING MODERN LANGUAGES.
From *Blanco y Negro* (Madrid).



COLUMBUS' RETURN.—From *Geddon* (Madrid).

UNCLE SAM GATHERING CIGAR-ENDS.
From *Blanco y Negro* (Madrid).

UNCLE SAM, PAST AND FUTURE.
From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin).

NO CATCHING BEHIND HERE.
WILHELM: "Keep off! You'll scratch the paint!"
From the *World* (New York).

"No one can deny that America's appearance among factors Asiatic is a grave and serious event."—Lord Salisbury.
From the *Herald* (New York).

R. C. GOSWAMI

GETTING AN EARLY START.

FIRST BUNNY: "Isn't Santa Claus starting rather early this year?"

SECOND BUNNY: "Yes, he is; but, goodness, he's got to go clear to Manila!"—From the *Tribune* (Minneapolis).

THE DOWAGER TSI AN AND THE EMPEROR KUANG HSU.

NOTES UPON RECENT EVENTS IN CHINA.

BY WILLIAM ELEROY CURTIS.

and, taking the bit in his teeth, started with a rush to destroy the most venerable and sacred portions of the imperial structure, which appeared to him useless and out of date. Neither France, nor the United States, nor England, nor any nation, for that matter, could have endured the shaking up which that young man gave the sleepy old bureaucrats at Peking. Their system of government was revolutionized in many respects, and to the Chinese, who have been stagnant for five centuries, who are the most deliberate and conservative people in the world and hate innovations as much as the Japanese crave them, it was simply impossible to endure or even contemplate. It would have produced a revolution in any other country, but the Chinese are not easily aroused. Their perceptions are keen and they are extremely sensitive, but they have great tact in concealing their emotions as well as their purposes, and therefore they did not resent the innovation so promptly and emphatically as a volatile people like the French would have done.

KUANG HSU, EMPEROR OF CHINA.

(Alleged to be a sketch from life by an Englishman who was present at an imperial reception.)

IN looking over the imperial edicts of China as published in the *Official Gazette* of Peking, the oldest paper in the world, during the last few months, it is easy to see why Kuang Hsu, the Emperor, was deposed by his venerable aunt and godmother, Tsi An, the Empress Dowager and former regent.

About two years ago he started upon a crusade of reforms, suggested by the helplessness of his empire in contrast with other nations, as demonstrated in the war with Japan. During the recent summer his reforms gained such impetus that the court and the people could not keep up with them, and he simply destroyed himself after the manner of the presumptuous young gentleman we read about in mythology who attempted to drive the chariot of the sun. The Emperor was quite reasonable at first as long as he listened to the advice of men of experience who wished him well, but when his uncle, Prince Kung, the ablest man in China, who had held the post that corresponds to prime minister for forty years, died last spring, he rejected the counsel of others

THE EMPRESS OF CHINA.

(From a drawing of very doubtful authenticity.)

They contented themselves with an appeal to the venerable Empress Dowager, and, to use a slang phrase, asked her "to call the boy down."

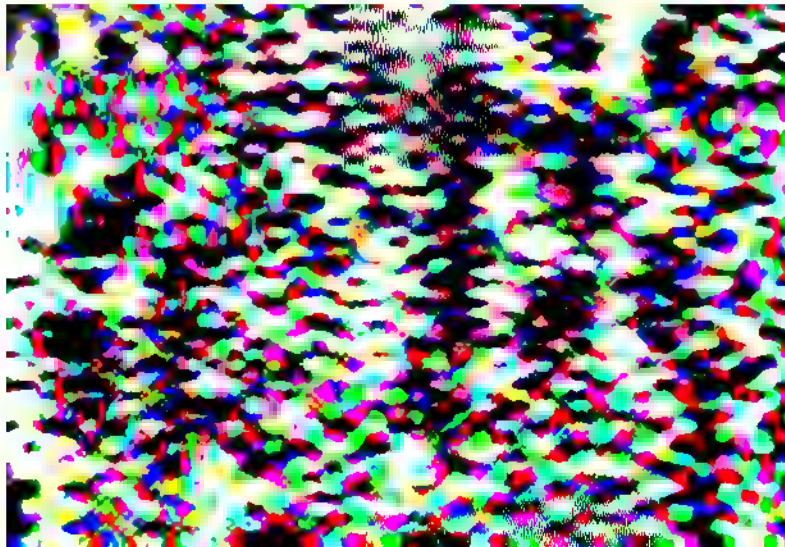
In China many things are precious simply because they are old. Among no people is antiquity so highly revered. It is the only country I know where men pretend to be older than they really are because they may thereby obtain more respect than they are actually entitled to. The same reverence is applied to customs and buildings, books and pictures, furniture and works of art and industry, and when the Emperor turned most of the old fossils out of the government and put in their places inexperienced but progressive youngsters noted for their friendship and admiration for the foreign devils—the western barbarians who have invaded the peaceful solitude of China—he was worse than an iconoclast.

The Emperor took for his chief adviser a young fanatic named Kang Yu Wei, who had repudiated the teachings of Confucius and written a pamphlet to prove that the sage of sages, the Solomon of the East, the wisest man of ten thousand years, was an old humbug, and that his philosophy and morals and maxims were ob-

A STREET SCENE IN PEKING.

solete and useless. He banished Weng Tung Ho, the tutor of his youth, for trying to teach him moderation. He degraded the most eminent and venerable princes at the court for disputing his opinion. He dismissed thousands of men from office—five thousand with a single stroke of his sacred vermilion pencil. Many of them held positions that were hereditary and had passed from father to son for generations. Others were held as rewards for distinguished services to previous sovereigns. More were sinecures provided for the

favorites of his father and uncles, including large numbers of his own relations whose names from time to time had been placed upon the pay-rolls by the Empress Dowager and other influential people at court. While this act provoked indignation and resentment among the princes and mandarins, who found their aged and impecunious relatives invading their households and clamoring for restoration or other means of support, their pride and sense of propriety were shocked in a measure beyond our ability to imagine when his majesty issued edicts which in their opinion involved a sacrifice of the imperial dignity, a profanation of the im-



A STREET SCENE IN SHANGHAI.
(Showing types of European architecture.)

perial power, and a sacrilege which could not be permitted even by the Son of Heaven himself.

It must be known that the Emperor of China is the vice-gerent of heaven, the king of kings, and the sovereigns of Europe and the President of the United States are his vassals. He is the source of all power and glory, and at death ascends to a seat beside his ancestors among the gods. All the lands of the earth are his, and its population occupy them by his permission. On earth his person is sacred and the object of unbounded reverence. He possesses all the virtues. Living or dead, he has the power to impart happiness and is responsible for the well-being of the entire empire. When a great calamity occurs he is responsible, and humbles himself before the dragons and the gods and offers sacrifices for atonement. He is loaded with ridiculous titles, such as "The Celestial Authority," "The Sacred Son of Heaven," "The Brother of the Sun," "The Grandson of the Stars," "The Sire of Ten Thousand Years," but he speaks of himself with pretentious humility as Kwa Jin—the Solitary Man.

One of his most startling assaults upon tradition and propriety was an order to the viceroys, governors, military authorities, and other magistrates that hereafter they would receive instructions from the Emperor by telegraph. It was simply impossible for the old-fashioned mandarins to conceive of such self-abasement. It was just as if Queen Victoria or the President of the United States should come down and play marbles with ragged boys in the streets. Heretofore no edicts from the Emperor were obeyed unless they bore his imperial rubric made with the vermilion pencil and were delivered by couriers who were distinguished for courage, loyalty, and dignity. To intrust these sacred communications to foreign devils to be sent over wires by a mysterious process which the great mass of Chinese have never been able to comprehend was simply impossible. He provided for a comprehensive system of free education in modern sciences and affairs, with a university at its head, and issued an edict authorizing the magistrates to turn the Taoist and Buddhist temples into school-houses. The people did not object to the schools, but they would not permit their ancient places of worship to be profaned by instruction in the arts of the barbarians.

Then, again, this thoughtless and reckless young man was arranging to leave the Forbidden City and travel by railroad—an invention of the barbarians—to Tien-tsin, where he proposed to review his troops, visit various public institutions, including the section occupied by the foreign devils, and had even expressed an inten-

PRINCE KUNG.

(Prime Minister of China for forty years.)

tion of inspecting a coal mine and of enjoying a glimpse of the ocean of whose wonders he had heard. It is written in Chinese history that in 1662 the Emperor Kang Hi went to Nanking, and his example was followed by Emperor Kien Lung in 1736. At Tien-tsin there is a pagoda on the banks of the river to mark where he fished for white bait. Once Sung-Chi, in 1831 or thereabouts, obtained great favor among the people by ordering the screens removed from his line of march to and from the Temple of Heaven so that the people could see him. It was a memorable occasion and is the subject of poems and essays, but as a rule the person of the Emperor is so sacred that he may not be looked upon. Yet Kuang Hsu proposed to go to Tien-tsin just like any ordinary mortal, parade himself before the public like a petty mandarin, and gratify his own vulgar curiosity in a manner that was shocking. No wonder that the people believed a story circulated in Peking that he intended to command them to cut off their pigtails and put on European dress.

His true friends warned him that he was going too fast, but he paid no heed and went faster. Kang Yu Wei, the young fanatic, seems to have hypnotized him and filled him with an ambition

to emulate Peter the Great, whose biography he is said to have read three times in installments of two or three hours each. Kang was one of the secretaries of the board of public works and the editor of a newspaper called *Chinese Progress*, which was established two years ago through the efforts of the Rev. Gilbert Reid, a Presbyterian missionary who has been working among the mandarins. He came from Canton, where he was educated by English tutors and obtained a superficial knowledge of modern science and foreign affairs. But like many reformers he appears to have been lacking in judgment and discretion. Under his influence the Emperor issued a decree granting freedom to the press and the right of petition direct to the throne without the intervention of the various boards and bureaus through which memorials were formerly filtered.

The last straw that broke the camel's back appears to have been furnished under that edict by one Wang H'sun, a second-class secretary of the board of rites, who drew up a petition to the Emperor for certain reforms, which were very offensive to his superiors and to nearly all the princes about the court. They denounced his audacity and revolutionary ideas in severe language and recommended that the Emperor make an example of him. To their amazement, however, his majesty, prompted by Kang Yu Wei, issued an edict commending the moral courage and resolution of Wang H'sun, the secretary in question, "for refusing to recant even when threatened by a whole array of powerful ministers," and rewarded him by promotion to a rank which otherwise would have required several severe examinations and at least fifteen years of service to attain. At the same time the Emperor reprimanded a dozen or more princes most severely and dismissed from office the two presidents of the board of rites, the two vice-presidents, and several other officials equally prominent, "for daring to interfere with the rights of the people and oppose our desire to reform our government."

The patience of the mandarins was exhausted. They appealed to the Empress Dowager, and she very promptly, on September 21, 1898, hurried from her summer palace to the Forbidden City and took the reins into her own hands. The next day an edict was issued by the Emperor announcing that at his urgent request her majesty had generously undertaken to advise him in the conduct of the government, and notifying all the officials that they must "*kotow*" to her in the throne hall on the following morning. In the meantime Kang Yu Wei appears to have received a warning from the Emperor, for he fled from the city and took refuge upon a British man-of-war at Tien-tsin. A dozen or more of his friends

and disciples, including his brother, were beheaded, and every official who had been associated with him was dismissed, including Chang Yen Hoon, recently minister at Washington.

There have been frequent reports of the Emperor's illness and assassination, but they were

THE FIRST TRAIN READY TO START.

(The Shanghai-Woosung line of China.)

entirely sensational. There is no doubt he is in poor health and under treatment by the physician of the French embassy at Peking for incipient Bright's disease, the result of excesses.

We know very little about the Emperor of China, he is so screened from observation by the formality and the etiquette of his court. His ministers, even his uncle Prince Kung, and the venerable Li Hung Chang enter his presence only upon their knees, and remain prostrate during the entire interview unless he happens to be unusually good-natured and invites them to rise. Not long ago, when the diplomatic representatives at Peking had an audience with his majesty, the German minister wrote the following description of the Emperor:

His majesty looks older than he really is. With sunken head and yellow face, he looked shyly at the assembled diplomats, and his heavy eyes were lit up for the occasion by opium or morphia. A sorrowful, weary, and rather childish smile played about his mouth. When his lips are parted his long, irregular yellow teeth appear, and there are great hollows in either cheek. His face is not entirely wanting in sympathy, but rather betokens indifference, and from its features nothing of interest can be read; in fact, the Emperor impressed me as being self-restrained, cold, apathetic, wanting in capacity, worn out, and as though half dead. I felt that whatever passed before his eyes had not the slightest interest for him, and that it mat-

tered not in the least to him whether he understood the meaning of the ceremony. I may, indeed, be wrong in my judgment, and it may be that the Emperor of China is a highly intelligent monarch, educated, well read, a keen student, and anxious for the welfare of his people. I may be entirely wrong, but I cannot believe that I am. A man who wears a look as if life were a burden to him must surely be on the downward grade. I must be bold enough to reproduce the "Son of Heaven" as I saw him and as he struck me, and not as others would wish me to picture him.

Tsi An, the Empress Dowager, who has resumed authority after an interval of nine years, is one of the most remarkable women of the century—as notable and as striking a character as Catherine the Great. She is the daughter of a Manchu soldier, who was a *taotai*, or governor, at Wuhu, one of the inferior cities, where Li Hung Chang was born. He died at his post, and was so poor that his daughter, afterward the Empress, was compelled to borrow money from a small mandarin to pay the expense of taking his body back to Peking, where it might be buried among his ancestors. As she rose to power the mandarin received his reward in honorable and lucrative offices.

The number of women in the imperial harem is unknown. Every third year his majesty inspects the daughters of the Manchu families and chooses such as please his taste. When they are twenty-five years of age they return to their parents unless they have borne children, when they are elevated in rank and live permanently at the palace. It is considered a great advantage to have a daughter in the harem, and when the women come out they are eagerly sought in marriage. On one of these occasions, in 1854, Tsi An was accepted as a concubine of the Emperor Hsien-Fung, and in 1856 she bore him his only son, afterward the Emperor Tung-Chih. She was then elevated to the rank of Empress of the Western Palace—her sister, Tsu An, being Empress of the Eastern Palace—or the first wife of the Emperor. After his death in 1861 the two sisters, whose affection and confidence in each other were never impaired, were made joint regents during the minority of Tung-Chih and ruled the government in his name until he died in 1875. Then, according to law and precedent in China, they were allowed to select his successor from among the male members of the imperial family, and nominated their nephew, Kuang Hsu, son of Chun, the seventh prince, their brother-in-law, military governor of Peking.

In 1881 Tsu An died, and Tsi An served as sole regent until March 4, 1889, when the young Emperor was formally placed upon the throne. She was offered various temptations to

LI HUNG CHANG.

continue in power, but like a good godmother selected a wife for her ward and removed to a handsome residence called Eho Park, about ten miles from the Forbidden City. There, surrounded by a court of her own, she has lived in what the Chinese consider great splendor. The Emperor has visited her regularly at brief intervals, and all the officials of the court have striven to outdo each other in offering adoration and gifts of value. She resembles another famous sovereign of her sex in her love of money, and it became known throughout China long ago that gifts in cash were more acceptable than any other. According to the Chinese standard her private character is spotless and she is wise, benevolent, and just. Every one must concede her ability, as for forty years she has been the central and most conspicuous figure in the empire, and will appear in history as one of the greatest of the long line of rulers of China, which runs back to the days of Moses. It was intended to commemorate her sixtieth birthday on November 27, 1894, by ceremonies of unprecedented magnificence, and ten million dollars were appropriated for that purpose, but the war with Japan interfered with the programme, and by command of the Empress the money was devoted to military purposes.

Tsi An has always received the same reverence that is paid to the Emperor, and everybody who

approaches her, even the Son of Heaven himself, kneels and knocks his head nine times upon the floor. While she was in power she conversed with her ministers and conducted her interviews from behind a screen, but since she has passed the age of sixty etiquette allows her to expose her face. Prince Henry of Germany and his *suite* are the only foreigners who have ever seen her, and his visit created a commotion throughout the whole empire. The interview was described by one of the party as follows:

"The Empress sat behind a table on which were arranged pyramids of oranges and vases of peonies. She wore no veil and had not painted her face. She expressed no surprise or emotion at seeing the foreign prince, and at once made use of the Li Hung Chang method of asking a string of questions herself. Prince Henry managed to tell her, however, that the European ladies in Peking would like to be received at her court, and she promised that they should be invited to the next state reception.

"On taking his leave the German Prince was conducted to the great audience chamber, where he was received by the Emperor, who shook hands with him. Contact with the mailed fist, it is asserted, made Tsaitien tremble all over. The Prince then brought out some vases, manufactured at the Berlin porcelain factory, as Kaiser Wilhelm's present to his brother monarch, and after exchanging a number of formal complimentary phrases took his leave. The Emperor accompanied him to the door of the hall, where the German marines were drawn up and greeted him with a roll of the drums. The sight of the soldiers and the noise made his Celestial majesty jump. The grounds and sights of the Summer Palace were then exhibited to the Prince, Prince Ching acting as guide.

"Later the Emperor returned the Prince's visit in the rooms set apart for him in the palace, and gave him as presents some valuable Chinese porcelains and two fans painted by the Empress Dowager's own hand. After the formal visit the Emperor and the Prince withdrew to a room by themselves, accompanied only by the interpreter, where they stayed for a long time, and at the end of the interview his Celestial majesty seemed much relieved. Prince Henry and his marines then got on horseback once more and made their way back to Peking."

Neither the Emperor nor the Dowager have ever had their portraits or photographs made, so that the pictures printed of them are entirely fictitious. Their features are too sacred to be transferred to canvas or paper. Like all Manchus, she is a woman of more than ordinary stature, and her feet have never been compressed.

Interesting stories are told of her peculiarities. She is very fond of modern music, and her palace is filled with Swiss musical boxes. Some years ago Major Von Hanegan, a German instructor in the Chinese army, organized a brass band of natives and taught them to play popular modern airs. In his pride he sent them to Peking to perform for the Emperor and his imperial aunt, and she was greatly pleased. But when the war with Japan broke out it was decided to send them off with the soldiers, and a large orchestration was set up in the palace as a substitute.

Some years ago a French syndicate which was seeking a railroad concession constructed a miniature railroad in the imperial grounds for the edification and enjoyment of the Empress. The cars were handsomely fitted in yellow, green, and blue satin, with all the necessary sleeping and toilet arrangements, and cost thirty thousand dollars. They were brought as far as Tung Chow by water, and in order to get them to the Forbidden City a temporary track of portable rails was laid a distance of eighteen miles. Within the imperial pleasure-grounds a track about two miles in length was built, and several natives were educated in the railroad science in order to operate the line. It was the pleasure of her majesty to make frequent use of this toy. She rode back and forth hour after hour and day after day, but the syndicate never enjoyed any tangible benefits from this extraordinary enterprise.

From the Chinese standpoint Tsi An is liberal and progressive, but she is so ignorant and secluded that it is difficult for any foreign ideas to reach her. When she sees something good she wants it, but she has no conception of the condition of China compared with that of other countries, and, of course, cannot apply the remedies that are needed. If she could understand the needs of the people, if she could realize the advantages of modern ideas and improvements, she would promptly adopt them. She does not lack intelligence, but knowledge, and has surrounded herself with advisers who have never been outside of China and are even more unenlightened as to modern affairs. Contrary to the popular impression, Li Hung Chang has not been restored to power. He doubtless retains the friendly relations he has always enjoyed with the Empress Dowager since he suppressed the Taiping rebellion, but his name does not appear on the list of the new ministry and he is not a member of the grand council nor of the *Tsung Li Yamen*.

The new government is composed almost exclusively of Manchus—men of northern China, relatives and clansmen of the Empress, descend-

ants of the Mongols who invaded the empire in 1664 and founded the present dynasty. The most conspicuous man at present is Jung Lu, captain-general of the military corps known as the White Banner Manchus. He comes from a noble family and has distinguished himself as a soldier. For several years he was military governor of Peking, and in August last was made viceroy of Pechili, the office so long held by Li Hung Chang. He remained there until the *coup d'état*, when the Dowager called him to Peking and authorized him to reorganize the government. He has surrounded himself with men of his own race, of high character and recognized ability, but of conservative tendencies and old-fashioned ideas, and they are gradually restoring the government to its former condition. They have revoked the most radical edicts of the young Emperor, but thus far those which provide for a free-school system of modern instruc-

tion and the construction of railroads remain undisturbed.

Perhaps time will demonstrate that the *coup d'état* of September 21 was the best thing that could have happened to China. The young Emperor, with his impetuosity, might have made great mischief, and perhaps it is well to arrest the progress of the country temporarily, in order that the modern ideas he introduced may be healthfully absorbed by the people and their advantages fully realized. Certainly the country has taken enormous strides in civilization during the last three years, and the people are so conservative, so suspicious, so tenacious in their adherence to the traditions and customs of antiquity that they cannot be pushed forward as fast as the more enterprising and less thoughtful Japanese. Rudyard Kipling, in one of his poems, tells of the fate of

A fool who tried to hustle the East.

QUEEN LOUISE OF DENMARK.

BY GRACE ISABEL COLBRON.

BISMARCK was masterful enough to distrust woman's influence in politics, he was German enough to dislike it, but he was not cynic enough to disbelieve in it. It was Bismarck who called the late Queen of Denmark the "cleverest woman in Europe." The tribute is all the more noticeable as being paid to one who he felt must be his bitter enemy and who had spent her life in undoing what he had done. Bismarck left Denmark vanquished, torn asunder, reduced to the veriest shred of a nation, but to-day Denmark's influence is felt in foreign politics throughout Europe. The pulling down was the work of a man who, more than any other, as-

serted the doctrine that "might is right;" the building up was the work of a woman ruling only through those womanly qualities which are as powerful to-day as centuries ago and as they will be, we hope, centuries hence.

The "mother-in-law of half Europe" she has been called. And indeed the gentle, womanly Queen who built up such powerful connections for her little kingdom must have possessed in a remarkable degree those qualities which go to the making of a successful mother-in-law. And there are such, the farces and comic papers notwithstanding. Simplicity, simple dignity of surroundings, single-hearted dignity of character and purpose was the keynote of Queen Louise's life. As Princess of Glücksburg or as Queen of Denmark we find her the same natural, simple woman, exacting no kingly homage, asking only love, respect, and affection from those about her.

Queen Louise of Denmark, or to give her her full name, Louise Wilhelmina Frederica Carolina Augusta Julia, was the daughter of Landgraf Wilhelm of Hessen-Cassel and his wife, the Danish Princess Charlotte, nearly related to the reigning house. Thus Princess Louise had a nearer and better right to the throne of Denmark than her husband, Prince Christian of Glücksburg. so that the treaty of London signed by the powers in May, 1852, appointing the princely couple

THE LATE QUEEN—FROM A
SNAP-SHOT.

the next heirs to the throne on the death of the childless King Frederick, did not go far from the proper line of succession. But the change from the care-free existence in the Yellow Palace at Amaliengade to the publicity and responsibility of a throne, when it did come a year later, was none the less great for Louise and her husband. Their married life had been exceptionally happy, but, rumor says, so straitened financially that the Princess had often to fall back upon her knowledge of dressmaking to eke out

economic teachings. The peasants of Denmark are a sturdy, stubborn race, jealous of their rights and recognizing no monarchy "by the grace of God." King Christian, although well-meaning and earnestly desiring the good of his subjects as a nation, does not always seem to have shown the best judgment or tact in dealing with a people accustomed practically to self-government. In internal politics in Denmark we do not find evidence of the Queen's diplomatic talent as we do in foreign dealings. But in spite of this—or perhaps because of it—the Queen was universally loved and admired throughout Denmark. Her simplicity, so tactfully in accordance with the scant revenues of the little kingdom, seemed to bring her nearer to the meanest of her subjects, and the beauty of the home life which was her chiefest care to maintain endeared her to the entire nation. For the Danes have to a strong extent that love and reverence for the thought embodied in the word "home," which is the cherished birthright of all Teutonic nations.

Louise of Denmark believed that for a queen no other virtues were necessary than those which gain respect and admiration for a woman in any other walk of life. To be a helpful, loving wife, a devoted mother, a patient, tactful ruler of her household—this was her aim in life, and having lived up to it she goes from us leaving one sweet and gracious memory the more on the roll of the world's elect: the elect in the sense of those who recognize where duty lay and accept that duty unflinchingly. Her marvelous success in effecting matrimonial alliances of importance for her six children is well known, and it is what gives Denmark a place in the world's councils. The very humbleness of the little country aided the Queen, for alliances of any crowned head or heir apparent with Danish princes and princesses did not seem in the least to disturb that very delicately balanced clock-work, the "peace of Europe," the so-called "balance of power." And this circumstance was recognized and utilized by the diplomat on the throne until she saw her children connected with almost every reigning house in Europe. Not only the three most noticeable cases, the marriage of two daughters to the Prince of Wales and the late Czar of Russia, as well as the appointment of her son George to the throne of Greece, bear witness to her talent in "settling" her family. Her eldest son, the Crown Prince of Denmark, has for wife the Princess of Norway and Sweden, thereby reconciling an enemy of years. Prince Waldemar, the second son, is married to Princess Marie of Orleans, gaining therefore for Denmark the sympathies of the royalist party in France and the sympa-

THE LATE QUEEN LOUISE OF DENMARK.

her scanty income. Being happy, and being besides a woman of great mental and moral energy, this comparative poverty only sweetened and deepened her nature and taught her the true value of things.

As queen her life was not an easy one. Loving her husband and her people deeply and fondly, she had the troubles of both to bear, and these troubles were many and hard. Years of struggle with more powerful nations, the long hopeless fight against the masterful brutality of Bismarck, from which little Denmark, in spite of marvelous courage and stubbornness of resistance, emerged vanquished and plundered, were followed by years of internal dissensions, caused by petty party strife and the natural growth of the new

thies of the French republic when the royalists are to be conciliated. Princess Thyra, the youngest daughter, is the wife of the Duke of Cumberland, son of the deposed King George of Hanover. The Duke of Cumberland is considered the rightful King of Hanover by the faithful Guelp party, and by them accorded kingly honors. So that in the eyes of the people among whom she lives Duchess Thyra is as much a queen as her sisters. In the forming of these connections the Queen's work may have been aided by circumstances—of which, however, she knew how to take advantage—but the power won for the Danish royal house in these various brilliant matches is the work of the Queen alone. The home ties and home associations which meant so much to her were by her made so sweet to her children that no affairs of state or political constellations could wean them from close connection with the home nest in Copenhagen.

It was the Queen's pride and joy to see every summer her children and their families around her in the summer palace at Fredensborg or Bernstorff. Scarce any political event could draw the crowd of royalties present at these informal family gatherings, where home simplicity was the order of the day and affairs of state were left outside the palace gates. Queen Louise was the life of these gatherings, as indeed she was never so happy as when surrounded by her loved ones. Czar Alexander of Russia was a constant attendant at these summer meetings, and nowhere else did the harassed ruler forget his cares and fears as in the cheering, gracious presence of his queenly mother-in-law.

Queen Louise had spent almost all her life in Denmark and felt herself a true Dane, thoroughly in sympathy with the people she was called upon to rule.

A ROYAL FAMILY GROUP.

(Four generations: the late Queen, the King, the Princess of Wales, the Duchess of Fife, and Lady Alexandra Duff.)

It is a sign of the times that the personality of rulers grows further away from their subjects as the principle they represent becomes less and less in accordance with modern thought. But for the personality of a sweet and gracious woman, as was Queen Louise of Denmark, her own as well as other nations have only respect and admiration, forgetting all theoretical distinctions.

ELIZABETH, EMPRESS AND QUEEN.

BY ALEXANDER HEGEDIUS, JR.

[Mr. Hegedius, who contributes the following appreciation of the late Empress of Austria and Queen of Hungary, is the son of a distinguished Hungarian statesman and a nephew of Maurice Jokai, Hungary's greatest man of letters. He is well qualified, therefore, to express Hungarian sentiment. He has written for us in English, and we are glad to print what, if we mistake not, is his first published effort in our language.—THE EDITOR.]

tion's sorrow. In the leading paper Dr. Maurice Jokai wrote some words in his despair, from which I reproduce here the following sentence: "When we see that this exalted personage, who through out her whole life shed nothing but blessings from the throne, has not been protected from above, to whom shall we turn in this hour of sorrow in order to find comfort for our deeply stricken ruler and the bereaved nation?"

The Empress of Austria and Queen of Hungary was Princess Elizabeth of Bavaria. She was born in 1837 at Passenhofen, where she lived during her childhood. Many reminiscences of her childhood, published in the papers, bear witness to her kind-heartedness, which later exercised itself for the good of her subjects. She was sixteen years old when her betrothal to the Emperor of Austria took place. It is an interesting little story which tells how the young Emperor won the love of the Bavarian Princess. The Emperor met her at a ball given by her mother, the Archduchess Sophie, for her birthday at Ischl. There they danced together, and toward midnight the Emperor showed the Princess a collection of pictures representing the different people of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy

ELIZABETH, THE LATE EMPRESS OF AUSTRIA AND QUEEN OF HUNGARY.

From the *Vasárnapi Ujság* (Budapest).

THE sorrow-bearing telegram that announced the shameful deed wrought by the fanatic hand of the anarchist at Geneva occasioned in Hungary a lamentation the like of which has not been known since the death of Kossuth. Queen Elizabeth was looked upon in Hungary as the guardian angel of the country, for her good heart was the only friend of the Hungarians during the period of despotism.

Words fail to describe the way in which Hungary has felt and expressed her great grief. The black flags hanging from houses, the deep black-edged newspapers, and other tokens of their loss give but feeble utterance of the na-

THE FUNERAL CORTAGE IN VIENNA.

THE QUEEN IN 1853.

QUEEN ELIZABETH.

THE QUEEN IN 1897.

(From her latest photograph, taken in 1895.)

P

in their national dress. At the close the Emperor said: "These are my subjects. Say one word and you too shall reign over them." The marriage of the Princess with the Emperor was celebrated on April 24, 1854.

The Emperor and Empress occupied in Vienna the Hofburg, where two of their children were born, Archduchess Girella and the unfortunate Crown Prince Rudolph; their third child, Maria Valeria, was born at Godollo, Hungary. During the despotic period the Empress had with her in the castle a Hungarian lady with whom she could converse about the Hungarians and obtain secret information about Hungary, for which she evinced sympathy. The outcome of this was that the Empress studied the Hungarian tongue and literature, reading the Hungarian authors Eötvös, Vörösmarty, Petöfi, and Jokai with the help of her professor. There is little doubt that the confederation uniting Austria and Hungary in 1867 was due to her influence and that it was greatly owing to her that the treaty was made.

The confederation included the ceremony of the coronation, which made the Emperor and Empress respectively King and Queen of Hungary. These festivities were held at Budapest, in the old Mátyás Church, on June 8, 1867. In the following ten years the Queen, living among her people, founded a number of charitable institutions. To-day beneath the sunshine they stand out in their simplicity, testifying to that

greater warmth and sunshine of heart Hungary's queen lavished so freely on her people.

In the years 1880 and 1883 her majesty visited England, where she took an active part in hunting, a sport in which she excelled. In the sporting clubs of England and Ireland her presence was keenly appreciated, and for years to come her memory will be held dear in the hearts of those who were privileged to accompany her in the field. Her enjoyment, however, of this favorite sport was suddenly cut short at the news of the disastrous inundation of Teeged, in Hungary. She gave up amusement now and hastened to what she styled "my home land."

Strange to say, this Bavarian-born Princess became truly Hungarian in spirit. She learned to speak the language of the country with the greatest correctness and purity, and was keenly alive to the many sorrows and disasters which swept over Hungary. It is little wonder, then, that this Queen should be looked upon by the Hungarians almost as some mythological creation, some goddess appearing as their sovereign and crowning the land with blessings at a time of distress and contention. The Austrians, however, and especially the Viennese, have not looked upon her majesty's preference for the Hungarian half of the empire with a favorable eye.

The unexpected death of the Crown Prince Rudolph on that fatal January 30, 1889, greatly shattered the energy of this admirable woman,

called by the people our "great lady." She withdrew as much as possible from court life and all its ceremonies, leaving the country and going abroad to hide her woe. From that time forth

She never recovered from the shock caused by the loss of her only son, nor did she afterward take any part in the balls or receptions given at the Hofburg, Vienna, or in Budapest. She avoided society, preferring solitary rambles or the reading of Heine, her favorite poet. Her translations from Heine into modern Greek and Hungarian are interesting reminders of her studious habits. As a typical journey by the Queen may be mentioned a trip in her yacht *Miramere* round the Lacroia, Partos, Zante, and the Cyclades, coming back to Corfu after entering the Suez Canal. During the last nine years of travel she preserved strict *incognito*, going by the name of Countess Hohenemb.

She expressed great dislike of close guardianship and generally endeavored to escape detectives and protectors. One day, perceiving a detective watching her as she strolled, she said: "There is no occasion to protect me. I am only a poor mother mourning for her only son. Please to cease watching my ways. Nobody will touch me." It was therefore on this account and at her own command that she was less closely watched at Geneva. This command proved fatal, and the knife went home regardless of her pure and noble heart.

MEDAL STRUCK IN COMMEMORATION OF THE SILVER WEDDING, 1870.

she spent her life in travel until struck by the anarchist's fatal blow.

The Queen was much devoted to the study of languages, and modern Greek especially she took up with so much zeal that in a few months she was able not only to speak the tongue, but to make translations into the modern Greek. In the course of her travels she visited the isle of Corfu. Here there was neither house nor hotel. Rest and food she obtained in a cottage occupied by two monks. Their frugal fare amply satisfied her. The beautiful scenery, the lonely shores washed by the azure sea, suggested to the Queen the solitude and retreat she ever sought. Here in the following year the well-known villa of Achilleon was built, which ever after became her hermitage. It was her favorite haunt. Its rooms were furnished in fantastic style and its gardens laid out with rare, peculiar tropical plants. In the garden she had a monument raised to the memory of Heine bearing the following lines, the expression of her deep grief:

"Why does upon my eye a lonely tear remain?
Wipe it away with the grief it recalls again."

The news of the murder of the Empress of Austria and Queen of Hungary threw both countries into deepest grief. The people expressed in manifold tokens of mourning the respect they bore to their late sovereign. The remains of the Empress were brought from Geneva to Vienna by special train. It was at night when the train made its way slowly into the station, where a chosen few were standing in sorrowful expectation. Outside the streets were lined with mourners, and from the church tolled the dismal bell. From the station to the palace the procession made its way. Here the coffin was placed in the little chapel. The latter was left open to the public for two days. Thousands of people thronged to look at the simple coffin bearing the inscription: "*Elizabeth Imperatrix Austriae et Regina Hungariae.*" From all parts of the world the choicest flowers were sent; together they made ten thousand wreaths. On September 17 the last rites were performed. The body was then removed from the chapel to the crypt beneath the Kapuziner Church and laid beside that of the late Crown Prince Rudolph. Only one vacant place remains in the vault of the Hapsburg family.

TISSOT AND HIS PAINTINGS OF JESUS.

BY CLIFTON HARBY LEVY.

WHAT would Christendom give for an illustrated contemporary life of Jesus? Suppose at the next turn of the explorer's spade in the sands of Egypt a manuscript life of Jesus written, say, by Matthew and illustrated by any other one of the apostles were brought to light. It would be an invaluable treasure to the millions of worshipers of the "Man of Nazareth." Nay, Jew and Mussulman would be alike interested in gaining a glimpse of that troublous, half-hidden period. When, early this year, Signor Morucchi announced the discovery of a *graffito* of the Crucifixion upon the walls of a Roman ruin, the Christian world was eager for a glimpse of it. The walls of the Catacombs have been studied with the greatest care in the hope that they might bear some authentic portrait of Jesus on their rough surface. Such hopes have been all but surrendered, and those who would know all that is known of Jesus have been told to "search the gospels."

Unfortunately these are very far from presenting a full account of the life of that man destined to be the inspiration of millions. Here is a slight account of his birth, of the flight into Egypt, and of the last three years of that short life. The facts about Jesus to be found in the Bible are so few that a very thin pamphlet could contain the entire scriptural life of the Founder of Christianity. What, then, is Christendom to do? How are American Christians, for instance, to grasp the full content of that strange oriental career? Attempts have been made by "exploration funds," by individual investigators, time and again, to go over the ground and present the results of their labors. But it must be confessed that with all of the volumes about Palestine and Jesus the mass of the people have very misty ideas concerning that land and its customs.

It has remained for an artist at the close of the nineteenth century to accomplish with brush and pencil what hundreds have tried to do for hundreds of years. This man, who has succeeded where so many have failed, is Mr. J. James Tissot. Fifteen years ago Tissot was known as a draughtsman of delicacy and refinement, who painted fleshly nymphs and beautiful women—a

depicter of the pleasures of Parisian life. He had been etcher, enamelist, metal forger, *cloisonné* maker, doing all well. He was engaged in painting a series of fifteen pictures, "*La femme d Paris*" (the Parisian woman), and to

(1)* "THE INWARD VOICES" (KNOWN ALSO AS "THE RUINS" AND AS "CHRIST THE CONSOLER").

Two wounded wretches have taken refuge in a ruined building (during the commune, perhaps), and amid their moaning Jesus, with pierced hands and thorn-covered brow, appears to comfort them.

* The numbers attached to the illustrations of this and the following article correspond to those in the catalogue of the Tissot exhibition. The pictures are all copyrighted by J. James Tissot.

(30) "THE WISE MEN JOURNEYING TO BETHLEHEM."

From the original oil painting, not from water-color drawing which illustrates the book; the latter, however, is similar save in a few minor details. The Magi, whom M. Tissot imagines were rulers from the East, are entering the valley of Kedron, near Jericho. The volcanic hills which flank the Dead Sea form an impressive background. The figure to our left is robed in lemon-yellow, the other two in orange; they form strong spots of color against the purple shadows on the hills.

complete his work he entered the Church of St. Sulpice to study the choir-loft for a painting of the "Choir-Singer." He came again during mass to catch the atmosphere that he desired to transfer to his canvas. The "Host" was elevated, and the painter of frivolities and fashion saw through closed lids a picture such as he had never dreamed of.

There were the ruins of a modern castle, and seated amid the *débris* of broken shards, stones, drains, and bullets sat a peasant and his wife plunged in despair. Then it seemed a Being came with thorn-crowned brow and bleeding feet and hands, and rested His head upon the man's shoulder. It was Christ the Consoler come to comfort the oppressed amid the ruins of modern civilization, of science, of militarism, and all that has failed to redeem the poor and suffering. His artist soul recognized the majesty and power of the vision, but he tried to put it aside. "I am no painter of sacred subjects. I must finish my *Femme à Paris*," thought he. But the picture pursued him in his studies and on the street. It

came between him and his painting of the "Choir-Singer." He was attacked with a fever, and when he recovered he painted that remarkable picture of "The Ruins."

This was the turning-point in the career of James Tissot. Although in his fiftieth year, a time when most men have fixed their course of life definitely, it was then that this great artist undertook his real life-work, that by which he will be known to future ages. He left Paris so suddenly and quietly that the report was circulated of his having entered a monastery. He had indeed entered upon a religious vocation, but it was not for himself alone, but for the world.

He went to Palestine, there to study the places associated by Scripture and tradition with the name of Jesus. He stayed two or three months making sketches which he thought would suffice for paintings dealing with Jesus and his disciples. He was on the point of returning to Paris, when he looked over his drawings and saw how few and unsatisfactory they were. He

determined to make about a hundred, but no sooner were these completed than their paucity again impressed him. He would make a hundred more; but even then he was unsatisfied. It was only after he had finished three hundred and sixty-five paintings in oil and water colors and had, while ten years had elapsed, made a hundred and fifty pen-and-ink sketches that he felt content with having done his best to tell the story of Jesus as it had never been told before.

M. Tissot had made a careful study of the gospels. He had read them so often that he knew them by heart, but he felt that without the background of the country and its customs they were often incomprehensible. He tried to free himself from all prejudices and dogmas. He wished to know "the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth," and present it by the power of paint and pencil to the Christian world. With this end in view he remained in Palestine for ten long years, following the steps of Jesus as closely as he could that he might catch the spirit and atmosphere of him he was trying to trace. He could not give a contemporaneous life of Jesus, but he could at least try

to come as near to it as possible. So he studied every ruin.

He talked with the rabbis at Jerusalem; he conversed with Turk and Syrian, learning all of the traditions so carefully treasured up in the Orient. He made sketches of Jews, Armenians, and Syrians; of men, women, and children; for all of these were needed if he was to draw the truth upon his canvas. His Virgin was a type drawn from the most ancient tribe of the Jews pointed out to him. His Christ could be none other than the finest type of Jew. He delved into the Talmud, he visited the synagogues—for did not Jesus preach in the synagogue? And when the devout Christian had finished his inquiries, when he had visited Bethlehem and Nazareth and Jerusalem and passed through them a hundred times, he felt ready to begin his work of making Jesus as real to the beholders of his pictures as he was to him, the humble searcher for the truth.

It is, then, not in the least remarkable that the most striking characteristic of these paintings, one and all, is their naturalness. If he drew the boy Jesus it was as the carpenter's son, carrying the boards on his shoulder, assisting Joseph in

(86) "THE FLIGHT INTO EGYPT."

Very beautiful in color; the rose tints of evening illumine the camels and the rise in the ground on which they stand. The route the Holy Family travel is along the banks of the Mediterranean near Gaza.

Britain and America. The pictures are reproduced in all of the colors of the original, and it is stated that four years were consumed and more than four thousand lithographic stones had to be employed for making the plates. The plates, with the accompanying text and valuable notes, interspersed with numerous pen-and-ink drawings of various types and sites, make two handsome folio volumes, the first of which covers the youth and ministry of Jesus; the second is taken up with "Holy Week," the "Passion," and the "Resurrection."

The indefatigable searcher after truth does not hesitate. He draws plans and studies architecture, reconstructing from the ruins brought to light the temple, the streets, and the houses of that Jerusalem through whose tortuous streets Jesus walked to Calvary. But before leading us along the *Via Dolorosa* M. Tissot shows us Jesus riding on the ass while the children sing songs of joy and the men chant lays of triumph as they wave the palm branches in air. He has caught the gay colors of the oriental garb, the more somber tones of dark skins and gray stones, and amid all the calm visage of Jesus.

Perhaps the most original conception in all the long line of novel interpretations of that remarkable life is the picture "What Jesus Saw from the Cross." The cross is not here, neither is Jesus, but there is the multitude gazing up in horror and something of devotion to that invisible cross. The story of what they see is in their eyes.

It has been possible here merely to glance at a few of these pictures, selected at random; for where all are great in conception and execution it is impossible to be guided by more than chance. The originals have been brought to the United States for exhibition and will be shown in the principal cities, beginning with New York, where they are now attracting crowds of visitors. When they were first exhibited in Paris at the *salon* of

(42) "THE YOUTH OF JESUS."

Joseph looking on from his carpenter shop.

his work. And still realism was not permitted to rule his brush. No charge of mere photography can lie against M. Tissot's work. We have had hundreds of photographs of the sacred spots in Palestine, but they lacked life, and every one of his pictures is instinct with vitality. If he goes to Nazareth and finds a house pointed out as the house of Joseph he does not merely portray the house, but there stand Joseph and Jesus at work, and in the face of each is a something above boards and lumber. Not a detail is omitted. The shavings curl as if fresh from the plane—but there is more than a carpenter shop here.

This explanatory note has been quoted at length to illustrate M. Tissot's careful method, consistently followed on every occasion. These notes appear in connection with a great work in two volumes which includes all of his five hundred illustrations, with the passages from the gospels upon which each picture is based, quoted in both Latin and French in the original edition, in Latin and English in the edition intended for Great

(304) "TYPES OF WOMEN NEAR JERICHO."

(48) "ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST SEES JESUS FROM AFAR."

"The next day John seeth Jesus coming unto him and sayeth, 'Behold the lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world.'" (St. John i. 29).

The almost dried-up Jordan (at Bethabara), with its stony bed, and the rolling hills across which Jesus is walking, are much more beautiful in the colored original than in our black and white.

the *Champs de Mars*, in 1894, they were the chief topic of conversation even in that frivolous and atheistic capital. When exhibited in London the sensation created was even greater, for they appeal especially to those so devoted to the Bible as are the English. More than one minister preached about them from his pulpit, and Mr. Gladstone took so great an interest in them that M. Tissot dedicated the English translation to him.

The pictures cannot fail to interest all elements of the community, for their verisimilitude and constant accuracy make them worthy of study, even though the student be a non-believer. He who regards Jesus from a purely historical standpoint will nevertheless gain a clearer idea

of his activity and the circumstances under which he labored from these wonderful pictures. The Jew who recognizes in Jesus one of the greatest men whom his race has produced may well be interested in this story of his life, even though he regret the prominence given to the conspiracies against Jesus by those who saw in him a dangerous reformer, ready to bring upon them the avenging hand of Rome, which brooked no "King of the Jews." The faithful Christian, be he of any sect whatever, will be affected even to tears by the power and beauty of the paintings, struck with wonder at their vividness. As the sincere work of an honest man and gifted artist they deserve the appreciation sure to be their meed.



(68) "JESUS GOES UP TO JERUSALEM."

"And the Jews' passover was at hand, and Jesus went up to Jerusalem."

This illustrates St. John ii. 13. The following verses say: "And he found in the temple those that sold oxen and sheep and doves, and the changers of money sitting: and he made a scourge of cords, and cast all out of the temple, both the sheep and the oxen; and he poured out the changers' money, and overthrew their tables; and to them that sold the doves he said, 'Take these things hence; make not my Father's house a house of merchandise.'"

We can see the resolution in this figure of Jesus and understand how rapidly he must have acted upon discovering the desecration of his father's house.

THE ART OF J. JAMES TISSOT.

BY ERNEST KNAUFFT.

IT is not likely that there were many effigies of Christ prior to the second or third century. Those which then existed and those which were made later in Byzantium and in Rome, as in the Catacombs, frequently represented the Saviour with a clean-shaven face, but by degrees this type disappeared and the one which we now recognize as distinctive took its place. This type, which is best known as in Titian's "Tribute Money," has the hair, which is long, parted in the middle, a parted beard, and a straight nose. Miss Emerson in her "Masks, Heads, and Faces" suggests that the bearded type is an evolution of the Greco-Roman divine type of Zeus (Jupiter), and that it became the model for all succeeding effigies.

The clean-shaven face might have been developed through Byzantine influence had not the fiat of the iconoclasts in the eighth century forbidden the representation of the figure of God. This fiat paralyzed religious art; but later the second Nicene council which expunged the second commandment from the decalogue allowed the icon-making to be resumed. The bearded type was developed by the Renaissance artists. Christian art as regards the divine man type was thereafter stereotyped almost to fossilization.

But as regards accessories more freedom is found. Local customs and surroundings were adapted to oriental scenes, and the marriage of Canaan might take place in a Venetian palace and the Crucifixion in a Dutch market-place;

in the Holy Land and give us a grand consecutive, graphic narrative of the life of Christ.

It is singular that at the very time Mr. Tissot was in Palestine seeking with infinite labor to get accurate information for his pictures, many artists, such as Béraud in France, Fritz Von Uhde in Germany, and William Strang in England, were reverting to the pot-hat-and-blunderbuss mode of interpretation, painting Christ as a visitor in modern interiors. Béraud introduces Jesus at a modern supper-table where men are in dress suits! And it is further to be noted that in the same exhibition that contains Tissot's "Life of Christ" we see also his four pictures of the "Prodigal Son," where he too has put a modern interpretation to the parable. The prodigal's "far country" is Japan. We see also in his "Inward Voices" (1) that Christ is not the simply attired Nazarene, but is vested in an embroidered cope, the insignia of ritualism.

So it is that to-day's scientific investigation has at times influenced our painters, but has by no means enthralled them. Symbolism is cultivated to-day in the arts as much as ever in the world's history. Mr. Tissot himself cannot get away from it. His illustrations are mainly realistic, but are not all so, yet it is mainly as a realist that he now comes before the public. He himself says: "After ten years of labor this new life of our Lord Jesus Christ is about to appear bearing the accurate stamp of things seen and lived through. I wish to say this: I do not pretend to affirm that the events which I here recall happened just in this way; far from it. I have only desired to give a personal interpretation, based upon serious study and intended to dispel as much as possible an inaccurate and vague view from the people's mind."

TISSOT'S ART PANORAMIC.

Tissot's art at the best is panoramic. We see as from a balloon the mountains that "skipped like rams" and "the little hills that skipped like lambs," the "trees planted by the water-side," and "the flourishing palm tree." There are a few vineyards, fewer fields of corn than we should expect to see; the country seems less the Promised Land flowing with milk and honey than the Palestine of to-day, over which Mark Twain so well says "broods the spell of a curse that has withered its fields and fettered its energies."

Not only do the hills and valleys lie clearly before us, but the people move vividly hither and thither through them, as though born and bred amid them. They rest in the olive-tree's shade or travel by camel or on foot, and we can understand thoroughly from Mr. Tissot's pictures how

(88) "HEALING THE LEPER AT CAPERNAUM."

"And there came a leper to him, beseeching him, and kneeling down to him, and saying unto him, If thou wilt, thou canst make me clean" (St. Mark i. 40).

Nicodemus might be a German burgomaster or Barnabas a Flemish peasant, while the soldiery in pot-hats, supporting blunderbusses, were far from being classical. A slight compromise in costume, however, is often found: the pot-hat is unusual; the artist more frequently gave oriental color to his compositions by capping his Dutch burgomaster with a Turkish turban.

This method prevailed until our century, when the artists, influenced by archaeological research, strove for greater accuracy, and in 1854 the pre-Raphaelite, Holman Hunt, made a trip of two years to the East to obtain data for his "Finding of Christ in the Temple," his "Scapegoat," and other biblical subjects, thus forestalling Mr. Tissot thirty-two years; but Hunt's efforts were fragmentary, as were all other similar attempts. It was for Mr. Tissot to make a protracted stay

the oriental definitely gauges a distance by the unit of a day's journey as naturally as a sailor prognosticates the weather by the veering of the winds.

TOPOGRAPHICAL EXCELLENCE.

In the marvelous topographical accuracy of these drawings alone there is sufficient motive for the whole work. No one could peruse the Tissot New Testament without having a clearer idea of the text because of his illustrations than one would have without them. The heretofore illustrator has been content to draw more or less undulating landscapes sparsely dotted with olive-trees, but Mr. Tissot draws the lie of the land in every case whether an olive-tree is present or absent. We at least feel it would be a sin to "move the landmarks." This is seen in "St. John the Baptist Sees Jesus from Afar" (48). Our reproduction does not do justice to the colored original, in which the treeless landscape and the dried-up river-bed are most impressive in their nakedness. A salient case in which Mr. Tissot uses his topographical knowledge is seen in our illustration "Jesus Preaching

by the Seaside" (109). Here Jesus sits upon a blanket that has been thrown upon a bowlder that forms a natural rostrum, no doubt the very spot from which he did speak twenty centuries ago.

The same note of originality is found in the poses of many of the single figures. In "Christ Predicting the Fall of Jerusalem" (213) the arrangement of the group is more or less conventional, but the pose of Jesus with his hand to his forehead is certainly unconventional and suggestive. So too in "Jesus Goes Up to Jerusalem" (63) at first the movement of the figures does not strike us as particularly meaningful, but when we remember that on arriving in Jerusalem and entering the temple Jesus drove out the sellers of the oxen, sheep, and doves, we realize the significance of this figure walking resolutely up the slope, the followers having hard work to keep up with the pace of their leader.

Besides this power of composition-making and of giving special significance to the pose of the figure, one must not miss the admirable use Mr. Tissot makes of gesticulation. There may be instances when the hands of his priests and rabbis are too suggestive of the stage Shylock, but in

(150) "JESUS AND CHILD."

Jesus has asked his disciples what they disputed among themselves on the way to Capernaum. "But they held their peace because they had disputed among themselves who should be the greatest. And he sat down and called the twelve, and saith unto them, If any man desire to be first, the same shall be last of all, and servant of all. And he took a child, and set him in the midst of them, and when he had taken him in his arms, he said unto them, Whosoever shall receive one of such children in my name, receiveth me" (St. Mark ix. 35, 36, 37).

In the foot-note to this illustration Mr. Tissot writes: "There is a legend extant which says that the child which Jesus took upon his lap was no other than Ignace (St. Ignatius Theophorus), later Bishop of Antioch and a martyr."

Mr. Tissot does not seem thoroughly convinced of the reality of his spiritual conceptions. In "Angels Came and Ministered Unto Him" (54) the angels are a lurid blue, they are from the inferno, not from the Golden City. In "Christ Taken Up Into a High Mountain" (50) Satan is in silhouette in Poe-like vagueness. In "Christ Borne Up Unto a Pinnacle of the Temple" (52) Satan has ram's horns, bat's wings, and a Moloch's mouth. In "The Temptation in the Wilderness" (51) Satan becomes a dark-skinned Job without any insignia of his Satanic majesty. In "Christ Driving Out Them that Sold and Bought from the Temple" (198) there is in the foreground a veritable Simple Simon. "The Soul of the Penitent Thief" (314) looks like a decadent poster. And surely without referring to the catalogue one would never surmise that the two figures in 349 standing inert like Tweedle Dee and Tweedle Dum represented an episode in "The Ascension"!

SURPRISES IN STORE.

These very surprises, when not carried too far, mark Mr. Tissot as an expert in composition, separating it from the art of the

photographer. By the word composition an artist may mean several things, but mainly he means the arrangement of the elements of the picture. One of the tests of a pleasing composition is that the arrangement shall be such that it will impress the spectator so that he shall not forget it. An artist shows originality when his composition embraces the unlooked-for, yet it should not be so novel as to suggest the unreal or exceptional.

Mr. Tissot is eminently strong in his composition; this is readily seen in his interpretation of the Magi. What a surprise to us to see each figure seated upon a towering camel like a hero surmounting a monolith. In the original paint-

(100) "JESUS PREACHING BY THE SEASIDE."

Mr. Tissot found by the sea of Tiberias (Gennesaret) a large boulder that would be a natural rostrum from which a speaker would address a crowd, and he asks why may we not suppose that it was the very spot from which Jesus spoke. A separate pen drawing of the rock illustrates his note.

other cases he proves himself a worthy disciple of Delsarte, who studied the theory of hand pantomime as Fechter put it in practice. In our illustration one notes especially the expressive hands of the leper.

TISSOT'S IDEALITY.

Tissot's sense of the ideal is extremely Gallic. We are not sure that the chimeras of Notre Dame have entered his compositions as they enter into the etchings of Meryon, but we do feel an echo of Doré and of Victor Hugo in them—a modernized Gothic influence. But we say "influence:" his work is not steeped in Gothic spirit.

ing they are clothed, one in lemon-yellow and two in orange, and form brilliant spots against the lavender shadows of the hills behind them.

The same surprise awaits us in some of the ideal subjects, where a beautiful, or at least novel and suggestive, interpretation is brought out by Mr. Tissot's composition. Reading a title like "The Pool of Bethesda—For an angel went down at a certain season into the pool and troubled the water" (68), we hardly expect the angel to be portrayed by two large hands in the water. Yet they seem potent and not unspiritual. In many of the pictures of visions there is a significance in the color that might be missed in black and white; in the "Annunciation" (16) "The Vision of Zacharias" (13) there is an evasive suggestion in the chromatic tones that suggests the vision will off and away in another moment.

TISSOT AS A GRAPHIC COQUELIN.

When Coquelin was in this country, though he delighted many with the mastery of his art, the dramatic critic of the New York *Tribune* assailed that art, condemning it for its extravagance, mentioning that the actor would jump five feet

in the air. This as a derogatory criticism might have been unjust, but the fact that the actor went to extremes in pantomime is indisputable.

We find the same tendency in much of Mr. Tissot's work, but not in all of it. It is absent in our illustrations. It must be confessed

(488) "VIA DOLOROSA."

that sometimes there is much extravagance, as in "The Blind Leading the Blind" (122), where there is a suggestion of boys playing snap-the-whip. In "The Daughter of Herodias Dancing" (131)

(213) "JESUS PREDICTS THE DESTRUCTION OF THE TEMPLE."

Jesus and his disciples are in the Valley of Jehosaphat (outside the wall of Jerusalem), facing the temple for the last time. There are now no definite ruins of the temple, but the spot selected by Mr. Tissot is the one on which, tradition says, the temple stood.

(77) "THE PHARISEES AND HERODIANS TAKE COUNSEL AGAINST JESUS."

"And the chief priests and scribes sought how they might kill him; for they feared the people" (St. Luke xxii. 2). The conspirators are assembled in a garden adjoining the palace of Caiaphas.

Salome is standing upon her hands, her heels in the air!

In these scientific days of revision and Polychrome Bibles, when marginal notes are made of ink-blots upon original manuscripts, it occasions a slight shock to see Mr. Tissot impute legendary acts to New Testament heroes. His picture illustrating the "Legend of the Tests which the Suitors of the Holy Virgin had to Undergo" (14), with its row of anything but eligible-looking Jews standing like rebuked schoolboys before a priest, can hardly be said to add dignity to his interpretation of the gospel.

MARVELOUSLY GRAPHIC.

Mr. Tissot has been most successful in his delineation of multitudes. His scene in "The Forum—Site of the Gabbatha" (the "Pavement") (274) we think his masterpiece. There is no suggestion of its perspective having been laid off by rule or the figures having been painted from models—characteristics often found in similar subjects by Gerôme and Meissonier. "Let Him Be Crucified" (270) is equally fine in its

dramatic effect. Could anything be more impressive than "The Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes" (134), with its multitudes seated tier upon tier up the mountain-side in the glaring eastern sunlight?

Since Jesus came much in contact with the multitude, Mr. Tissot has had many opportunities to exercise his ability in depicting crowds. In those scenes where Christ is feeding the multitude, healing the sick, disputing, preaching, performing miracles, there is an assurance on the surface of every drawing that the crowd is always the same, inasmuch as it is oriental, but always different, inasmuch as its grouping shows great thoughtfulness on the part of the artist in his arrangement. The type is preserved, the individual differs.

Our illustration of "Christ Preaching by the Seaside" (109) is less representative than the more animated group in "John the Baptist Recognizing Christ from Afar" (48); and in "The Sermon on the Mount" (124) the coming and going of the people suggests their Levantine willingness to listen to a speaker without neces-

pigment is nearly always *gouache* (that is, the color mixed with Chinese white becomes body-color and hence somewhat opaque), giving a prevailing gray tone to many of the studies. In some cases the artist has used transparent color without Chinese white; where, as also in many of the *gouache* studies, there is a fine sense of luminosity and chromatic veracity. The color of "The Flight Into Egypt" (35) adds poetic feeling not found in our black and white; pink evening tints color the forms of the camels and strike the hill-top on which they stand, while the distance rolls off in effective gray tones. The coloring of "The Boyhood of Jesus" (42) is also very beautiful, the stripes of his tunic adding a richness to the unadorned garment. The effect, too, of glaring sunlight in nearly all the landscape studies is obtained by the use of Chinese white in a most dexterous manner.

With this simple technique, nothing complex, his method most straightforward, frank, and direct because of his great power of concentration, Mr. Tissot has certainly wrought wonders. In Doré's effort to be imposing he painted life-sized figures upon gigantic canvases, as did most

(302) "ELOI, ELOI LAMA SABACTHANI!"

In the original drawing, and equally in the colored print of the book, the dark sky in this composition is very impressive.

sarily subscribing to his tenets. To us, the occidental, a Salvation Army speaker in the open air is always an anomaly; but we realize from Mr. Tissot's graphic scenes that to the oriental Jesus' itinerant ministry was a most natural event.

TISSOT'S TECHNIQUE.

With the exception of some minor pen drawings, all the original illustrations are made in water-color, about four times the size of our prints. The

painters before him and as do many ambitious painters to-day, but Mr. Tissot has shown how impressive one can be in circumscribed space, and he has far transcended Doré, because he is truer than that shallow virtuoso.

Indeed, as we look at his concourse of shifting scenes as one might look through the reversed end of an opera-glass at the Oberammergau Passion Play, we feel that perhaps an artist can be most truly ideal when he is most truly real.



WORLD POLITICS THROUGH A RUSSIAN ATMOSPHERE.

BY W. T. STEAD.

[Mr. Stead has spent the greater part of the autumn in an extremely interesting tour of the European capitals, making inquiry into political and international conditions, and in particular devoting himself to the all-important question of the Czar's peace proposals. He was eminently successful in his object of securing personal interviews with the Czar, and his journey will doubtless furnish the material for a very timely book. The present article was written by Mr. Stead while sojourning at Sebastopol, in the Russian Crimea.—THE EDITOR.]

FOR the last three weeks I have been in Russia, and another week will pass before I depart from the empire of the Czar to the capital of the Sultan. Necessarily, therefore, my present standpoint is more Russian than English, and as so much depends upon the point of view, it is only fair to the reader to warn him that these lines are being written on the shores of the harbor which the Russians forty-four years ago barred against the allied navies of England and France by a *chevaux-de-frise* of sunken men-of-war. The sky at least is clearer here than it seems to be at home. At Moscow, where I spent the anniversary of the day on which Napoleon began the catastrophe of his retreat, the thermometer was below freezing-point, and there was enough snow in the streets to permit of sleighing. At Kharkoff it was still colder, but here in Sebastopol we are under an Italian sky, with the sun at midday as hot as in England at midsummer. The pleasure-boats are flitting like white-winged butterflies over the tranquil water where an ugly iron-clad lies at anchor in mid-channel, with slender spirals of steam curling upward from both of her steam-pipes. Everything is gay and bright and glad with the joy of summer skies; nor is there much to remind one of the fact that less than half a century ago this placid harbor was the cockpit of Europe. Alma and Inkerman are the names of stations on the railroad, conveying to the ordinary passenger as little meaning as those of Hastings and Lewes to the London cheap-tripper. Yet it was only forty-four years ago next Tuesday that Balaclava witnessed the charge of the Light Brigade; less than forty-three years since the storming of the Redan.

TOO MUCH "FASH" ABOUT FASHODA.

Sitting here in Sebastopol, which after two years of deadly wrestle of war by land and sea was stormed by the allied armies of England and France, the hubbub that has been made in London about Fashoda seems almost fantastic. If

Lord Salisbury had shown any disposition to give way to the preposterous pretensions of our dear friends and former allies there might have been some excuse, not to say justification, for the extraordinary beating of tom-toms with which the British press has been deafening its readers. Nine-tenths of the importance of the Marchand incident has arisen solely from the exaggerated emphasis with which English journalists have written about it. From the first they should have treated it as a French picnic party that was outstaying its welcome, but which possessed no international significance whatever. Lord Salisbury, it is admitted, said this with sufficient precision to leave no mistake as to his meaning. That being said, there was no more to be said and nothing to be done. The gallant Marchand might with perfect equanimity have been left to sit tight on the somewhat inconvenient position he selected as the site of his picnic party, nor is it a matter of the slightest consequence to any one what particular fancy in bunting he employed for the decoration of his tent. It is no part of our duty when we are opening the Soudan to civilization to limit the stay in the Nile Valley of French, German, Russian, or Belgian pleasure-parties. It is of course too much to ask us to feed them or to prevent their blacks from deserting, but when once their status had been clearly defined and their flag declared to be a mere decorative appendage to the tent of a gallant explorer, the right thing to do is to ignore the incident and proceed with the task of restoring the authority of Egypt over the provinces to which the French Government has repeatedly recognized her inalienable right.

"METHINKS THE LADY DOTHT PROTEST TOO MUCH."

Instead of adopting this simple and dignified and perfectly safe course, the English papers and not a few English statesmen—Lord Rosebery emerging from his retirement in order to head them—appear to have considered it the

wisest and most judicious thing to do to make the greatest possible parade of supporting Lord Salisbury. "Call you that a backing of your friends? A plague on such backing, say I!" For their ostentatious and somewhat noisy declarations imply either that they think Lord Salisbury, if left to himself, would be sure to back down, or else that they imagine their outcry will bluff the French into submission. But as we all start from the assumption that the French have no case or shadow of a case in support of the claim to Fashoda, and are all praising Lord Salisbury for making this perfectly clear, why all this hubbub and fol-de-rol? Every speech like those now in fashion, every London newspaper article such as are served up every morning at breakfast, tends to increase the difficulty of the French Government in giving way gracefully, because our flamboyant journalists excite those of the same kidney in France, and the task of diplomacy is made far more arduous than it would otherwise have been. There is unfortunately a mischievous tendency to exaggerated emphasis on the part of our newspapers. I never read some articles without wondering whether "Rule Britannia," with its three-fold iteration of "Never! never! never!" has not much to answer for in vitiating our polemical style. The French Government never dreamed of making any serious business out of the Marchand incident—after the capture of Khartoum. All that they needed was a little dexterity to enable them to extricate themselves from the *impasse* without losing their *amour propre*. But that the lusty banging of the British big drum rendered almost impossible.

RUSSIA AND THE FRENCH ALLIANCE.

The conspicuous refusal of the Russian Government to do anything to encourage or support the bellicose section of the French in picking a quarrel with England confirms what I have always said as to the real significance of the Franco-Russian alliance. So far as Russia was concerned it was an alliance to restrain any one from breaking the peace. France benefited inasmuch as it secured her from attack, and England and Germany also benefited; but it was not a less effective restraint upon France whenever she felt in the mood to make trouble in Europe. No one will understand rightly anything in European politics unless they start from the fact that Russia is a power which under the late Czar was the peace-keeper of Europe, and which under the present Emperor is bent upon inaugurating the new century by dealing a death-blow at the present system of international anarchy, of which the armed peace which costs one thousand million

dollars per annum is the most conspicuous feature. If the French of the *boulevards* do not understand that quite clearly now, they will discover the truth for themselves before long. And so far from the French alliance being endangered by that discovery, it will be more popular than ever with all Frenchmen except a noisy handful. For there is nothing the great mass of the French people desire more than peace with self-respect. And that is precisely what they are able to command, thanks to their good friend the Czar. But

THE ENGLISH IDEA OF THE MARCHAND AFFAIR.

LORD SALISBURY. "Ah, you may crow, but the spirit of Wellington remains with us yet." From *Moonskine* (London).

the *revanche*, or a war with Britain—oh, dear me, no! These are and will remain forbidden luxuries to the ally of the emperor of peace.

THE PEACE CONGRESS.

The English Government has dishonorably distinguished itself by being the last of the great powers to send in its reply to the Russian invitation to a conference as to the stay of international armaments. Possibly Mr. Chamberlain's absence in America rendered necessary a delay which has had the practical effect of hanging up the congress until next year. Last month there was some talk of holding it in Brussels, under the presidency of King Leopold. But the King of the Belgians has become somewhat hard of hearing of late years, and there is no doubt that he is right in thinking that nowhere could the congress be so appropriately held as at St. Petersburg,

where it could be opened by a personal appeal from the Emperor himself. It is to be hoped that the powers will select as their representatives men of a standing equal to that of those whose signatures stand at the foot of the treaty of Berlin. It might be impossible for Lord Salisbury to attend another European congress, but Mr. Balfour would be no unworthy substitute—especially if accompanied by Lord Rosebery—unless, as unfortunately may be the case, party or personal considerations forbade his selection. The task before the congress is one immeasurably more important than that which took the chancellors of Europe to Berlin in 1878. For the congress will be charged with the consideration of the gravest question ever brought before an assembly which may fairly claim to represent the whole civilized world. Primarily it will address itself to the question of the possibility of an immediate stay of the ruinous competition in armaments, but it will also of necessity be led on to consider whether or not the conscience of mankind is strong enough to provide some substitute for war as the sole tribunal among the nations.

AN INSTITUTE OF MEDIATION.

Two or three years ago I wrote a little pamphlet apropos of the heated controversy between Britain and the United States over Venezuela, the drift of which is accurately indicated by its title, "Always Arbitrate Before You Fight."

The more I have discussed this peace question with Russian statesmen the more confident have I become that some such formula as that really lies behind all that they say and write about disarmament. They do not call it arbitration. They prefer the word mediation. What M. Witte, for instance, would like to see issue from the congress would be an institute of mediation representing all the powers, empowered in the name of the civilized world to interpose whenever any quarrel between nations threatened to result in bloodshed, for the purpose of ascertaining whether the impartial outsider could not devise means whereby peace might be preserved. This, which is practically the revival under international auspices of the old Roman *feciales*, would, M. Witte thinks, in many cases afford the power that did not want to fight an honorable way of retreat, and in all cases would interpose a delay which would almost always make toward peace. The institute of mediation would, M. Witte said, be something like the seconds in a proposed duel who have authority to decide whether the cause of the quarrel is sufficient to justify a resort to arms. Even if it went no further than this, the institute would justify its existence. But the hope is openly avowed by some that the institute would soon be able to go much beyond this, and by means of pacific pressure render it practically impossible for any disputant to go to war in face of its veto.

THE BEGINNING IN CRETE.

The germ of the parliament of man and the federation of the world has long been visible in the European concert. But hitherto the scrupulous adoption of the principle of the *liberum veto*, whereby a majority of one could doom the concert to impotence, has lamentably restrained its powers for good. Now, however, that the principle of the rule of the majority has been adopted in dealing with the Eastern question, something practical is being done. Germany and Austria have abstained from taking any part in the pacification of the island. But the other four powers, being stirred up at last to vigorous action by the massacre, have shown that the majority has power to execute what it had the will to decide. Acting under the vigorous initiative of the British admiral, the four allied powers insisted upon the retirement of the Ottoman troops. The Sultan, after a show of hesitation, gave way, and the evacuation is now in progress. That is good, very good, and an earnest of good things to come. The four powers which have enforced the withdrawal of the Turkish garrison have jointly and severally guaranteed the protection of the Moslem minority. England, Rus-

sia, France, and Italy are in fact now in Crete very much as the United States of America are in Cuba. This federal action on behalf of human freedom by powers which are usually supposed to be animated by mutual jealousy and hatred is of good augury for the future. Day by day, in a way which even the veriest skeptic cannot ignore, the United States of Europe is taking tangible and visible shape before our eyes.

THE OUTLAWRY OF ANARCHISM.

The Italian Government, being moved thereto by the fact that the anarchists who killed President Carnot and the Empress of Austria were Italians, and further being quickened to action by a twofold attempt upon the life of King Humbert, has summoned the powers to a congress to consider whether anything more can be done to extirpate anarchism. They say that although much has been done, "it is established, however, that up to now these efforts have remained isolated, and have not been so effective as to suppress the evil and put a stop to those secret communications by which anarchists in every country seek, and sometimes with success, to arrive at a common understanding to afford one another help and to form a joint organization." Therefore, as all previous repressive measures have failed, it is suggested that a little stronger dose of the same medicine must prove efficacious. It is believed that "the coming conference will be called upon to decide whether anarchist outrages against any chief of the state or prominent personage, as also against Parliamentary or private buildings, should not be dealt with as common crime instead of crime having a political character." The meaning of this, of course, is that assassins are no longer to be allowed to avoid extradition by pleading a political motive for their crime. Assassination, in short, is to be ruled out as beyond the bounds. It is, to use a slang phrase, "not cricket." It is doubtful whether such a decision, if even unanimously arrived at, would deter the genuine anarchist from perpetrating his crime. It would no doubt deduct a certain percentage from his chances of escape, but the most dangerous of them do not want to escape. They hanker after the advertisement of arrest and execution. And this congress, it is to be feared, will only add to their diseased vanity.

ANARCHISTS IN HIGH PLACES AND IN LOW.

Every one was glad to hear that the police of Egypt were able to nip in the bud what seems to have been an anarchist plot to blow up the German Emperor during his visit to the East. A more vigilant police look-out kept locally on all suspicious characters would probably do more

good than any general proclamation of outlawry. The danger to society is not so much from the few miserable desperadoes in pot-houses who plan murder, and in nine cases out of ten find themselves in prison for their pains before they have been able even to kill a policeman, as from the high-flying gentlemen in jack-boots who, under pretext of zeal for law and order, are always jumping at chances to slaughter peaceable citizens and deprive quiet-going householders of their liberties. The order issued, for instance, by the German authorities exhorting the police not to hesitate to shoot, stab, or slay in case of any disturbance in the street is quite as bad in its way as the anarchical plot at Cairo. There is also considerable danger that the German Government may attempt to exploit this international crusade against anarchism so as still further to restrict the scant liberties of their political opponents. This is to be regretted from every point of view. The proceedings of the social democratic congress held in October at Stuttgart serve to show that unless the natural process of evolution is checked by fresh arbitrary legislation, the social democrats will next century be no more revolutionary than English Radicals. The worship of the goddess revolution is at a discount just now in Germany. But nothing would rehabilitate her fallen goddess ship so much as a recurrence on the part of the Kaiser to measures already hinted at, which would enable every extremist to argue, with some appearance of truth, that legitimate political and industrial methods of agitation being forbidden, there was no alternative but to resort to force. It is in this way that arbitrary kaisers breed dynamitards; the latter are the illegitimate spawn of the former.

THE KAISER'S PILGRIMAGE.

The Kaiser's visit to Jerusalem, attended by a great *cortège* of Protestant pastors and their wives, has been one of the most *bizarre* and picturesque incidents of the season. Nothing could be more innocent and, indeed, admirable than the Emperor's pious pilgrimage to the Holy City. Better men than he have made the pilgrimage before, although none ever signalized their Christian zeal by publicly fraternizing with the head of Mohammedanism, whose hands still drip with Christian gore. If there were still any such moral authority in Christendom as that which compelled another German emperor to go to Canossa and which made our own King Henry do penance for the murder of Becket, the Kaiser would have gone to Jerusalem, not in triumph to proclaim himself a protector of Christians, but rather as a penitent, humiliated and abased, eating the bread and drinking the water of affliction.

in order to testify to all men his repentance for the part he played in Armenia and in Greece. But the Pope, who inherits the shadow of the throne of Hildebrand, has not been able to do anything but feebly emit a protest on behalf of the claims of France to a monopoly of the right of protecting Christians in the East. Whereupon his imperial majesty in high dudgeon has recalled his ambassador from the Vatican and will sulk for a season.

THE GERMAN "DRANG NACH OSTEN."

At St. Petersburg I met a distinguished Russian who had just returned from Constantinople. On hearing that I contemplated returning by the Bosphorus, he said: "You will find spoken in Constantinople more German than any other European language. Constantinople is becoming as German as Berlin. When the German ambassador left the other day *en congé* to prepare for the Kaiser's tour and the Sultan sent two *aids-de-camp* to the station to bid him *au revoir*, the whole platform was crowded with Germans. They all wore fezes and they all were pashas or ministers. They represented the effective civil and military administration of the Ottoman Em-

pire. While England and Russia have been disputing about the shell, Germany has carried off the oyster. Nor was it only in Constantinople; they are everywhere *en evidence*. They are steadily pushing on their railroad through Asia Minor. Every station is a little German colony. Every depot is a German bazaar. Before we know where we are Asiatic Turkey will have become a German province." The German Emperor's visit advertises to the world at large the real meaning of the famous phrase, "*Drang nach Osten*." It used to be imagined that it only meant the thrusting of Austria down to Salonica. It now appears that it means the extension of the German empire to the Tigris and the Euphrates. So far as England, Russia, and France are concerned, they have no ground for complaint. They have one and all failed to protect the populations of Asia Minor, and have thereby abdicated their right to object when another power undertakes to make the desert bloom as the rose and to restore to its former prosperity the Garden of Asia. Of course it is very iniquitous that it should be done in alliance with the Turk. But there will be short shrift for the Sultan as soon as the German really feels his feet in Asia Minor.

THE KAISERIN (to the Sultan): "It is an honor and pleasure for me (leaning on your arm) to be able to see your brave troops. Does not Asia Minor owe its happiness and protection to them?"
SULTAN: "To me and them, madam." From the *Amsterdammer*.

THE KAISER LANDING AT SOLMA BAO TORE, CONSTANTINOPLE.

THE NEW MINISTRY AT THE CAPE.

The news of the Anglo-German agreement about Delagoa Bay did not save Sir Gordon Sprigg's ministry at the Cape. It may indeed have expedited his dismissal. The danger of a Boer ascendancy in Cape Colony was distinctly diminished when Germany contemptuously cast the Transvaal adrift and arranged with England for the preëmption of Delagoa Bay. Members of the anti-Rhodes party, therefore, may have felt themselves more free to vote in accordance with their electoral pledges. Anyhow they did so vote, and the vote of no confidence in the Sprigg ministry was carried by a majority of 39 to 37. A majority of 2 is not as big as a church door, but it is sufficient; and Sir Gordon Sprigg at once tendered his resignation to Sir Alfred Milner. He has been succeeded by a Schreiner ministry. Mr. Schreiner, Olive Schreiner's brother, is a good man. He has on his right and left hand men to whom that adjective would not be applied except in sarcasm. Mr. Merriman and Mr. Sauer were indispensable, but, except for keeping the majority together, the ministry would have been stronger without them. The new government cannot do much harm. If it

tries to keep its pledges and pass a redistribution bill, it will dig its own grave. If it repudiates its pledges and leaves redistribution alone, it will probably go to pieces. A majority of 2 is large enough to slay an old ministry; it is not large enough on which to found a new one. The majority in the upper house being progressists, it will effectively check any reactionary legislation on the part of the Afrianders. On the whole, Sir A. Milner may now probably take his holiday with a clear conscience. We shall all be very glad to see him in England again and hear from his own lips what he thinks of the position.

ANOTHER "UNFRIENDLY ACT."

Mr. George Curzon, "that most superior person," has been made a peer, so that the familiar couplet will lose its point. Miss Mary Leiter, of Chicago, is now Lady Curzon of Kedleston, wife of the Viceroy of India. I was not a little amazed and considerably amused by the impression that prevailed at St. Petersburg as to the significance of Mr. Curzon's appointment. The Russians certainly regard it, rightly or wrongly, as quite as unfriendly an act as the dispatch of a French expedition to Fashoda. They hold that

Mr. Curzon has openly proclaimed himself an enemy of Russia, and they are on the look out for squalls on the central Asian frontier. I yield to no one in my conviction as to the capacity for foolish action in the new viceroy. "Seest thou a man wise in his own conceit? there is more hope of a fool than of him," and I do not in the least underestimate the mischief which the new viceroy may do India and England if he should when in office endeavor to carry out the principles on which he defended the criminal campaign on the northwest frontier. But I do not see how he can hurt Russia. The viceroys who have been the greatest Russophobists have always helped Russia most and injured India most severely. Mr. Curzon is not likely to be any exception to this rule. Besides, he is known to be a man suspect. A less pronounced advocate of aggression and provocation might involve us in much more trouble before we divined what he was about. When you know that a thief is in the room you are not very likely to lose your spoons. But let us hope that the ex-under secretary will use his viceroyalty so as to cause us to forget all the nonsense he wrote in the days of his early omniscience.

LORD ELGIN'S FAREWELL

Lord Elgin, the retiring viceroy, being entertained by his friends on his departure from India, made a speech in which he did his best to defend his administration from the indictment brought against it in Parliament and elsewhere. He asserted in the strongest terms that the war on the northwest frontier was none of his seeking and was in fact unavoidable. To reply to that would take more space than I have at my disposal, so I will pass on to what he says as to the results of these wars. He said:

The expeditions were successful and fully achieved the objects for which they were sent out. Peace has now prevailed for six months in all the regions of disturbance, and the Afridi *hyrghs* will meet in a few days to hear the conclusions of the government of India and her majesty's government on all the questions outstanding with them. I give it as my opinion that these things will, in the end, make for peace. The tribes which know now the length of our arm and have felt our power to punish will more readily, under careful and sympathetic management, come to recognize that we have no desire to trample on their rights or encroach on the self-government which they prize, and will be more careful for some time to come how they attack us.

It is to be hoped that future viceroys will take milder means of demonstrating the absence of any "desire to trample on their rights" than the dispatch of armies to burn, slay, and destroy.

THE REAL MORAL OF THE WARS.

"The tribes," said Lord Elgin, "will be more careful for some time to come how they attack us." Yes. But we also will be more careful, let us hope, for a long time to come how we attack them. The *Times*, reviewing the book written by its own correspondent, Colonel Hutchinson, on the Tirah campaign, justly remarks that we were taught a very severe lesson by which we ought to profit:

For the first time the Indian army was called upon to meet, in the most difficult country in the world, a foe partly armed with good rifles which he had learned to use. "We are too much accustomed to think of the tribes on our frontier as an undisciplined rabble to be treated with contempt. . . . We have learned now that the conditions no longer exist which warranted such a belief," and the present problem of the Indian government is to seek a means of insuring that the great fighting powers of the Afridi and Orakzai clans may be turned to account for the defense of the frontier.

The first thing to do to solve that problem is surely to reverse the policy which made the Afridi and Orakzai clans the friends of our foes and the deadly foes of our friends.

ENGLAND AT THE FEET OF INDIA.

Before passing from the subject of India I would note with hearty satisfaction the wise and bold utterance of Principal Fairbairn on the subject of the relative position of England and India in the study of the philosophy of religion. A Chicago lady at the time of the parliament of religions endowed a lectureship, to be held by eminent Christian divines, who should proceed to India to interpret Christianity to the Hindoos. Dr. Barrows was the first to go. This year Dr. Fairbairn has been selected. But at a dinner given in his honor on his departure he frankly told his hosts that he was going far more as a learner than as a teacher. He said:

Religion was in a sense an incident in the life of the English people. They loved to explore, they loved commerce and conquests, they loved literature; they had many loves. Religion was one. But in India the people dwelt in their own land, and their supreme concern was and always had been their religion. No Englishman would ever expect any one to make a Hindoo of him. When you went to a Hindoo you had to meet a conviction which was not yours. To the Hindoos Christianity represented English power, civil servants, soldiers—all that our empire there could mean. Their religion was as it was when Alexander saw it, when the Portuguese, and the Frenchman, and the Englishman saw it. We should never know the Indian problems till we knew the Indian mind. Therefore to interpret India to England was a greater necessity than interpreting England to India.

This witness is true. Prince Ukhtomsky said much the same to me at St. Petersburg as to the

A VIEW OF SEBASTOPOL—HARBOR AND TOWN.

importance of interpreting the Chinese mind to the Russians. Thank Heaven we are at last emerging from the state of supercilious arrogance in which we raw tyros in the study of spiritual things loftily dismissed the saints and sages of the East as "mere benighted heathen."

THE PEACE COMMISSION AT PARIS.

It seems as if I shall find the commissioners still at the Hotel Continental when I return to Paris. It is to be hoped that they and their wives and their ladies-in-waiting will at least profit by their visit to improve their French accent and familiarize themselves with Paris manners. The negotiations drag heavily. The Spanish commissioners want to know why about this, that, and the other—why the Americans object to assume the Cuban debt, why they want more of the Philippines than was asked for in the protocol, etc., etc. The negotiations will severely test the patience of the Americans, who at home are more interested in discovering who is responsible for the sufferings of their troops than listening to the protests of the Spanish peace commissioners. President McKinley has been making a speech concerning the sublime unselfishness of the United States, which has reminded scoffing diplomats of the Old World of the Pharisee who went up into the temple to pray—"and remained to prey," adds the scoffer, who obstinately refuses to see the sublime acme of altruism in a war which has ended in the seizure of all there was to be had for the taking in Asia and in America. The war with Spain cost the United States all told 107 officers and 2,803 men, most of whom perished from defective transport and commissariat. There

is no doubt at all that the Americans went into this war with a sincere desire to do an unselfish piece of work for suffering humanity. It is their misfortune, not their fault, that they have come out with Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines added in fact, if not in form, to the possessions of Uncle Sam.

FROM THE RUSSIAN POINT OF VIEW.

The Russians, who really did make a long and bloody war for humanity in 1877, and only recouped themselves with very small pickings in Bessarabia and in Armenia, are very sarcastic about the high moral sense of the Americans, who, as the prize of such a little war, annex wholesale, right and left, the valuable possessions of Spain. It would do Mr. Hanna good, for instance, if he could see the smile with which the old-world foreign offices read this lofty exposition of the reasons which compel poor Uncle Sam to pocket the Philippines. Mr. Hanna told an interviewer:

The United States is under obligations to the insurgents to establish a stable and enlightened form of government throughout the entire archipelago. When the war began the Philippine insurrectionists became, in a certain sense, allies of the Americans. It is, therefore, our moral duty to see that in the future they shall be assured of safe, civilized rule. Until the United States determines in just what manner the Philippines shall ultimately be governed, we necessarily have to consider the Philippines as our wards. During this transition period the United States will be called upon to exercise a primitive or, rather, arbitrary form of control over the islands, and to continue it until Congress finally evolves a system of government. It seems to me we shall have to maintain a temporary protectorate over the archipelago.

John Bull has so often been the butt of these cynical diplomats that he rather likes having a brother in misfortune. Besides, he remembers how often his own kith and kin beyond the sea joined the scoffers when he talked like Mr. Hanna.

SOMETHING WRONG SOMEWHERE.

Certainly there is something wrong somewhere in the training and education of Englishmen, otherwise it would never have been possible for the board of trade to have issued such a return on the causes of the decay in British trade. In this memorandum are summarized the reports of 116 diplomatic and consular agents in all parts of the world. One and all tell the same story. We are being beaten everywhere in markets that were once our own because of our pride, stupidity, and lethargy. Germans and Americans are cutting us out everywhere, and it serves us right. The excessive arrogance and smug self-complacency which have so long made the English so detested by their neighbors are now exacting their penalty in the way of business. We despise the foreigner, and if he will not take what we deign to offer him we let him go elsewhere; and as a consequence he has gone elsewhere. Our business rivals have none of this stupid pride about them. If a foreigner wants to have anything in his style they are humble enough to try and let him have what he wants without elaborately making him feel that he is a condemned fool for not preferring it British fashion. The board of trade memorandum might appropriately be issued as a sermon preached by the representatives of England abroad from the familiar text, "Pride goeth before destruction and a haughty spirit before a fall." We have got our fall, or part of it.

ENGLAND AS SEEN FROM ABROAD.

Ten years ago I wrote: "If you want to appreciate your country, look at it from any foreign capital you please." To-day I no longer feel it would be safe to give the same advice. Compared with New York, London is a badly lighted country village. Compared with Hamburg, the street locomotion is as that of the stage-coach era compared to that of the *train de luxe*. Why, even here in Sebastopol, in the city which has risen like a phoenix from the ashes of the fortress we pounded to bits half a century since, electric trolley cars are running which are immensely in advance of anything to be found in the capital of the British empire. Yet what region of the world is there that is not full of the labors of Englishmen? Even this very Sebastopol was originally laid out by an Englishman in the Rus-

sian service. Englishmen made the gas for St. Petersburg, as they are still to do it for the suburbs of Vienna. All over southern Russia Englishmen founded and directed iron works and presided over the industrial development of the country. Now all is changed. Belgians and Frenchmen and Germans do the business—and a greater business—that the Englishmen began. Even in the working of tramways Belgians make lines pay which the English have abandoned in despair of earning a dividend. And the city of Vienna, under the guidance of its anti-Semitic chief, Dr. Lueger, has just mulcted itself in an expenditure of a couple of millions sterling in gratifying a determination to get rid of the English gas company without regard either to law or equity. All this is bad showing for the Britisher, although no doubt it is the best medicine for John Bull, who of late years has grown too fat and altogether high and mighty properly to look after his business.

POLAND AND IRELAND.

The other night at St. Petersburg I was hotly pressed by two vehement Polish patriots, of very different political schools, on the subject of the wrongs of Poland. They differed about many things, but they both agreed in declaring that if they could but be gifted with the privileges of Irishmen they would consider that the portals of paradise had opened before their eyes. Of which it is well that the Irish irreconcilables should take due note. They too often talk as if they would prefer to be under the bloody rule of a Turkish pasha than the somewhat wooden and arrogant sway of an English majority. Mr. Redmond's description of the new Irish local government act, addressed to the Parnellites on October 10, will tend to increase the envious despair with which in Warsaw they sigh for liberty as in Ireland. Mr. Redmond said:

No words that he could use could exaggerate the value of that act. Of course they knew that it did not in the remotest degree touch the question of their national claims, but short of that it made the people in every county in Ireland for the first time in the history of this country a free people. It freed them absolutely from the rule of men who were irresponsible and for the most part alien in race, in feeling, and in national inspiration. It placed in the hands of the people the power of levying and of spending millions of taxation, and for the first time in the history of Ireland it gave the people a chance of applying themselves to practical questions upon which undoubtedly depended their future industrial prosperity.

If that act works well it will encourage progress in the same direction outside the British empire. And whether it works well or ill will depend entirely upon Irishmen themselves.

COL. GEORGE E. WARING, JR.

BY ALBERT SHAW.

THE practical reasons that have justified the expulsion of Spain from Cuba are too numerous to be summed up in a sentence or two. To begin with, America acknowledged some duties toward humanity at large; and the Cubans were in sore need of a helping hand. From our own point of view, moreover, we had a right to urge that bad administration in Cuba was a standing injury. The harmful effects of Spanish methods upon our commerce, though easy to demonstrate, might not have afforded a sufficient ground for our peremptory interference. Considerations of the public health, however, have always afforded us an ample reason for condemning and ending Spanish sovereignty in Cuba at any time when it might seem to us advisable to execute judgment. It has been estimated that the loss of life and property in the United States occasioned by epidemics of yellow fever and other diseases directly traceable to Cuban seaports have been greater in the aggregate than all the cost of blood and treasure caused by the great Civil War. Scores of fearful visitations of infectious maladies have swept across our Gulf and Southern States, and many of these have penetrated the North—all by reason of the nearness of the plague-infested harbor of Havana. This very season has witnessed yellow-fever panics, with their accompaniment of "shotgun quarantines," in several of our Gulf States; and although happily the disease was of a mild type and the loss of life not heavy, there were entailed a fearful loss of business and a most deplorable paralysis of all social and economic activities.

While our Gulf States were thus convulsed with dread of the yellow-fever specter the Spanish peace commissioners at Paris were endeavoring to persuade the American peace commissioners that the United States ought to assume responsibility for the "Cuban debt." A Cuban debt, in any true sense of the phrase, should have represented expenditure incurred for the benefit of Cuba. A great many years ago the town of San Diego, Cuba, employed Col. George E. Waring, Jr., to construct a trunk sewer system. Any indebtedness that may remain outstanding against that municipality for that particular piece of public work or any analogous undertaking, will assuredly be honored by the United States on behalf of the Cuban people and the citizens of the town in question. But it has

Photo by Pach Bros.

COL. GEORGE E. WARING, JR.

not, in fact, been the policy of the Spanish authorities in Cuba to incur indebtedness for sanitary and public improvements. The "Cuban debt" has represented money borrowed for the subsistence and enrichment of an oppressive civil and military establishment in Cuba, that has been entitled to no more respect than the civil and military government of a Turkish province. If this much-discussed "Cuban debt" had to any extent been incurred in the carrying out of sanitary reforms at Havana, particularly the construction of a proper drainage system for the city and harbor, the people of the United States would have consented very cheerfully to guarantee the financial obligation. It will be worth to the United States all that the war has cost in suffering and death, as well as in pecuniary outlay, to be in the position—that we will within the coming month have attained—to establish a *régime* of cleanliness in the Cuban seaports.

With a discernment that cannot be too highly praised, President McKinley gave the governor-

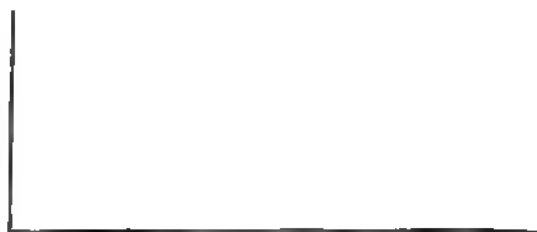
ship of Santiago to Brig.-Gen. Leonard Wood, whose equipment and skill as a physician and sanitary expert are equal at every point to his tried and proven qualities as soldier and administrator. General Wood's prompt measures of sanitary precaution saved the city of Santiago from a yellow-fever epidemic that was impending and seemingly inevitable. President McKinley was determined that no time should be lost, upon our obtaining military control of Havana and the other ports at the west end of Cuba, in dealing, not only on temporary lines, but also upon the basis of permanent reconstruction, with the health conditions that have been so notoriously bad for many generations. The most pressing task at the moment was to make sure of the conditions surrounding the troops that we were about to send to take the place of the retiring Spanish garrisons. To that end it was determined by the President and the War Department to send a commission of experts to select sites for camps, and to make recommendations touching the proper supply to those camps with water, means of drainage, and transportation facilities.

The members of this commission were experienced officers of the regular army, with the exception of one chosen from civil life. This exception was Col. George E. Waring, Jr., who was made chairman of the commission, and who was charged not only with the duty of giving advice upon the location and health conditions of camping-grounds, but also with the greater task of inquiring into the sanitary conditions of Havana and other cities in the western part of Cuba. This was with a view to recommending on broad lines the best way to stamp out the breeding-places of pestilence. No better man than Colonel Waring could have been selected. He was appointed early in October and returned with an elaborate report before the end of the month. He had been in Cuba only two or three weeks, yet he had not performed a superficial errand. For he had in fact given to Cuba not two or three weeks merely, but the cumulative knowledge and experience of a lifetime. And, as it proved in the end, he gave his life itself.

Colonel Waring's death has made it even more certain than an added ten years to his life could have made it that the United States will radically renovate the port of Havana, and that yellow fever—as a clearly preventable disease—will be exterminated from North America. Thus, in his death, Colonel Waring will have rendered to his countrymen the crowning service of a long life of usefulness, and will have derived his chief title to fame from the part he was permitted to take in the noble task of emancipating Cuba. All the varied experiences of his life had preemi-

nently fitted him for this brief mission, with its successful, though tragic, ending.

The just appreciation of Colonel Waring's mission has been almost unanimous, and the lesson of his life and death has profoundly impressed the community for good. Colonel Waring, being a patriot as well as our foremost sanitary engineer, did not wait to be sent against his own will and judgment upon a worthless errand. He gladly volunteered his services, and the President of the United States in accepting those services



COL. WARING AS A CAVALRY OFFICER IN THE CIVIL WAR.

gave Colonel Waring the noblest opportunity of usefulness that had ever fallen to his lot. The mission to Cuba reflected honor and credit alike upon both men.

Colonel Waring was familiar with the ancient injunction to cleanse the fountain that the stream may be pure. He knew that in this world whether one wished it or not he must have concern for his neighbor's welfare or must in the end share his neighbor's misfortune. The very facts that Colonel Waring died of yellow fever in New York City (within a stone's throw from the office of this magazine) and that the malady had not sufficiently developed when he reached the port of New York to cause his detention at Quarantine, are an illustration of the most direct sort that the health of New York is immediately

concerned with the slum conditions of Havana, and that the short and easy way to protect a thousand American communities—not only from the actual invasion of yellow fever, but also from the dread of it, which is almost as ruinous—is to drive straight at the source and cleanse Havana.

It was certainly fitting on many accounts that Colonel Waring should have been chosen to recommend the plans for Havana's sanitation. He had been greatly concerned in years past with the sewerage systems and sanitary arrangements of our own Southern cities, and had thus been conspicuously identified with the work of American defense against the periodic invasions of West Indian yellow fever. He had constructed the drainage system of Memphis, Tenn., after the great yellow-fever scourge of 1878; he had also been a consulting engineer in the work of protecting New Orleans by means of sanitary appliances. Various other Southern towns and cities had employed his services or adopted his system. All these experiences had eminently fitted him to draw up the sanitary plan of campaign for a final assault on the great stronghold of the yellow-fever scourge—Havana itself. He had abundant help in his October mission, and lost no time in prosecuting his inquiries and formulating his conclusions. The subject had been much considered by others and there was a good deal of data at hand. Colonel Waring did not even wait until his arrival at New York to put his recommendations upon paper. He had intended, it is true, to revise and expand his report, but the substance of it was already prepared for presentation to President McKinley when Colonel Waring reached New York on Tuesday, October 25.

He had intended to give the document its finishing touches and carry it to Washington on Wednesday, but he found himself indisposed and consented to remain at home a day or two before going to the capital. He died on the following Saturday morning. His report survives him and will unquestionably command great deference at Washington. The drainage improvements recommended by Colonel Waring for the port of Havana will cost several millions of dollars, and will be worth in the course of the next few decades several hundred millions in the protection they will afford to the United States, not to mention the protection to Cuba itself.

Colonel Waring, like Colonel Roosevelt, General Wood, Admiral Dewey, and others who might be mentioned among those who have recently served the Government, was a living refutation of the calumny which declares that we Americans have neither the men nor the capacity

for efficient public administration. He had done excellent public work at various posts during more than forty years. He was born in the State of New York in 1833, became interested at an early age in agricultural chemistry and kindred subjects, and began his life-work in the 50s as a lecturer upon scientific farming and an agricultural manager and engineer. For a while

COLONEL WARING AS HEAD OF THE NEW YORK STREET-CLEANING DEPARTMENT.

he was the managing partner on Horace Greeley's famous farm at Chappaqua. Shortly afterward he became associated with Frederick Law Olmstead, who gave him the important work of grading, draining, and planting Central Park. This notable undertaking for the permanent pleasure, health, and pride of New York occupied him until the outbreak of the Civil War. He was one of the volunteers of 1861, and after a few months became a colonel of Missouri cavalry. He served through the war with distinction and valor, and after a year or two of varied experience took the management of the Ogden farm at Newport, R. I., where he remained for some ten years, gaining experience, knowledge, and reputation as a scientific authority upon everything that could pertain to the management of landed property, together with the raising of fine stock, agricultural chemistry, and scientific drainage, both agricultural and sanitary, and where he also wrote some charming books that showed first-class literary qualifications.

It was about twenty years ago that Colonel

Waring entered in the fullest sense upon his professional work as a sanitary engineer. His most famous achievement was the difficult task of putting in the so-called "Waring system" of drainage for the city of Memphis. The other cities whose sewers, water-supply, or general sanitary improvement he was concerned with from time to time would make a long list if fully enumerated. Colonel Waring's qualifications for his work were exceptional in their variety. It would be hard to name any other man of his day who combined so much practical experience with scientific knowledge. And he possessed perhaps even greater ability as an administrator than as an engineer.

The more popular kind of reputation did not come to Colonel Waring until his appointment in 1895 by Mayor Strong as head of the street-cleaning department of New York. To many people it seemed beneath the dignity of so eminent an engineer as Colonel Waring to take a broom in his hand—so to speak—and proceed to sweep up the accumulated filth of a long series of Tammany administrations. But, fortunately, Colonel Waring had imagination enough to conceive of his work in the largest possible way. Mayor Strong promised that there should be no political interference in the department and that Colonel Waring should have an opportunity to show that New York could be made as clean as the best foreign cities. From its rank as the worst street-cleaning department of all the great towns of the civilized world, Colonel Waring soon lifted the New York department to a place among the best—possibly even to the very head of the list. It was not merely a momentary personal triumph, either; but one of those thoroughgoing reforms that has left the cleansing department upon a permanently efficient basis. Every phase of the problem how to collect, remove, and finally dispose of the waste material of a great city was thoroughly studied by Colonel Waring, and the results of his study were rapidly embodied in the working methods of his department.

The transforming effect upon the appearance, comfort, and health of the city was almost magical. His concrete setting-forth of the superior value of non-political, business-like administration was more effective, as a practical object-lesson, than all the speeches and arguments that the reformers could have launched in fifty years. When Tammany came into power again there was a strong sentiment among Tammany men themselves in favor of the retention of Colonel Waring at the head of the street-cleaning department. But although the position was given to a Tammany man, the civil-service-

reform principle was not wholly ignored, for the new appointee had been one of Colonel Waring's chief assistants and was publicly pledged to carry on Colonel Waring's system to the best of his ability.

The new era of a really clean metropolis that Colonel Waring brought about has cost some extra money. But the addition to the yearly appropriation for street cleaning is a trifling thing when one weighs it against the difference between failure and success. Proper cleansing has saved the city thousands of lives every year and scores of thousands of cases of illness. The monetary value of freedom from dust and mud in a closely crowded city would run into very high figures if justly estimated. What Colonel Waring was able to do in New York became the most conspicuous topic of municipal discussion throughout the whole country. There are a hundred cities and towns of importance that are to-day cleaning their streets more efficiently than they would otherwise be doing, by reason of the example that Colonel Waring set in the metropolis.

The New York department of street cleaning has a broad scope, and Colonel Waring had authority over the whole question of the removal and disposal of garbage and domestic waste, as well as that of streets and public places. His conduct of the department was always from the standpoint of the board of health, rather than from that of the fiscal authorities. He saw clearly that a city can never afford to spend money grudgingly when the result of such expenditure is shown in a decided reduction of the rate of sickness and death. The most disastrously expensive thing for any community is a high death-rate, with recurring visitations of epidemics of preventable disease, such as typhoid fever, diphtheria, cholera, yellow fever, and so on. The sum total of Colonel Waring's efforts for the improved administration of New York City bore directly upon these questions of public health.

He had completed his sixty-fifth year and was in the fullest possession of his powers and resources. The experience of forty years went into his brief October work in Cuba. The American people will not forget his public services and will cherish the lessons of his career. There should be a monument to his memory in the tenement district of New York, where he was known so well and where thousands of children, as volunteer members of his Auxiliary Street Cleaning Society, held him in enthusiastic regard. In Havana, also, when in due time the great trunk sewers are constructed along the line of his suggestions, there should be placed a tablet or some other memorial of his fatal, but fruitful, visit of October, 1898.

OUR ARMY SUPPLY DEPARTMENTS AND THE NEED OF A GENERAL STAFF.

BY JOHN H. PARKER.

(First Lieutenant Thirteenth Infantry, U. S. A.)

THE organization of the army may be briefly described as follows: The fighting part consists of infantry, cavalry, artillery, engineers, and signalmen. The administration may be roughly divided into departments of record, supply, sanitation, and inspection.

The records are in the hands of the adjutant-general's and judge advocate-general's departments. The latter is commonly called by the name given; its proper name is the department of justice. The supplies are furnished through the quartermaster, commissary, and ordnance departments. Health and sanitation are cared for by the medical department, morals by the chaplains, and the efficiency of the whole machine is constantly under the surveillance of the inspector-general's department. The army is paid by the paymaster's department—the only one with which no fault was found during the recent war.

It is the duty of the adjutant-general's department to keep a complete record of the history and service of every member of the army. To this end an elaborate system of books is furnished to every organization, in which the record of every man in the army, from the lowest to the highest, begins upon his entrance into the service and terminates only by death or discharge. The affairs of this department are administered by a corps of officers and clerks, the highest officer is a major-general, the lowest a major. The department is not adequate to the transaction of all its business even in the ordinary routine of peace, and has to be reinforced by one line officer in every post and one from every regiment. These latter usually perform adjutant's duty in addition to their duties in the line, and have the assistance of one or two enlisted men detailed as clerks, who are also required to perform line duty. The regimental adjutants are excused from part of their line duties and receive the pay of captains of the line. They form practically an addition of forty captains to the force of the department, with the very bad feature that just as they become thoroughly proficient in their duties as adjutants they become ineligible for service in that department and make way for another lot of green men.

The department of justice, or judge advocate-

general's department, as it is usually called, is the other one of the group classified herein as "record" departments. It is a very small corps and attends to the legal business of the army. Its head is a brigadier-general, and it has only about a dozen officers to transact all of its business. It is utterly inadequate to the transaction of all the business devolving upon it, and details are constantly made from the line to perform these duties, in addition to ordinary line duty, of course. "This rule is general."

In classifying the above as record departments it is not intended to convey the impression that the others keep no records. A very elaborate system of records is kept in each department of all business transacted. But these two contain a complete history of every member of the service since the foundation of the Government. They are the historical part of the service. In addition to its other duties, the adjutant-general's department prepares, verifies, and issues all orders pertaining to the service, and is the official channel of communication between the different grades of the service. It has also supplied, in so far as the deficiency has been supplied, the place of a general staff.

The general staff is the nerve center, the motive force of an army. It is that part of an army especially charged with the duty of planning and supervising execution. It grapples with the problems of organization, strategic distribution, and logistics on the large scale. It is not in any sense a clerical department. The adjutant-general's department, on the other hand, is purely a clerical department. Its functions are to record and transmit the will of the commander and to keep a record of performance. These duties are not such as fit men for dealing with the broader questions that pertain to the general staff.

The supply departments include the quartermaster, commissary, and ordnance departments. It is their business to provide for all the necessities of the army—clothing, shelter, transportation, subsistence, arms, and equipment.

THE QUARTERMASTER'S DEPARTMENT.

This department is charged with the greatest amount of business and the greatest variety of functions pertaining to any in the service. It

builds roads, charters steamboats or buys them, attends to all railroad and wagon transportation, organizes pack-trains, furnishes fuel, forage, and stationery, provides clothing, quarters, and tentage, disburses public funds, hires laborers, and attends to all the details necessary to execute this great volume of business. Its head is a brigadier-general, and it has the largest corps of officers belonging to any staff department. These officers are assigned to various duties. Some are purchasing officers. These are stationed at various cities and purchase such articles at such times and in such quantities as they may be directed by the quartermaster-general. These articles they usually ship to depots, where they are received by depot quartermasters. From these depots articles are sent in bulk by the depot quartermasters on requisitions duly approved by the commanding officers through the long channel of official communication until finally authorized by the quartermaster-general. Sometimes these officers are also disbursing quartermasters. Purchasing quartermasters usually are. In that case they have the complications of money accountability added to those of property accountability.

The lowest grade in the department is that of captain, but as the department is inadequate to the transaction of all its duties, even in time of peace, a line officer is detailed from each regiment as regimental quartermaster. He is always a first lieutenant, receives a captain's pay while on this duty, and his relations to the department are similar in every respect to those of the regimental adjutant toward the adjutant-general's department. The quartermaster's department is further assisted in time of peace by the detail of one line officer in each post as post quartermaster. These officers usually perform their staff duties in addition to their line duties, and always without extra remuneration therefor.

In time of war the force in this department is increased in two ways. (1) A line officer is detailed as quartermaster for each brigade, and usually another line officer with each division as division quartermaster. This robs the line of a large number of its best officers to perform staff duties in which they are usually more or less inexperienced. (2) The department is also largely increased by direct appointment of volunteer officers. These, of course, are entirely inexperienced, and however willing and energetic they may be, this inexperience is a heavy handicap upon their usefulness. Without the help it receives from the line this department would be flat on its back even in the ordinary routine of peace. With all the help it receives it is in that condition in time of war.

It has a most elaborate system of business and records, peculiarly its own. This system has been aptly described by a line officer as one for "delay of public business." Handling immense sums of money and bearing the responsibility for vast quantities of public property as it does, there is absolute necessity for an accurate system of routine in all that is done by the department. But, on the other hand, a department which relies so much upon the line as this one does should so simplify the transaction of business that the ordinary routine will be both easy and rapid. Without this simplicity it takes a long time for a line officer or for a volunteer to make himself useful, and about the time he becomes valuable to the department his services become no longer available.

The complications of red tape in the department can be illustrated by an incident from war experience. The writer had occasion to ship a carload of ammunition, a quantity of camp equipment, four Gatling guns, and twelve men from Tampa to Port Tampa in June. The order was received at 11 o'clock in the forenoon. Cars were procured from the railroad and everything was loaded thereon by 2 o'clock. At the same time that the loading began steps were taken to complete the necessary paper work of the quartermaster's department for the transaction, and this was rushed as much as possible. It was attended to by expert clerks, but nevertheless was completed barely in time for the writer to board a rapidly moving freight train which was hauling out the cars at 4:15 on that afternoon. It had taken twice as long to do the clerical work as was required to do all the other work connected with the shipment.

In time of war the various difficulties which beset the department lead to the abandonment of its complicated routine, with consequent confusion of business, detrimental to the service and to the proper performance of the functions of the department.

Systematic routine is absolutely essential to the proper transaction of public business. Its absence or abandonment creates endless confusion. It leads to an attempt by each officer concerned to do business in his individual way instead of in a systematic and uniform manner. This renders property accountability extremely difficult and produces unnecessary delay in forwarding the supplies. But a routine which is too complicated to be adhered to even in time of peace must necessarily be abandoned in time of war.

When we come to consider the methods of this department we find that in addition to being handicapped by an insufficient force for the

drudgery of the department and inadequate appropriations, it is further beset by the entanglements of obsolete methods for doing business. No business firm could live for a single year if attempting to do its business by quartermasters' methods. It would be entirely too slow. There is no provision in the department for that elasticity that is demanded in emergencies. There is a slight provision for such grave emergencies as a burning building or the sudden prevalence of contagious diseases, but even in these cases it is necessary to obtain the approval of high officers at distant points not familiar with the circumstances before making any considerable expenditures. It is usually found more expeditious and more satisfactory to let matters take the ordinary course than to use the emergency provisions of the department.

In the ordinary course of business every article must be estimated for with great precision months in advance, and every paper must pass through the hands of several officers who have no special knowledge of the circumstances and can have no such knowledge, and whose action is purely perfunctory.

These estimates meet their first scrutiny at the hands of the immediate commander, who examines and approves them before they are forwarded. They are not forwarded unless they do meet his approval. They are next passed upon by the next higher commander. The papers go first to the office of his assistant adjutant-general, where they lie probably four or five days in the hands of the clerks; from this office they go to the quartermaster on the staff of this superior, to lie several more days, thence back again to the office of the assistant adjutant-general. The pile of indorsements is constantly growing and soon becomes larger than the original communication. At each intermediate office the same routine is observed. Every line has to be copied in large record books at each place. It finally comes back to where it started by the same devious route.

Now, the absurdity of all this is apparent from the fact that these intermediate officers are not competent to act decisively on any matter, know nothing of the circumstances, and have no means of obtaining information except by the same route of circumlocution. They all have one common tendency, however, which is to "cut" all estimates. The original example for this is set by Congress. It has been the uniform practice of this body to split all War Department estimates in the middle and to appropriate half the remainder in a grudging manner. The estimates of the line officers are based on the known needs of the service; the funds granted by the quar-

termaster-general are based on the scanty appropriations at his disposal. Why was the supply of tentage so inadequate at Santiago that none could be had as late as August 10 on a surgeon's certificate of dire necessity? Because there was none on hand, for the reason that there had been no money to buy it with before the war began, and it takes time to make tents, time to weave canvas—and double time to get such things done through the "circumlocution office." Why no summer uniforms for the Santiago campaign? Because Congress never would appropriate enough for current expenses, to say nothing of enough to have such things in stock.

The additional delay came from the roundabout methods of doing business in vogue in the department. An example or two will make this point more clear than any amount of description.

In the winter of 1894 the writer had occasion to make requisition for twenty-six school desks to supply the post school, a regular feature of each post. It was duly approved by the commanding officer after investigation of the need, and was sent forward in September with a view to use in the school term beginning November 1. January 1 the requisition came back to the post disapproved. It was at once returned by the post commander with a more urgent request. It came back disapproved a second time May 31, a month after the school term had closed, and was once more sent on its weary journey. The desks were finally furnished in April of the second year, eighteen months after the first request, and too late to be used in the second year's term. They could have been bought in open market, within ten miles, as cheaply as they were bought, and could have been placed in the school-room for use within forty-eight hours if modern business methods had been used. This is a typical routine case in time of peace. In war time this routine would have been complicated by the insertion of three more obstacles, viz., brigade, division, and corps headquarters. Instead of facilitating the transaction of business, the action of these intermediary officers simply delays it. The natural result is that line officers who have to see the sufferings of the troops in time of war while waiting for supplies come to have a grand contempt for the routine of the department, and either ignore it, to the endless confusion of all concerned, or else follow it to have their supplies arrive after the need for them has ceased to exist.

The causes of the delay in the specific instance cited can be readily traced. The first and principal cause was that the papers had to be approved by officers intermediate between the post commander and the quartermaster-general who were not in a position to know anything about the

needs of the post except what could be gleaned from the two lines devoted to this subject in the requisition. The post commander was in a position to know all the facts, and his judgment should have been final. He was a responsible officer of the army, of high rank and mature years, especially designated by the War Department to command this post and to attend to all public business therein. He made a diligent study of his duties and was extremely careful to recommend nothing in excess of what the public service required. Whatever he needed for the performance of the duties assigned him by the War Department should have been furnished without question and without delay upon his certificate of the necessity. It is the business of the inspector-general to report upon how duty is performed, and there is a department of justice to deal with delinquencies. One would think there were sufficient safeguards thrown around the action of the commanding officer with these checks without any necessity of delay of public business by the quartermaster's department. It has, properly speaking, no more right to go behind the commanding officer's certificate with questions than any other department. Its business is, or should be, to obey orders, to furnish supplies, and not to override commanding officers. Herein we find the first suggestion for improvement in the department, which is to throw a greater responsibility upon officers who certify necessities and make their communication with the purchasing quartermaster more simple and direct. The department is one of supply, pure and simple. If the commanding officer errs deal with him as the case may demand and hold him rigidly accountable.

The second cause of delay in this particular case occurred after the requisitions were finally approved. The purchasing quartermaster, instead of going into open market as a business man would and purchasing this staple commodity where he could do so to best advantage, was compelled to go through the formality of advertising for bids for sixty days. This entailed the additional delay necessary to obtain authority to advertise and all the complication of advertising vouchers. Herein lies the second suggestion for the improvement of the department. A duly bonded purchasing quartermaster should be permitted and required to transact business upon modern business methods. All the elements of competition in open market after personal investigation should be invoked, both to cheapen prices and to facilitate business. In other words, the buyer for the quartermaster's department, like the buyer for a great commercial house, should go out into the business world and take

advantage of business opportunities. The inspector's department can watch over his efficiency and the department of justice over his honesty.

Lest it be thought that the given example be one pertaining to a non-essential in time of peace and that in war time things would be conducted more rapidly, an example will be given from war experience. The Cuban campaign had been foreseen by intelligent officers for more than a year, but the department which clothes the army had taken no steps toward providing a suitable uniform for campaigning in the tropics until war was declared. The Fifth Army Corps, a comparatively small body of 17,000 men, was concentrated at Tampa on the railroad within reach of all the appliances for expediting business. Between April 26, when war was declared, and June 6, when the corps embarked for Cuba, sufficient time elapsed to have clothed 1,000,000 men if the matter had been handled in the same manner a wholesale clothing firm would handle similar business. Yet the corps went to Cuba wearing the winter clothing it had brought on its backs from Montana, Wyoming, and Michigan. It endured the heat of the tropics clad in this, and was furnished with light summer clothing by the department to wear for its return to Montauk, where the breezes were so bracing that the teeth chattered even when the men were clad in winter clothing. The only reason for this absolute failure to properly clothe the army was that the methods of the department are too slow and antiquated for the proper performance of business. There was no lack of money. It was a simple case of red-tape delays. There can be no doubt that the intention was that the summer clothing should be worn in Cuba and that there should be warm clothing issued at Montauk. It was issued after the troops had shivered for days in their light clothes. The delays unavoidably connected with an obsolete method caused great suffering that should not have been inflicted upon men expected to do arduous duty. A sensible man would not put a heavy blanket on a horse to do draught work on a hot day; but the red tape of an antiquated way of doing business caused our soldiers to wear heavy woolen clothes in torrid heat, when every nerve was to be strained to the breaking point in athletic exertion. This is not pointed out in a fault-finding spirit. The men are proud to have been in the Fifth Corps and to have endured these things for the country and the flag; but these unnecessary sufferings impaired the fighting strength of the army, caused much of the sickness that visited the Fifth Corps, and might have caused the failure of the whole expedition. They are pointed out in the hope that it may lead to reforms which will make it

impossible that soldiers shall ever be called upon again to endure such dangerous hardships.

Without invoking leniency for the criticism, it may be said that the difficulty here depicted was one which beset the department at every turn in the whole campaign. It is a typical case. Transports, tentage transportation—it was the same in everything. With the most heroic exertions the department was able to meet emergencies only after they had passed. This was caused partly by lack of ready material, but mainly by an inelastic system of doing business which broke down in emergencies. This, in turn, was caused mainly by the illiberal treatment accorded to this, as well as to every other department of the army by Congress. It uniformly cuts mercilessly all estimates of this, as of every other department, and leaves no margin of expenditure or chance of improvement. It dabbles in matters which are purely technical and require the handling of expert executive talent, preferring to take the vaporings of men utterly ignorant of their subjects rather than act on the disinterested recommendations of men of tried experience and demonstrated integrity.

THE SUBSISTENCE DEPARTMENT.

The subsistence department, usually called the "commissary," provides food and certain other necessities for the army. It is organized in a manner similar to the quartermaster's department and has a brigadier-general at its head. He is assisted by a considerable corps of officers, usually called commissaries, but has not enough to transact the ordinary routine of peace. Accordingly we find in this, as in the other departments of the staff, a large number of line officers constantly detailed on staff duty. In war this number has to be largely increased, both by line details and by the admission of volunteers, utterly inexperienced, of course, and who are at best of very doubtful value. A further difficulty in both departments is that the line officers available for these duties are the younger lieutenants, who are also deficient in experience in the routine. In both departments the duties performed by these line officers usually pertain to the ultimate distribution of the supplies and are the merest drudgery of the departments. The regular members of the departments are then on duty at the great depots of supply, as a rule, where they have the assistance of competent clerks. The drudges from the line, on the other hand, are usually in immediate contact with the troops and generally perform line duties in addition to the staff duties thus imposed upon them. Stress is laid upon this fact by iteration, not out of a com-

plaining spirit, but because it hampers the proper discharge of public business and is a menace to the service.

The routine of this department is neither so difficult nor so complicated as that of the quartermaster's department. Greater latitude is allowed for emergencies, and the commissary with the troops is in more direct touch with the purchasing commissary than is the case with the corresponding officers in the quartermaster's department. This arises partly from the character of the supplies handled. A large proportion of the commissary supplies are perishable commodities, needed for immediate consumption, which fact has led to provisions in the commissary department whereby in the ordinary course of business supplies can be rushed from the purchaser to the consumer without delay and without confusion.

The commissary department is also characterized by commendable foresight. It recognizes that emergencies may sometimes exist, and has for years been experimenting with an emergency ration. It is true that this ration was not adapted to the climate in which the campaign was fought, and also that the department was not able to place all the components of the ration on the firing line at all times. As to the first, soldiers are glad to get food of any kind under such circumstances, and the failure in the second respect was due to lack of transportation, and must be ascribed to the quartermaster's department. The supplies were present in abundance within a short distance of the soldiers, and no red tape hindered their distribution. There were individual cases of suffering, but, on the whole, this department rose nobly to the occasion. It has exhibited progressive tendencies in the past and needs only two things to fill admirably the function for which it was created. The first of these is emancipation from the evils of political administration. It has suffered in this respect like every other department of the army and in the same manner. The second is that it should be treated more liberally in the matter of appropriations, and should be granted discretionary latitude in the periods of emergency corresponding to the judgment and zeal exhibited during the last war. Of course it should be so far increased in size as to make it unnecessary to rob the line of the army for commissary duty. There can be no doubt in the minds of officers acquainted with the management of this department that it could have supplied a suitable ration well adapted to the climate if the components of the ration had not been so tied up in iron-clad regulations that the department was powerless to deviate from the prescribed articles.

THE ORDNANCE DEPARTMENT.

The ordnance department exhibited a strange blending of acute foresight and lack of prescience during the campaign. The untiring labors of Major Blunt, one of its officers, had resulted in giving to the regular army a splendid rifle with excellent ammunition. There is no record during the whole campaign that a single rifle proved defective or that a single cartridge failed to explode. The number of rifles was inadequate, but this was not the fault of the ordnance department, which failed to supply a sufficient quantity for the simple reason that Congress has always refused to appropriate the money to make rifles. There was plenty of ammunition for small arms.

In the matter of heavy ordnance and disappearing gun carriages the department was well to the front. The mathematical ability of Gordon and Bruff had resulted in the finest seacoast guns in the world, and the genius of Buffington and Crozier had provided the finest carriages for heavy guns ever invented; but the exigencies of the campaign did not call for the use of these devices. To offset these excellences of the ordnance department it must be recorded that the carriage provided by it for field artillery belongs to ancient history. It is heavy enough for the purposes of siege artillery, makes no provisions for accurate aiming, very inadequate provisions for the recoil, and the limbers carry an inadequate amount of ammunition. The sights furnished for field artillery also belong to a past age, and the defects here pointed out practically destroyed that accuracy of artillery fire which is so essential to the usefulness of that arm. In addition to these shortcomings, the department failed utterly to comprehend the true tactical use of machine guns, and handicapped them with a carriage better suited to field artillery than to any other use and entirely unfitted for machine-gun service. In these defects, however, our ordnance department was not behind the current thought in foreign countries, while in some of the other particulars noted it was far in advance of them. On the whole, this department met the emergency more perfectly than any other in the army.

Its organization is similar to that of the others named, and it labors under the same disadvantages of too limited a number of officers and of inadequate appropriations. Vacancies in it, however, are filled in a different manner. All appointments in the ordnance department are made as the result of competitive examination from the line of the army. This system results in placing in the ordnance department the most talented and industrious officers in the whole serv-

ice. It contains about 75 officers and its head is a brigadier-general. It procures, fabricates, and furnishes all manner and description of ordnance supplies to the army, from the sixteen-inch gun weighing many tons to the canteen from which the soldiers drank their scanty supply of San Juan River water.

To do all this it has to grapple with great problems and large expenditures. The large guns are constructed at great machine shops which are models in their way. The carriages and mounts are built at other shops, the equipments at a third. At still another are made the powder and projectiles, while many articles are made by private concerns under the constant supervision of ordnance officers. The great gun factory at Watervliet contains two immense machine shops, each over 1,000 feet long and crowded with the most intricate and expensive machinery. Great ingots of metal weighing twenty or thirty tons are moved with ease and skill by expert workmen, and holes are bored through long pieces of hard steel with infinitely more precision than the cabinetmaker displays in handling his wooden material. The officers who handle this kind of work are expert mathematicians, who calculate to a pound the pressure which one hoop will exert upon another when shrunk upon it, and build up modern rifles with such absolute precision that upon firing them each layer of metal in the gun is strained by exactly the same amount. The department buys great quantities of articles already manufactured, and these are all tested by their experts before being accepted to see that they reach the required standard.

It has in some respects an admirable routine system in time of peace. This system, however, contains the usual defect. Requisitions for supplies are required to take too roundabout a course before they can be filled. Like the other departments, it is deficient in elasticity; it breaks down in time of war. An example will illustrate. A requisition for necessary supplies for the Gatling gun detachment made in July and undoubtedly rushed with all possible speed was not filled until long after the campaign was over. Although this requisition called for articles supposed to be constantly on hand, such as revolvers, repairs, etc., for troops in the field before the enemy, it was late in October before the invoices reached the officer who had made the requisition. The supplies have not yet been received. The campaign had been closed and the detachment had been disbanded early in September. No blame can be attached, as all the officers concerned did their best to expedite the business, but the fact remains that in the emer-

gency the department failed to meet it. It was too short-handed to transact the volume of business forced upon it.

DEDUCTIONS.

From the foregoing discussion of the supply departments of the army it appears that there is in existence a complicated but serviceable system of machinery for supplying the needs of the army. The difficulties experienced arose from a lack of preparation and from the inability of these departments to mobilize themselves with sufficient promptness. Speaking in general terms, they were handicapped by lack of force, by lack of reserve material, and by ossification in routine methods not adapted for emergencies. Each department was centralized in one head, who alone could transact business pertaining to extensive disbursements. This worked well enough in peace, but in time of war no one man could attend to the mass of details that devolved upon the heads of the several departments. They were also handicapped by having to depend upon inexperienced officers in the ultimate distribution and accountability for their supplies. There are thus two distinct evils to be remedied. The first is the tendency to centralization, which paralyzes business in emergencies, and the second is the lack of adequate force to transact the business pertaining to the departments. The first must be brought about by a radical change in the business methods of the departments themselves. The second can be met only by liberal legislation on the subject.

The whole problem is complicated by the fact that action by Congress is necessary in any case. The administration of the army is so completely hampered by cast-iron laws that no radical nor extensive reforms can be made except by legislation. The hands of the President are tied as completely as are those of the general commanding. The root of the whole difficulty is in the penurious spirit which has been shown toward the army in legislation. No effective remedy can be applied unless this evil be first overcome. Back of all this, and the primary cause of the whole trouble, is the attitude of the people themselves toward the army. Their representatives in Congress do but effete the will of the people. They have always regarded the army with distrust and have looked with disfavor upon all recommendations for the improvement of the service made by army officers. They get exactly the kind of an army they pay for; they get precisely the degree of efficiency to be expected under the circumstances. No legislation can destroy the indomitable spirit of the American soldier. The soldier of the line fights, equally regardless

of legal injustice and of physical hardships, because it is in the Anglo-Saxon blood to fight. The same spirit led the staff officers to work day and night, to wear out their health and to bring themselves to the point of entire exhaustion in order to supply the necessities of the fighting line. *Like the soldiers of the line, they took the means at hand, and amid a thousand discouragements did the best that could be done with them.*

Owing to the deficiencies above pointed out there is a lack of complete and thorough coöperation between the line and staff. The staff complains that the line fails to make timely requisitions; and the line complains that the staff is inefficient in meeting emergencies. The staff does not attempt to plan or execute the coördination of effort necessary to harmonious operations. There is no department of the staff upon which such a duty devolves, and the regular routine of duties in the several departments calls for so much continuous exertion that the members of the staff have no time for the extra work. Furthermore, the staff is not accountable to the line for any failure in this respect, but to a politico-military head called the Secretary of War. Neither does the line coördinate efforts. It is entirely taken up in the discharge of its regular duties, and reports to another head called the general commanding. Hence, while both line and staff are bending every effort to a common end, their mutual efforts do not conspire perfectly to produce combined results.

But one fact stands out clearly beyond contradiction: whatever failures there were in the war, there was no failure upon the part of the line in the performance of line duties.

The only person who could secure the necessary unity of effort is the President. He is the constitutional head of the army. To him both line and staff report and from him they both receive orders. But the President is a very busy man. He is also the head of the navy and of other departments of the Government. He is burdened by a multiplicity of affairs which makes it impossible for him to supervise the minutiae of military operations. Furthermore, the task is beyond the physical capacity of any one man and too complicated with an infinite variety of details each requiring prompt decision and energetic action.

To perform the task thoroughly requires laborious research and careful formation of detailed plans, long in advance of anticipated action, sufficiently elastic to admit of modifications for unforeseen circumstances. The preparation of such plans requires the collection and classification of a vast amount of military information, some of it very difficult to obtain because it re-

lates to foreign countries. When the day of execution arrives it requires the presence in every part of the army of trained officers accustomed to responsibility and thoroughly conversant with all the operations to be executed. There must be a responsible head, too, somewhere, who can be held to account for neglect and brought to punishment for delinquencies. It will not do to let incompetency or neglect shelter itself behind political influence and thus evade punishment.

After the opening of the last war an attempt was made to improvise a body of officers which should, as far as possible, perform these functions. This body was called the "board of strategy." It was attempted to go even further and make this body perform the functions of a general war office, coordinating the combined operations of army and navy. This board was convened at Washington and was composed of officers of both the army and the navy. Some of them had highly distinguished themselves in active warfare, and others had become eminent authorities in special fields of military and naval research. It formulated plans, made suggestions regarding the campaign, held many interesting sessions, and perhaps contributed materially to the success of the campaign. There were, however, two or three grave defects. It was organized too late in the campaign. This could not be helped, as Congress had not seen fit to organize such a body and it was possible only as a war measure. Plans for war should be prepared in advance. This was especially true of the last war, which had been foreseen for years and considered a probability for several months. All details should have been previously worked out, all contingencies foreseen before hostilities began. Such plans would require some modifications, of course, but would form a working basis.

Neither Santiago nor Manila Bay would have been foreseen; but any plans for war would have involved the consideration and solution of the following problems: How to raise, arm, equip, organize, mobilize, clothe, feed, shelter, and transport large bodies of soldiers. The point where the battle might occur would be a mere tactical detail to be worked out at the proper time. The above problems could all be solved in time of peace and should have been solved.

The general staff performs this function in foreign armies, but we had no such body in our service and nothing to imperfectly take its place. The departments were inadequate for the performance of routine duties. How could they be expected to launch out into hard, original work like this? What department was fitted by its training or its duties to do so? None.

The board of strategy as constituted had no

executive force. It could discuss conditions, formulate plans, and propose expedients, but could effectuate nothing. It had no legal status in the service pursuant to any act of Congress, and its opinions had no weight beyond that due to the reputation of its individual members. It was purely an advisory body, and its propositions were regarded, to a very large extent, by officers of the line as unwarranted interference with their prerogatives. Besides this, the members of the board, however distinguished in their several specialties, were not accustomed to this kind of work nor to working together in this capacity. They were novices at the business and were experimenting with a novelty in the service.

The board of strategy, therefore, though a very fine conception, was badly handicapped from the start. It served, however, to illustrate one expedient for filling a long-felt want, and may be the forerunner of a properly organized general staff.

From the above discussion it is possible to deduce certain recommendations tending toward the improvement of the military service.

1. The most urgently needed reform is the absolute divorcement of the army in all of its departments from politics. It is absurd to expect the same thorough efficiency and preparation found in other departments of the public service unless the same methods are used. Military service is certainly as important as civil service—more so in the time of emergency. Its administration ought to be conducted with the same single eye to efficiency, and no department of the army should be more exempt from political influence than the staff. This points at once to the most urgent reform, viz., make the commanding general the real working head of the army, instead of the Secretary of War. No good results have come to the service by the extension of the Secretary's powers in Grant's first administration. Most of the evils of the service can be traced to the fact that the general commanding has since that time been practically deprived of his proper functions, and the real head of the army has been a politician, usually not versed in military science. Promotions in the service should never depend upon political influence in any department, nor should the recommendations of a politician carry any weight in the military service more than they would in those offices filled through the civil-service examinations alone. The restoration of its proper functions to the office of the general commanding, as Grant exercised them when he was commander-in-chief, would be a long step in the right direction. It would put the administration of the army in the hands of a soldier, and that

would be an origin of all other necessary administrative reforms.

2. Interchangeability of line and staff has long been advocated in our service and would bring many advantages. It would insure sympathetic cooperation, because all officers would be familiar with all the difficulties besetting the other parts of the service. But this alone is not enough. A man may be an excellent line officer and may believe himself especially fitted for staff duty, and yet his assignment to such duty may spoil a good line officer to make a poor one of the staff. It does not follow that a good company commander who thinks himself especially fitted to be a good inspector-general will be a good one. Interchangeability is desirable, but it is more desirable to devise some plan by which each officer may eventually find that place for which he is naturally fitted by experience and talent. When a man has shown peculiar adaptability for certain duties he should be retained in their performance for that reason.

There is no such provision in our present organization. When the square peg gets once into the round hole it must stay there to the end of the service, as things are now constituted. A rational plan of interchangeability should provide means whereby such a mistake could be corrected without detriment to the officer concerned.

3. All staff officers should be taken from the line of the army in order to secure officers who realize by personal experience the necessity of subordinating the staff to the line in military operations. A limited amount of service in the line can be of no detriment to any staff officer, as such, and will certainly inure to the benefit of the line of the army. They should be thoroughly tried in staff positions and retained in them only when peculiar aptitude is shown for such duties. There should be some provision by which officers who get into the supply or staff departments by mistake can be returned to the line of the army without prejudice to their former rank therein.

4. The appointment of civilians to important positions in the staff should be prohibited.

5. In order to eliminate political influence no officer should be appointed to any staff position, except after having demonstrated upon rigid examination, by a board of officers from the department which he seeks to enter, special fitness for the performance of its duties. Therefore lists of officers eligible for promotion to the various staff departments should be created by the examination of such line officers as desire the details in prescribed subjects after they have served a prescribed length of time in the line. As an inducement to competition entrance into a staff department should carry with it a promotion of one grade.

The existence of separate lines of promotion in the staff departments should be abolished. An officer having been promoted into a staff department should be retained in the lineal list in the relative position to which he is carried by such promotion abreast of the corresponding number of the line. In other words, he should receive the benefit of the promotion so long as he remains in the performance of the staff duty, and should remain on such duty so long as he shows special fitness for it. When he fails to show this special fitness he should lapse to that place in the line he would have occupied if he had remained therein, being neither further benefited nor in any way injured by his tour of staff duty.

6. When vacancies occur in any grade they should be open to competition from the next lower grade, either in the department concerned or in the line of the army. This can be arranged very easily. The competition would determine an eligible list, from which the appointing power should select, the only provision being that he must choose one from the eligible list; or the choice might be determined by competition straight, as is now the case in the lowest grade of the ordnance department.

7. There should be two sources of vacancies in the staff departments, the first being natural causes. The second should arise by returning officers of those departments to their former places in the line on proper occasion. It should be within the power of the President to do this, either upon the recommendation of the head of the staff department concerned, that of the general commanding, or on the application of the officer concerned. Such return should carry the officer back to his relative place in the line as before explained. He will be the gainer by the amount of extra pay he may have received while a member of the staff, and will not be a loser in any manner whatever; at the same time he will not have obtained any advantage over his comrades of the line from which he was originally taken.

In other words, the tenure of office in the staff should be made dependent upon the continuous exhibition of special fitness for the work to be performed. It should be thoroughly understood that the exhibition of any negligence or indifference in the discharge of staff duties would inevitably and speedily result in the return of the officer to a lower grade. There is an incentive to strive for superior fitness and to the diligent performance of duty, and an opening for new opportunities for promotion to all the officers of the line alike, with prejudice to none.

8. The creation of a general staff proper, to perform the duties which essentially pertain to such a body.

The head of the "War Office" of the United States is the President. This is as it should be, but that officer should not be expected to perform all the minutiae of such work. This is a physical impossibility and has never been done by any President. In the history of this country the functions of the general staff have sometimes been inadequately performed by him, sometimes by the Secretary of War, sometimes by the general commanding, and have more often been neglected. For example, it is a well-known fact that for the first two years of the Civil War there was no general plan of operations, and there was entire lack of proper co-operation of the different armies, because there was no such plan. Consequently little was achieved in the way of visible results. The Secretary tried to assume the necessary functions, but the attempt led only to constant wrangling between him and the commanders. The commanders were changed so often that well-directed operations were impossible. Meade, for example, had to fight the battle of Gettysburg within a week after assuming command of the Army of the Potomac. At the time he took command he was ignorant of much information indispensable to a commander, not even knowing the locations of different fragments of his army. The battle of Gettysburg, instead of being a planned fight, the consequences of which could be reaped by the victorious army, was a go-as-you-please affair, highly creditable to the army and its commander, but barren of the most important results which should have followed it. If such a battle had been won in a premeditated manner there can be no doubt that the defeated army would have been annihilated.

Later the superior genius of Grant forced its way to the front, and he performed alone all the functions of the general staff that were then possible, in addition to his proper functions as commander. He had a mass of data not available for former commanders, bought by the blood of thousands of men, and the campaign proceeded to the logical conclusion to which it should have been brought years before. This merely emphasizes the necessity for planning to insure properly combined efforts before the strife begins.

To this body pertain the problems of organization, strategy, logistics, the larger problems of supply, and the acquisition of classified information previous to the outbreak of war. It forms plans for all emergencies in advance, supervises their execution at the critical moment, acts as eyes, ears, and hands for the commander. As the will of the commander is the electro-motive force of an army, so is the general staff its nervous system. It is the channel through which

the commander harmoniously energizes the whole military machine. It is the thinking and planning part of an army. A commander has enough to do to meet unexpected emergencies and to execute on time, without fail, the operations intrusted to him. The general staff relieves him of the burden of a mass of detailed work and leaves his mind free to attack larger problems.

Such a staff need not be a large body, but it should be very select. It should be obtained by a process of elimination, retaining those most fitted for its duties. There is no part of the army where the principle of interchangeability between the line and staff is more important than in this body. Its members should be acutely sensitive to the needs of the line of the army, should be thoroughly familiar with the operations of all the supply departments, and should have reached that age where long experience lends dignity to counsel. They should be distinguished in the profession of arms and proficient in its practice.

Hence the general staff should be taken originally from the line of the army and should contain representatives of all the other parts of the service. It should consist of men of mature years, and there should be a novitiate, or apprenticeship, in it, before an officer becomes a fully constituted member of the body. The great principle of competitive examination should enter into the selection of its members, competition being open to all properly qualified officers, and promotion into it should carry increase of rank and pay.

This body will need the services of a number of younger men for the more active part of its duties, and this want can be supplied by the members of the novitiate. In other words, an eligible list of candidates possessing the necessary qualifications should be formed from the rest of the army by competitive examination. The members of this list should serve a prescribed apprenticeship before becoming eligible for promotion into the general staff, and those only who exhibit the necessary characteristics should be finally selected. Over them should be always held the spur of a possible return to the place in the line from which they were taken.

The formation of this body would insure intelligent operations on well-laid plans and perfect combinations of effort in the future against any possible enemy. It would soon become possible for the President to repeat the famous action of Von Moltke at the outbreak of war with France. The great commander, being aroused from sleep by a courier in the middle of night with news of the declaration of war, merely turned in bed, remarking: "Pigeon-hole No. 4."

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH.

"THE COMING FUSION OF EAST AND WEST."

IN the December *Harper's* Prof. Ernest F. Fenollosa exhorts the Anglo-Saxon race to wake up to the realities of the situation in the East, and makes a powerful plea for the civilizing value of Japanese influence. The Anglo-Saxons have been ignorant of the real issues of the East. Professor Fenollosa accuses English and American editors, or at least certain of them, of a streak of jealous skepticism which seems to sour their judgment whenever they touch the cosmopolitan value of eastern races. To Japan he gives all the credit which she herself claimed for sincere and righteous aims in the war with China. He believes that the war was a struggle to advance the civilizing influences that Japan had stood for, and was made necessary for the corrupt apathy of Chinese international affairs. China naturally did not believe in Japan's disinterestedness, "and after twenty-five years of forbearance, Japan had no alternative but to bring her big, bullying brother to his senses. She fought the war solely to win China over to her conservative policy. This can be proved from every genuine record."

ENGLAND'S FATAL IGNORANCE.

"When the first terms of peace gave Japan the right to regenerate China I clapped my hands and cried: 'This is the greatest news of the century!' Then came that threat of European coalition, which justified Japan's worst fears. Then was revealed that Germany and Russia had already planned spoliation as a block to Japanese reform, and that the exposure of China's weakness had but forced their hand. Oh, then, if England had but known the truth! But the spitefulness and jealousy of her merchants and journals denounced Japan as a robber, watched apathetically the real robbers throttle her one available ally, and helped them deceive their victim by encouraging her corruption and backing her stubborn insanity, while they boasted to Europe of themselves as the champions of Christian culture, and vilified Japan as the savage leader of a 'yellow terror.' How England could have been fooled by such supreme hypocrisy is beyond belief. It was the opportunity of her career. A word from her would have spurred the indignant Japanese to resistance and China to reform. We awaited it breathlessly, but in vain. No! The *Spectator* looked 'in alarm at an alliance with a 'heathen nation.'" Error and prejudice paralyzed Anglo-Saxon will at the supreme crisis."

CHINA REDIVIVA.

"But the key to the situation is that China has already waked. The rash *coups* of Germany and Russia have rudely shaken her into her senses. She sees now that Japan was right and sincere. Her revolution is coming as rapidly as did the former's forty years ago. She is authorizing railroads and other capitalization all over her dominions; reorganizing army and navy; changing, by practical standards, the very key of her intellect, her vast system of education that culminates in the civil-service examinations; and most wonderful of all, remodeling her court etiquette in its seclusion and its treatment of foreign representatives. Such reforms are coincident with the waning influence of that coterie of selfish mandarins who have intrigued with Russia. The mass of the people is rising in intelligent clamor against the old deadly abuses. But the most striking feature of this movement is China's recognition of Japan's right and ability to lead it. As we predicted years ago, the gallant islanders are the only possible mediators between Asiatic thought and the thought of the West. It is not to despoil Chinese ideals that Japan comes and is welcomed, but to strengthen them. To-day China is buying up large numbers of Japanese textbooks and translations of European literature, employing Japanese in many of her offices, and sending one hundred and fifty selected students not to Europe, but to the care of the Tokio government for education in Japanese universities."

THE CHINESE OUR INTELLECTUAL EQUALS.

"Apart from war and trade, western methods halt unsatisfied. For thirty years we have created very little, but asked many questions. An age of skepticism is like a fallow year for soil. In this union with the East, if ever, shall our questions be answered. I claim that the Chinese intellect is, on the whole, the equal of our own, defective in places, doubtless, as perhaps is ours, but capable, with our help, to bear the strain of equal responsibility. We shall find that it has won some advance stations in fields where our experience is yet raw. We shall regain in this East magnificent enthusiasm long grown cold, living ideals that shall lend wings to our own. There is hardly a mooted topic—art, literature, philosophy, morals, manners, family organization—that shall not find its parallax of computation wonderfully enlarged. We shall gain power for wider application of our own most sacred

convictions, for we shall loosen the universal in our own experiences from its accidental accretions."

BEHOLD THE FINAL SETTLING OF THE HUMAN RACE.

Professor Fenollosa is a man of ability and mark who has made a life study of the oriental races, their art, their literature, and their politics, and the earnestness of his prophecy is significant. He says that whether we like it or not our lot is thrown in with the lot of the eastern world for good or ill and forever, and it remains to be seen what shall become of this reciprocal test of orientalism and western ideas.

"For this fusion is to be not only world-wide, but final. The future historian will look back upon our crisis as unique, the most breathless in human annals. Heretofore race unions have existed for limited areas only—composite cultures whose defects and abuses outlying types might eventually rectify. Rome was regenerated by Teutonic character and Hun tyranny by Tartar freedom. But to-day each of the pledged factors absorbs the power and hope of a hemisphere. The western type of culture is marked, scarred, cast into a hard mold for all Aryan peoples; the eastern is full, over-ripe, despairing of new expression in its worn-out words. Each has exhausted the separate fruitage of its seeds. If the union fail now, the defect must be consanguineous to the end; for there is no new blood, no outlying culture germ for subsequent infusion. Such as we make it now it must remain till the end. This is man's final experiment."

THE FAR EASTERN CRISIS.

IN the *North American Review* for November Mr. Archibald R. Colquhoun, recently the *London Times* correspondent at Shanghai, and the author of "China in Transformation" (noticed elsewhere in this number of the *Review*), writes on the Chinese question and its relation to British and American interests.

Russia, Germany, and France, as Mr. Colquhoun shows, each adopted an aggressive policy in China immediately after the Japanese war, while England clung to her old policy of non-interference. The result is that China is being carved up, Mr. Colquhoun says, "like a sirloin of beef, as if there were no vitality in her."

None of these powers, in Mr. Colquhoun's opinion, has paused to consider what is involved in the disruption of a poity embracing three hundred millions of Asiatics. Only professed anarchists, he says, would deliberately lend a hand to accelerate such a calamity. He reminds

us that some forty years ago China experienced a reign of anarchy which converted hundreds of cities into cover for wild beasts and destroyed tens of millions of lives without cause. The commercial nations, he argues, have the strongest interest in preventing the recurrence of such waste and depopulation as accompanied the Taiping rebellion. Among the preëminently commercial peoples are those grouped by Mr. Colquhoun as the Anglo-Teutonic, and the true interest of these nations (including Germany) is to maintain the integrity of China, introducing such improvements as railroads, steamboats, mining, and manufactories, and infusing western spirit as a new nervous force into the country.

ANGLO-AMERICAN POLICY IN CHINA.

Mr. Colquhoun admits that what has been done in the direction of sequestration by the despotic and military states of Europe cannot be undone, but there are the best of reasons for conserving what is left of China. He says:

"China is in the condition of an invalid whose life can only be saved by transfusion of healthy blood. The system has to be cautiously and carefully revived, not by violence, but by tact and patience. A new order has to be evolved out of the present chaos, under which the prosperity of the nation may advance *pari passu* with the legitimate interests of the foreign peoples who seek their fortune in the country. The desideratum cannot be more intelligibly indicated than by saying that it is foreign capital and foreign enterprise that are needed to preserve and to fertilize this valuable field of commerce. China wants her communications to be opened up, her industries organized, her hidden wealth brought to the surface, her natural products utilized. And as, according to the traditional order of procedure of the English-speaking races, as well as of their Teutonic and Scandinavian kinsmen, the enterprise of the people precedes and draws after it the protection of their governments, it follows that the infiltration of capital and skilled direction into China is the proper lever by which the governments of Great Britain and the United States may be moved to interest themselves actively in the welfare of that country. Only by such a policy can the predatory powers be kept from ravaging the country and precipitating anarchy and red ruin among the largest population on the face of the earth. Every line of railroad, therefore, every steam factory, every hole dug in the ground in the interior of the Chinese continent, under either British or American auspices, is a solid gain to the whole commercial world. It is 'effective

occupation' of the genuine kind, the only kind of occupation that will save the territory from being staked off into exclusive areas, that will keep the door open for the free intercourse of all nations. Consequently, the concession of a railroad between Canton and Hankow to an American syndicate is an event of happiest augury, just as every step taken toward connecting western China with British India contributes to the establishment of free intercourse for all. Such concrete material interests lie at the root of national policy, and constitute the surest means of compelling the attention of our governments to the course of events in China. From which ever side we regard them, these are conservative as well as progressive measures; like mercy, twice blessed, benefiting the people of China by opening out fruitful channels for their labor, while at the same time affording productive fields for the creative energy of the West."

AMERICA'S NEW MISSION.

Mr. Colquhoun is one of those who believe that Dewey's guns have wrought an important change in our relations to the far East. He recognizes the fact that the war with Spain has served to bring the Nicaragua Canal "within the range of practical politics," thus giving a new turn to American speculation, widening the national outlook, and, in a word, making the United States a world power *in posse*. Without China, in Mr. Colquhoun's opinion, the Philippines have no meaning, but holding the Philippines the United States will have the dignity of a great mission in China as well as the opportunity for great national enlargement. "China is a world necessity, and civilization cannot afford that she should become a mere carcass round which the vultures of the world shall gather."

THE EMPRESS DOWAGER OF CHINA.

A WRITER in *Blackwood's* for November describes the Empress Dowager as "the most interesting personage in China during the past thirty years." After describing the various vicissitudes in her career (to which allusion is made in the article by Mr. Curtis in this number of the REVIEW) the *Blackwood's* article says:

"No veil was thick enough to hide her character. Her career has been consistent, and she remains what she has often been called, the 'only man in the empire.' Possessed by three passions, of which the two having pelf and power for their object have survived the more transient one and still gather strength with advancing years, the portrait of her majesty that is most intelligible to the European comprehension is

that which represents her as a counterpart of Catherine II. What she might have been with Catherine's Christian education and unhandicapped by enforced seclusion it would be idle to guess. It may indeed seem strange that a woman so endowed should have been content to pass her public life behind the screen; but there have been many masterful women before her to whom the *purda* offered but a flimsy obstacle to the exercise of their power."

The writer closes his article with a rather hopeful prognostication:

"The quality of the Empress' rule—for we may now call her so without affix—can only be judged by what it was during the regency, when she was at the head of every movement that partook of the character of reform. Foreign diplomacy has failed, for want of a definite center of volition and sensation to act upon. It had no fulcrum for its lever. Hence only force has ever succeeded in China. With a woman like the Empress might it not be possible really to transact business?"

THE INTERNAL GROWTH OF RUSSIA.

PERHAPS the interior development of Russia has not received due notice in other countries. Mr. Edward Lunn tries to remedy this defect by his interesting paper in *Gentleman's* for November on the progress of the Russian empire. He laughs to scorn the traditional notion of Russia as a land forever trembling under the threat of Siberian horrors.

"TERRIBLY PROGRESSIVE."

Russia is by no means eastern in the spirit of her foreign policy. She is, Mr. Lunn insists, "terribly progressive." He says:

"The Russian is undoubtedly the greatest linguist of the day. It is no uncommon thing for him to speak four or five languages, and he shows his pride of the fact in curious ways. . . . The writer once, passing through a Tartar village in the Crimea, met at the house of a wealthy Russian some five or six naval and military officers. He was surprised to find that four of them spoke English and every one spoke French. French is spoken universally by the upper classes, and the *élite* speak English perfectly. . . . The extensive study of modern languages is a feature of western civilization, and in it the Russian certainly takes a lead."

GREAT INDUSTRIAL ADVANCE.

Russian industry is making rapid progress: "Within the last few years cotton mills and factories have sprung up in all parts of the empire. Where at one time they were content with

Manchester goods, the German gradually crept in with the cheaper article, better adapted to Russian tastes and requirements. Presently their ambition rose above this, and they asked why they should not themselves become producers. Factories were started, English machinery imported, and English foremen and engineers placed in control. Then the English engineer was supplanted by the German, the machinery perhaps got out of order, and the introduction of German machinery, accompanied by American, naturally followed. By this time Russia had started schools for the training of a special class as engineers. These are known in Russia as '*techniks*.' . . . They are supplanting American, German, and English in their own country and are beginning to turn out machinery of their own design."

A RARE MINISTER OF COMMUNICATIONS.

Means of communication are developing amazingly, thanks largely to Prince Hilkoﬀ, the present minister of communications :

"There is no member of the nobility more popular among English and American residents in Russia. This is no doubt largely due to his having lived in both England and America, speaking English fluently and entering into our national sentiments. He is never tired of admitting that he worked as an engineer on American railroads for some three or four years, thus fitting him for his post by gaining a practical insight which theoretical training could never instill.

SUPERIOR FACILITIES FOR TRAVEL.

"Traveling by rail is far cheaper in Russia than in most European countries. Long-distance traveling is also more comfortable, excepting where the government leases the right to run sleeping-cars to a foreign company. . . . In all the large towns on railroad routes there are good hotels where the *cuisine* is equal to that of first-class hotels all over the continent, and where English is frequently spoken. The steamers on the rivers are three-deckers of the American type. They have good accommodation for all classes of passengers and maintain a fair speed."

Mr. Lunn remarks on the amusements of the Russian as "simple, few, and unrefined."

"THE RUSSIAN, EDUCATED AND A GENTLEMAN."

Personal relations between Russians and Englishmen are, he thinks, improving :

"Russia herself can boast of some of the greatest leaders of the present day in literature, music, and the fine arts. The number of English travelers who visit Russia is increasing, and

is certainly not less than five hundred per annum. The number is small, but few of these leave Russia without having their eyes opened. When they meet him they are surprised to find the Russian educated and a gentleman, and are pleased to have made his acquaintance."

COLONIZATION IN SIBERIA.

IN the *Revue de Paris* M. Haumant describes Russian colonization in Siberia. He begins by pointing out that for 300 francs—that is, \$60—a person will be able, when the Trans-Siberian Railway is finished, to travel second class from Paris to Port Arthur. A steady emigration from Russia to Siberia has gone on since the sixteenth century, for it is a great mistake to suppose that Siberia is one vast convict prison ; on the contrary, artisans and peasants are encouraged to settle there. For a time the Russian woman was very averse to colonization, and the government actually exported cargoes of peasant girls, recruited in a rough-and-ready method of conscription in the villages near the Volga, where this way of obtaining wives for the Siberian colonist is still remembered with terror, though the system has not been resorted to during the last fifty years. Soon, however, the Russian emigrants married the native women of the country ; indeed, in the eighteenth century the Siberian clergy had to preach a veritable crusade against the growing habit of polygamy, it having become quite usual for a man to have three or four wives.

Probably a great many people who imagine Siberia to be a name of terror to Russians will be surprised to learn that there has always been a great deal of secret emigration from the banks of the Volga to Siberia. In 1850 the country had a population of 2,500,000 inhabitants, of which three-quarters were pure Russian. Curiously enough in this matter, as in so many others, Siberia kept step with Canada ; but in 1850 Canada was a civilized country, while in Siberia, to take the school test, in the province of Tomsk there were only six schools to 500,000 inhabitants.

After the Crimean War Russia obtained by virtue of successive treaties new territory six times as large as France, and which added fertile provinces to Siberia. This soon became known among the Russian peasantry and a very considerable emigration took place, and this in spite of the fact that when the emigrant chose to go by road it took him three years to traverse the distance between his village and the banks of the Ousouri ! Only from the year 1884 were emigrant ships sent from Odessa to Vladivostock.

From 1887 to 1893, 94,000 Russian families settled in Siberia. During the last ten years Siberia has had an influx of population of 1,000,000, and this in spite of the fact that no Russian peasant may emigrate without having gone through a number of legal formalities.

Of course the future rôle of Siberia depends entirely upon the great railroad indifferently styled the Trans-Siberian and the Trans-Asiatic. Any fortunate accident, such as the discovery that the air of any special district is good for consumptive patients, or, again, the foundation of a new industry, might cause Siberia to be frequented by the wealthier English and French, as are now certain places on the continent which have become from some cause or other the fashion. In any case the Trans-Siberian Railway will, when opened for traffic, bring Siberia within easy reach of western Europe.

EXPERT TESTIMONY CONCERNING THE PHILIPPINES.

IN the *National Review* for November Mr. John Foreman, whose knowledge of conditions in the Philippines is especially extensive, writes about the expert testimony taken by the American peace commissioners at Paris. He says:

"The inquiry chiefly related to the commerce, produce, agriculture, fiscal arrangements, religious question, status of the Church, monks, and the secular clergy, the character of the natives in the different islands, the property rights or claims, native aptitude for self-government, the annexation of the whole archipelago or retention of Luzon only, and on what conditions the remaining islands could be relinquished. The expert opinion on these many points was as follows: The natives are decidedly incapable of forming a stable, satisfactory, and peacefully working government. Not a score of individuals could be found to-day with ideas sufficiently expansive and far-reaching to successfully administer for the real interests of the commonwealth, taking into account the rights of the large minorities. The Tagalog politicians would always resent Visaya coöperation, and *vice versâ*. The half-castes would undoubtedly try to get, and probably succeed in getting, the whole government machinery into their hands to the exclusion of the pure natives, who form the vast majority. Under the old *régime* the Spanish half-castes have been considered the most enlightened of insular classes, but their apparent superiority to the thoroughbred native only consists in the fact that they have adopted many of their European fathers' ways. Hence, if they

were permitted to pull the political wires in a so-called native government, the system would never represent native ideas, but simply assume a still more corrupt form of Spanish colonial maladministration."

Mr. Foreman would have "the whole Spanish system of intrigue and corruption absolutely abolished, and nothing short of American annexation can effect this."

AGUINALDO'S POSITION.

As to the plans and purposes of the insurgent chieftain Aguinaldo, Mr. Foreman says:

"I gather from the reports I frequently receive from his bosom friend that the independence proclaimed by him is directed only against the Spaniards. His hope is that if America will not oust the Spaniards from Luzon he will. Until the treaty is signed and made public he has no certainty that the evacuation of Luzon will be a *fait accompli*. The United States generals can give him no positive assurances in advance of the treaty, so he holds himself in armed readiness to expel the Spaniards, simply as a means of fulfilling the will of the people, who crave to be rid of the tyrannical monastic orders. The whole of the lowland interior of Luzon is practically under rebel control. I have before me the list of township presidents, many of whom I have personally known for years. The commissioners have been rightly advised that Aguinaldo, the rebels in arms, and the civilian inhabitants of Luzon are, by nature, a peaceful people, easily molded and easy to govern, who will very soon accept American or any other foreign dominion founded on justice and respect for individual liberty. The people of the Visayas, or central islands, may prove to be a little more turbulent at first, but they, too, will, ere long, appreciate the change of masters destined to bring them personal freedom, order, and material prosperity. In Mindanao special laws will, no doubt, have to be temporarily enacted for the Mussulman tribes of this large southern island. As the Spaniards at the present time only hold a few ports and coast settlements, the tribes have never experienced subjection to any foreign power. The interior is unexplored, but a line of railroad would have a most civilizing effect. Meantime the island would have to be treated on the United States system, as a Territory, to eventually rank as a State or province."

THE RELIGIOUS PROBLEM.

This reassuring account is given of the religious difficulty:

"The commissioners were informed that they would have no difficulty in declaring religious

freedom and withdrawing state support from the Roman Catholic native clergy. The native priests, as secular clergy, take no vow of poverty, and quite 75 per cent. of them have independent means of existence, so that with their fees for marriages, sale of indulgences, masses, burials, baptisms, scapulars, etc., they could dispense with a fixed stipend. Nor are religious fanatical risings to be feared, for the male natives particularly have very elastic consciences in matters of faith and devotion. Assuming the whole archipelago to be annexed by America, the disestablishment of the Church would show a saving to the Philippine treasury of about 9 per cent. on the budget of the financial year 1896-97; and as the cost of consulates in China and a long list of pensions to Spanish aristocracy would cease, there would be a further economy of about 6½ per cent. on the budget sum."

THE PHILIPPINES AND PRACTICAL POLITICS.

THE Hon. Hannis Taylor writes on "Pending Problems" in the *North American Review* for November. Mr. Taylor quotes from a prophecy concerning our relations in the Pacific made by Mr. Seward in 1852, and declares that what was then a statesman's dream has ripened into reality; we are now not only in the islands of the Pacific, but far beyond, dividing the commerce of China with the European nations. Mr. Taylor closes his article with a brief discussion of the bearings of the Philippine question on American politics. He says:

"A certain part of our population, who might be called Tories, deem it their duty to fly into a passion and then hurl the epithet of 'jingo' at any man who dares to open his eyes and admit what he actually sees before him. Another and more reasonable class deem it their duty to recognize existing conditions, and to deal with them in the same practical way in which we have disposed of like questions in the past. The only matter really at issue at the present moment is that involving the disposition to be made of the Philippines, provided we shall acquire the right to deal with them at all through the award of a joint commission in which Spain has an equal voice. To the arbitrament of such a commission the President has submitted the fate of the Philippines under the terms of the protocol; so no matter what claim the five American commissioners may make, it can be promptly vetoed by their five Spanish associates. We can hardly hope even for the cession of the whole of the island of Luzon, except upon the payment of a certain compensation. If a treaty embodying such a proposal shall reach the Senate what will

be the voice of the nation? It seems more than probable that a majority of the Republican leaders, with the President at their head, will claim that the procession must not pause; that we must at once possess the Philippines, either through the payment of some indemnity to Spain or through a fresh appeal to the arbitrament of arms. On the other hand, it does not seem likely that a majority of the Democratic leaders can be brought to accept either alternative. Impressed as they may be with the historical fact that destiny has already irrevocably involved us with the affairs of the Pacific world, whose growing greatness can no longer be questioned, they will likely deem it prudent to accept Mr. Seward's advice, 'to hasten nothing, to take time to digest one territory before swallowing another.'

"While Cuba and Porto Rico are passing through the process of digestion we should prepare ourselves for the inevitable by cutting the Nicaraguan Canal and by developing the strength of our navy."

THE FUTURE OF THE BRITISH WEST INDIES.

"THE LOOKER-ON" in *Blackwood's Magazine* for November indulges in somber reflections about present economic conditions in the British West Indies and the possibility of those islands securing incorporation with Canada, or even annexation to the United States. He shows that the islands already have a considerable trade with the United States, which has to be carried on under the restrictions of our tariff. "The Looker-on" suggests a more serious state of things in the islands than most Englishmen would care to admit. He says:

"That Mr. Chamberlain became solicitous about the West Indies some time ago is true, and true that his anxiety was even then considerable. But is it known why? Only in part, and that not the greater part. Mr. Chamberlain was touched, no doubt, by the distress into which the West Indies had fallen, but he was no less disturbed by what he knew of a spirit not yet revolt. A great imperialist and secretary for the colonies, he liked not even the most distant prospect of these islanders knocking at the door of the American republic as beggars and outcasts.

SUPPOSED AMBITIONS OF THE UNITED STATES.

"In the short space of six months two things have happened to force attention to these neglected islands and their future. The least considerable of the two is the appalling hurricane of September 11: far more important is the war which has made the United States a colonizing

'world power' and proprietor of West India islands already. Look where Cuba and Porto Rico lie, and doubt not that the American acquisitions make a signal difference to our holdings in the Caribbean Sea. No visible difference yet, to be sure; but nevertheless existent and in action even now. Before those two choice islands were taken from Spain American rhetoricians were talking of the whole of the West Indies as natural appurtenances of United States territory. It is not pretended that immediate attention need be given to these platform annexationists, who, indeed, were choked at the moment in a counter-current (now much run down) of brotherly love for England. But from the day when America, changing her old policy of self-interest for the grandeur of conquest, took possession of Cuba and Porto Rico, it was never too soon to recast the horoscope of our own West India colonies.

COMMERCIAL PROBLEMS.

"Without going far into the matter, which is not our intention at present, it may be said that the whole future of these islands is in danger of sharp deflection for two powerful reasons. As to the first and more immediately operative, we know this: that commercial distress had already turned the thoughts of many West Indians—not in Jamaica alone, but in Barbados and elsewhere—to some sort of trade affiliation with the United States. Fill the islands of Cuba and Porto Rico with the capital and enterprise which are soon to pour from America into their broad and rich fields, and what is the likelihood that the British West Indies will then be more contented? To be so they must themselves be more prosperous; and what probability is there that they will be better off when these two most productive islands are cultivated by Americans for their own markets, with the advantage of duty-free admission thereto? Impoverished and handicapped as they are, our planters and merchants must suffer from such competition where they now have a sale at some price for their goods; and therefore, unless they find a means of relief, will they not look more wistfully still to commercial union with America, and we know that political and commercial union must go together.

THE APPARITION OF UNCLE SAM AS A "POWER."

"The other reason starts from military considerations and ends with them. Let us look forward a few years—we need not go beyond four or five—and behold the United States in the rank of great naval and military powers, and of course with the usual jealousies and preoccupations of such. That time having come, how

long will the West Indies remain an uncoveted possession? How long will it be before British ownership of islands 'geographically American' will hurt the pride of the States militant, or before Jamaica in particular (see map) will be regarded as an unendurable menace at the threshold of the republic? No longer than the first serious quarrel between the two countries; for Jamaica lies in a position of high strategical importance, greatly enhanced for both England and America by late events. Of course we are all aware of the feeling (in this country) that any such war has now become morally impossible. It is but a feeling, however, and though in many respects a charming one, altogether foolish. Suppose we were to do the proper thing, considering the portentous change in American policy, and send out engineers to see to the fortification of certain points in the West Indies: how would the brotherhood of the two nations stand next day?

DO WE WANT JAMAICA?

"Sir Henry Norman raises the question whether either Canada or the United States would care to take over the West Indies, or even Jamaica. As to Canada, there is more slyness than sincerity in the suggestion, more of the ridiculous than the real: of course it could neither be accepted nor allowed. But who can doubt that the United States would be delighted to bunch Jamaica with Cuba, its neighbor, and Porto Rico? As for the colonies themselves, commercial ruin drives them to thoughts of refuge under another system of government, and Canada is named. But when Canada is named the United States are hinted at. There should be no mistake about that; neither any doubt, even though our West India islands had fewer miseries and misfortunes, that they call for very particular attention. Their future cannot be what their past has been or what their present state is. The mere appearance among them of the United States as a competing, fighting, acquisitive naval power begins a change which has either to be neglected or attended to, according to the value that may now be set upon those first beginnings of our empire beyond sea."

As Sir Henry Norman has said, political and commercial confederation with Canada was suggested by an influential member of the Jamaican Legislature fifteen years ago. At that time the proposal had no public support; but recently it has won favor in certain quarters. "The Looker-on" asserts, however, that "for some time past most of the West India Islands have been sadly ruminating upon hopes of better days from incorporation with the American republic."

IN PRAISE OF THE CUBANS

ANTONIO GONZALO PÉREZ writes in the *Contemporary* on Cuba for the Cubans. He is greatly incensed by the calumnies, as he calls them, in which Spanish and American writers have indulged against his fellow-countrymen. He says:

"Cuba may be compared to a rich and beautiful heiress whose hand is sought by many admirers. Realizing that she is unwilling to yield to their several importunities or to listen to the suit of any one of them, as a base revenge they begin to discredit her, hoping by this means to drive her to the public market of ignominy and thus possess the coveted prey."

VASTLY SUPERIOR TO THE SPANISH.

He proceeds to the defense:

"To hold the theory that Cuban culture and civilization are inferior to Spanish is impossible, except to the grossly ignorant or prejudiced. In most respects they are vastly superior. The growing prosperity of their island contributed not a little to develop in the Cubans the habit of visiting foreign lands, and since early in this century they are to be found in all the principal countries of Europe, studying at the most famous universities and seeking intellectual intercourse with writers, philosophers, and scientists of high standing, France, England, and Germany being the countries most favored.

"The list of Cubans of universal reputation living abroad at the present time is a large one. The Cubans holding leading positions in public life in the different republics of South America can be counted by the hundred, not to speak of those devoted to science, art, and literature. Whenever Cubans have received the slightest encouragement or, indeed, only a mere opportunity, they have proved themselves especially fitted for self-government.

A COMPARISON WITH THE UNITED STATES.

"Furthermore, the standard of culture and civilization in Cuba, far from being inferior even to that of the great republic, as so often averred during the late war, was in many respects absolutely superior, the number of highly educated and extensively traveled individuals forming a larger proportion to the population than in the United States, where so much of the energy of the people is still expended in the race for wealth and the material development of the country. As has been already shown, Cubans of the wealthy and professional classes enjoy all the advantages of the most refined culture and most advanced thought."

THE RACE PROBLEM.

The writer draws a parallel between the "mixed population" of the State of Alabama and that of Cuba. In Alabama there were in 1892 as many as 600,000 negroes out of a total of 1,500,000 inhabitants; in Cuba in the same year there were only 400,000 negroes and mulattoes out of 1,600,000 inhabitants; "so that," argues the writer, "the conclusions drawn by certain newspaper correspondents (English and American) as to inferiority of race should apply equally to many States of North America."

The objection based on the alleged unfitness of Latin races for self-government the writer triumphantly opposes by the example of ancient Rome, and less confidently by the continuance of the French republic.

"HUMANE, HOSPITABLE, CHARITABLE."

He continues:

"To deny the capacity of the Cubans for self-government before they have been put to the test is neither logical, honest, nor in accordance with moral principles. The charges of cruelty and cowardice brought against the Cubans by correspondents in the pay of trusts and corporations do not even deserve the honor of a serious refutation. They are but libels, inspired by the enemies of Cuban independence, in order to discredit her in the eyes of European nations. No more humane, hospitable, and charitable people exist on the surface of the globe. . . . During their long struggle for freedom, lasting intermittently from 1850 until to-day—that is to say, nearly half a century—the Cubans have always respected the lives of prisoners, notwithstanding the fact that the Spaniards did not reciprocate this generosity, never sparing the life of a single prisoner taken."

THE FASHODA QUESTION.

THE *Edinburgh* gives a very interesting historical survey of the European powers in west Africa, and dealing with the question of the Congo Free State, hopes that France may yet exercise her right of preëmption, and in the interests of civilization it is to be desired that she should succeed to this heritage.

"The work done for humanity by France in Africa has not been adequately recognized in this country. She keeps the peace exceedingly well, and maintains an imperial police through her wide dominion, which is thus freed from the incessant slave-raiding that has been the haunting curse of Africa. To put down slave-raiding is the first duty and the second and the third of Europe in Africa, and no power has done more

in this direction than France. She has not yet made her colonies pay, largely because of her insatiable military ambition; the budget of the French Congo, which is at peace, has been starved to feed the army in Senegambia and Dahomey. But the plain truth is that France does not want Africa for trade. She wants it as an exercising-ground for her army and as an outlet for the spirit of militarism which in that country demands a war, as Napoleon III. said, every four years. So long as Africa pays her enough to maintain a large military establishment, France gets what she wants."

The reviewer suggests that England should not attempt a European rule of Hausaland and Bornu, but should permeate them with English influence:

"We can enormously facilitate the commercial movement of the country by introducing a currency, for none exists except the clumsy substitute of cowries. Already the Arab merchants in Kano use freely a Maria Theresa dollar, the one European coin recognized in central Africa, which is still coined for import there."

He urges a revision of the clause in the convention which grants to France the west coast of Lake Tchad, and suggests that to secure a free hand from the Nile to Lake Tchad England would gladly give France an equally free hand west of the Niger, even to the point of ceding the Gambia.

THE TEST OF THE STRONGER PURSE.

In an article entitled "Many Memories of Many People," the *Edinburgh* reviewer quotes from Senior's journals an interesting remark of Thiers which he applies to the present situation:

"'War,' said Thiers to Senior in 1860, 'is now mainly a question of money, and we are twice as rich as you are. After deducting the interest of your debt you have only £36,000,000 a year; we have £60,000,000. Your debt is £700,000,000; ours is not £400,000,000.' The speaker might have put his case more strongly, for our debt in 1860 was very much heavier than he supposed, having risen from the Crimean War to over £800,000,000; but how strange the contrast between then and now! We have gone on steadily diminishing our debt, while France has gone on as steadily increasing hers. Now our debt, huge as it is, does not amount to one-half of the tremendous burden which is piled upon the shoulders of our neighbors. And yet France is the country in which the recent proposal of the Emperor of Russia has met with most opposition. Still cherishing the dream of winning back from Germany the provinces she lost in the last war, provinces which were even

in 1870 at least as German as French, she sacrifices everything to increasing armaments, which are already altogether out of proportion either to her strength or her needs. This extravagance, combined with the reckless expenditure on unprofitable public works, is hurrying France toward a not very distant bankruptcy, and national bankruptcy in such a country means social disorders of the most formidable kind."

COMMERCIAL VALUE OF THE SOUDAN.

THE *Quarterly Review*, discussing the future of the Soudan, anticipates that France will not seriously contest England's hold of the Soudan, her occupation of Fashoda being a distinct violation of Egyptian territory. The writer is somewhat skeptical of the transformation which British management is said to have effected in the Egyptian soldier, and insists on the necessity of keeping British troops in the Soudan. The great thing is to get the railroad pushed on to Khartoum, after which the British garrison in the Soudan could be reduced to a very small force. The only effective way of suppressing the slave trade is to do away with the need of slave portage by opening railroads, roads, and lines of river boats. Passing to consider the commercial value of the Soudan, the writer mentions that up to the date of the insurrection the receipts from the Soudan always exceeded the expenditures:

"Sir Samuel Baker, who was a good judge of such matters, concluded that the Soudan as an agricultural country would, under decent government, prove more fertile than any other part of Egypt. In support of his own belief in this assertion we may mention that Sir Samuel, within a few years of his death, was in negotiation with certain financiers in Berlin, with the view of obtaining a concession from the German Government, in virtue of which the Soudan was to be reconquered, with the assistance of German troops or of native troops drilled and commanded by German officers, and then developed by a company holding its charter from Germany. The scheme was favorably received at Berlin, but was not carried further on representations being made to its author that the prosecution of his project might hamper the action of our own government in Egypt."

Another proof is cited:

"As soon as the advance on Khartoum was announced, a group of Egyptian financiers, whose houses had formerly been interested in the Soudan trade, offered a very large sum of money down—we believe a million sterling—and engaged to undertake the cost of the administration of the Soudan for a considerable period at

their own risk, provided that they were granted a concession to govern the Soudan after its reconquest, on terms which would have left Egypt a substantial share in any profit derived from the operations of the company which the *concessionaires* proposed to found. The offer was declined, partly from political considerations and partly from a general conviction, on the part of the Egyptian authorities, that the development of the Soudan was too profitable an enterprise to let pass out of their own hands."

A FRENCH TRIBUTE TO ENGLAND'S AFRICAN EMPIRE.

"I AM a Frenchman, it is true, but England is as dear to me as the country where I was born, and I am, therefore, in a position to deal with the subject from an absolutely impartial and dispassionate point of view." With this announcement M. Lionel Dècle introduces a brilliant paper in the November *Fortnightly* on the Fashoda question.

ALGERIA A FAILURE.

He first considers the position of France as an African power, adducing proof to show that France lacks the capacity for colonizing. He says:

"In the Mediterranean, almost at her door, she owns Algeria and Tunis. She has occupied the former for half a century, and during those fifty years she has tried every mode of administration. Algeria has everything in her favor: a grand climate, very similar to the climate of the Cape Colony, a most fertile land, industrious native races, none of the diseases so fatal to man and beast in south Africa, and only a twenty-four hours' journey separates her from the mother country. Yet Algeria has never been self-supporting and depends to this day on the subsidies from the metropolis! . . . Under British rule Algeria would become, in less than five years' time, a most prosperous colony, and her trade with France alone would be more than doubled."

MADAGASCAR STERILIZED.

No better results appear in Senegal. M. Dècle continues:

"Madagascar is a striking illustration of the ignorance of those men who are constantly leading their country into fresh colonial adventures—Madagascar, whose conquest cost France more than £4,000,000, besides the lives of more than 6,000 of her children! No sooner was the island in the hands of these men than they closed it to all foreign prospectors; they imposed prohibitive duties on all foreign goods, keeping the

country for the French colonists who never came and never will come; while if they had opened it out as Mr. Rhodes opened out Mashonaland to all comers, their new colony would have reaped the benefit of the labor of thousands of British prospectors and of the millions of British capital which would have been invested in the island."

The writer claims that "France has already more work on her hands than she can carry out if she wants any of her colonies to pay its own way before every one of my readers is dead and buried." Even supposing that England, in a fit of insanity, were to grant France the Bahr-el-Ghazal and Darfur provinces, they would be commercially and practically inaccessible—never anything but a white elephant.

CONTRAST THE BRITISH COLONIES.

M. Dècle then proceeds to show of what interest they are to Great Britain:

"I am no longer speaking as a Frenchman; I am speaking as a British imperialist. Love of adventure has led me for the last eighteen years through most of the British colonies, and circumstances brought me in contact with many of their prominent men. I devoted much time to the study of the British administration, and the result has been my unconscious but absolute conversion to imperialism and unbounded admiration for British methods of colonization. I was thus enabled to judge how mighty has been the work of that great Englishman, Mr. Rhodes, and of so many others who, like Sir Harry Johnston, Captain Lugard, Sir Henry Colville, and, last but not least, the Sirdar and Lord Cromer, have covered their country with glory and conferred an everlasting benefit on the civilized world. Each one of those great men has toiled toward the achievement of a great task, the creation of an empire from the Cape to Cairo. The conception of such an empire is not the mere dream of an ambitious nation; it is the outcome of a wise and far-seeing policy; it is the only possible solution of the great African problem—how to make central Africa pay. This can only be achieved by a power whose dominions extend from Cairo to the Cape."

WHAT THE UNION JACK WILL EFFECT.

After glancing at the various territories involved at present under British sway he says:

"Taken individually, each one of the provinces I have roughly described is of little value; but connected by steam and grouped under a single government, there is no limit to their collective possibilities. The labor question will no longer be a difficulty, and produce of every kind will be raised, not only, as at present, to suit the

local taste and requirement, but also with the object of supplying the demand. What is still more important to the European settler, the cultivation of coffee and tobacco will become possible and prove most remunerative with easy and cheap means of transport to the coast. Lastly, but not leastly, the administration will be simplified."

THE CAPE-TO-CAIRO POLICY.

The writer is warm in his admiration of Mr. Rhodes and his Cape-to-Cairo policy :

"It was only in 1890 that he was able to lay the foundation stone of his gigantic enterprise. No one except himself then dreamed of a trans-African empire, and the mention of such a scheme would have been considered little short of insanity. There is already a British steamer on Lake Tanganyika, and before long several more will have been launched. Ahead of the railroad Mr. Rhodes' trans-African telegraph line is being rapidly pushed forward. It nearly reaches Lake Tanganyika now, and ere long will join the wire which is being laid south of Khartoum. Who can, therefore, fail to see that the realization of an empire extending from the Cape to Cairo is almost an accomplished fact?"

M. Dècle laments that there is one single link of the chain which is missing, due to the unfortunate cession to Germany of the strip between Tanganyika and Uganda. He suggests that England might recover this strip from Germany by offering in exchange Walfish Bay—an arrangement mutually advantageous. M. Dècle appends tables of statistics showing what Great Britain has achieved since 1888 between the Cape and Cairo, indicating that the distance of 6,300 miles can be covered now—1898—in eighty-one days, but in 1905 is expected to take only forty-three days.

ENGLAND'S "SMALL ARMY."

The paper closes with a regret that Frenchmen do not understand their neighbors :

"They have been led to believe that Great Britain, with her 'small army,' would never dare to try conclusions with France and her millions of soldiers. I wish I could undeceive them. I wish I could make them understand that behind Great Britain stands Greater Britain, with her millions of loyal subjects who would rise to the first call of the mother country with as much enthusiasm as any Mohammedan ever seized his arms when the *Jehad* was proclaimed."

Still, M. Dècle regards the mere idea of a conflict between the two nations as "too dreadful to imagine." The occupation of Fashoda means little to France, while to Great Britain it is the keystone of the African arch.

FRANCE'S SINEWS OF WAR.

"THE Financial Strain on France" is the subject of a paper by Mr. W. R. Lawson in the *National Review* for November. Beginning with the pleasantry that "the Latin race, if it could live without politics, might be the happiest and most prosperous in Europe," Mr. Lawson proceeds to point out that bad finance seems to accompany all the attempts of that race at self-government.

THE SUM TOTAL OF FRENCH WEALTH.

In the days of Louis XIV. more than half the wealth of Europe was concentrated in England and France. What a change now!

"Nine or ten years ago an estimate was made of the accumulated wealth of Europe by the chief of the statistical bureau of the French Ministry of Finance. He worked out a magnificent total of 1,000,000,000,000 francs, each billion being equivalent to £40,000,000. To the six great powers he assigned about nine-tenths of the whole, or 900,000,000,000. Great Britain he placed at the head of his list with 250,000,000,000, France second with 200,000,000,000, Germany was a bad third with 170,000,000,000, and Russia a very poor fourth with 110,000,000,000. Austria and Italy brought up the rear with 100,000,000,000 and 60,000,000,000 respectively."

France has relatively sunk behind since then.

"With a stationary population, an unprogressive foreign trade, a narrow range of domestic industry, and productive powers hampered in almost every direction by restrictive laws, her public burdens increase faster than her capacity to bear them. While she is indisputably first among the nations in the magnitude of her national debt, it is doubtful if she now ranks even third as regards national resources."

In the seventeenth century France had 38 per cent. of the aggregate population of the great powers; in 1789, 27 per cent.; at the end of the Napoleonic wars, 20 per cent.; and to-day, 13 per cent.

A BAD QUARTER OF A CENTURY.

"The nineteenth century has been a hard time for France, and especially the last quarter of it." The Franco-German War, the more costly commune, the still more destructive phylloxera, the *Krach* of 1883, the colossal losses in the Panama Canal, have formed a ghastly procession of disaster. "Sir Robert Giffen reckoned that the war cost it £1,000,000,000 to start with, and its later disasters taken altogether might not be overrated at another £1,000,000,000." The French debt in 1870 was nearly £500,000,000; in 1876 nearly £796,000,000. The service of

debt for 1876 was £46,500,000; for 1898 is £50,250,000. The public debt swallows up 36½ per cent. of the annual revenue. The French "have to spend 1,250,000,000 francs a year for interest on lost capital, while they can only afford 920,000,000 francs a year for national defense."

COMPARATIVE PRODUCE OF EUROPEAN STATES.

The writer appeals to the United States consuls in Europe as an impartial authority:

"A year or so ago they were asked to estimate the annual value of the agricultural, industrial, and other produce of the principal European states. In their inventory they put Great Britain at the head with a total of 20,500,000,000 francs—say £820,000,000. Germany comes second with 14,500,000,000, or £580,000,000. After another long interval France stands third with 11,250,000,000, or £450,000,000. What may be even more galling to the French than to be outstripped by Germany is to find their faithful ally, Russia, stealing a march on them also. Her annual production is valued at 9,000,000,000, equal to £360,000,000. It exceeds that of Austria-Hungary by nearly 1,000,000,000 and exactly trebles Italy's 3,000,000,000."

Adding the proceeds from rent and other sources, the writer estimates the total annual income of the French people at 22,000,000,000, or £880,000,000. The leading French authority, M. de Foville, puts it between 20,000,000,000 and 25,000,000,000. Of this amount close on 20 per cent. is appropriated by the state. Leroy-Beaulieu would say 15 per cent.

FRANCE, GERMANY, GREAT BRITAIN.

Of the state's share, only 27 per cent. goes to armaments. Germany has for the same purpose 36 per cent. of her public revenue. During the last twenty years "the percentages of increase are 16 for the army and 50 for the navy, against Germany's 62 per cent. for her army and 100 per cent. for her navy."

"With less effort than it costs France to devote 27 per cent. of her national revenue to the maintenance of her armaments, Great Britain can devote 38 per cent. of her national revenue to the same object. The explanation is that only 24 per cent. of her revenue is pledged in advance to the service of the public debt, against 36½ per cent. of the French revenue."

HOW COULD FRANCE FIND MONEY FOR WAR?

Mr. Lawson proceeds to inquire "how these financial conditions would hamper France at the very outset of a war with any other great power:"

"Her taxation is already screwed up almost

to the highest point of endurance possible in times of peace, and a very narrow margin is left even for war taxes. . . . With or without heroic measures it is not easy to see how a large increase of revenue can be obtained, however serious the emergency. A new war would have to be financed on the same lines as that of 1870—by means of gigantic borrowing. . . . But the brilliant loan operations by means of which the Germany indemnity was paid and French soil emancipated afford no criterion of how a second series might succeed. Borrowing now would be on a very different basis to what it was in 1871! The starting-point then was an existing debt of 12,500,000,000, and now it would be an existing debt of over 26,000,000,000—£1,040,000,000. A state handicapped with such a burden, and hampered at the same time by an inelastic revenue, should not lightly plunge into adventures likely to cost it billions more."

M. de Foville has reminded his countrymen that the estimated total of the national wealth—put at 180,000,000,000 or 200,000,000,000—is "scarcely forty times the amount of our annual budgets and hardly ten times the cost of the Franco-German War and of the commune."

THE DREYFUS CASE.

IN the November *Fortnightly* an Anglo-Parisian journalist discourses on "The France of To-day." His diagnosis seems to be that the priest and the Jew between them have brought France to her present pass. He recalls the heated way in which the French clergy flung themselves into the *Kulturkampf* which was raging in Germany, and the emphatic protest which Bismarck in consequence lodged with M. Gambetta. This, he opines, sheds a new light on the famous declaration of Gambetta, that "clericalism was the enemy." He also recalls that in May, 1881, Baron de Rothschild entertained Gambetta; and Gambetta, himself of Italian parentage and Jewish origin, declared: "The priest is the past; the Jew is the future."

Gradually all the administration of many departments was intrusted to Jews. Then came the collapse of *L'Union Générale*, the avowedly aristocratic Catholic bank, owing to a combination between *la haute finance*, which is almost purely Jewish, and *la haute banque*, which is almost purely Protestant. When Gambetta died forty-seven out of eighty departments were in the hands of Jewish prefects. Anti-Semitism was a natural consequence. The Jews had not pluck enough to protest against the alliance with Jew-baiting Russia, and the grand staff threw in its lot with the anti-Semites. "From that day

the Dreyfus case has practically been used as a blister to draw the anti-Semitic movement to a head ;" and, until cleared from the charge, the grand staff must stand suspected of having deliberately applied that blister. The allies of Dreyfus are principally, the writer considers, composed of unsuccessful agitators, who have not gained the posts they wished for under the republic. "The Parisians, they are the nation," and they are tired of government by speech-making; but "the providential man" has not yet arrived to turn their unrest to account.

MADAME DREYFUS AND HER HOME LIFE.

MISS MARY SPENCER WARREN contributes an interview with Madame Dreyfus to *Cassell's Magazine* for November. The arrangement of the interview and the connected correspondence have, it is stated, been attended with great difficulties, owing to the espionage carried on by the French authorities. Miss Warren states :

"For some time now madame has resided at a quiet little village on the Seine a few miles out of Paris. Here she can obtain greater seclusion for herself, with fresh country air and the delights of a garden for her children. The village is beautifully situated, and the house stands in a charming garden, bright with flower-beds and lawn, flanked by pine, acacia, and other trees."

The writer describes the unfortunate lady as "tall, majestic, yet graceful, with a wealth of dark hair beautifully arranged, a clear complexion, large expressive eyes, and a sweet though sad smile. A face that shows marks of suffering, but on which the predominant expressions are straightforwardness and kindness. Emphatically, Lucie Dreyfus is a lady of great beauty."

Of her home life before the trial the writer declares :

"Her marriage, unlike many in France, was one of pure affection, and over the first few years of wedded existence no cloud came: the husband was absorbed in his profession and his home and the wife in her husband and household. When not at his duties Captain Dreyfus was invariably with his wife; in her own words, 'We were all in all to each other.' What it must have been to such a couple when they were suddenly and forcibly torn from each other no pen can describe."

Miss Warren considers that the poor prisoner has abundant reason to be proud of his children :

"Pierre, his mother tells me, is the living image of his father. He is tall, well built, and thoroughly manly, giving the impression of

a more advanced age than the seven years which can actually be credited to him. He has a high forehead, large dark eyes, nose of the Grecian type, and a firm but sweet-tempered mouth; a very intelligent, bright boy in every respect. He still remembers his father, spite of the four years which have separated them."

Miss Warren mentions that there are "not wanting many in the country now—and I have conversed with numbers this week—who believe that Russia, and not Germany, was the country, and that in the face of recent events the French simply dare not make the papers public, or at any rate would resist doing so until the last possible moment."

THE BOOK THAT MOVED THE CZAR.

DR. E. J. DILLON contributes a paper, thirty-four pages in length, to the *Contemporary Review*. It is entitled "The Czar's Eirenikon," but its chief value lies in the account it gives of a great Russian book on war. On the genesis of the rescript Dr. Dillon says :

"The project emanated directly from the Emperor himself, not from any of his advisers. It had certainly been suggested in many ways from without: nearly five years ago by a British statesman, later on by the Czar's own father, Alexander III., and lastly by a recently published Russian book . . . entitled 'The Future War, in Its Technical, Economical, and Political Aspects.' It is composed of six volumes and a supplement, and is signed by a Polish publicist of leisure and learning named Bliokh, who had previously brought out some of the chapters as articles in a Moscow liberal journal."

WAR AN ANACHRONISM.

The object of the book is to create a powerful public opinion against militarism and wars and in favor of peace and arbitration. Its thoroughness, exactitude, and correctness down to the last detail "lend color to the rumor that accomplished military experts contributed their best work to this encyclopedia of war and peace." Dr. Dillon begins his *résumé* :

"The author starts from the principle that war, which was once the rule, inasmuch as it harmonized with the social manners and morals that prevailed in the early phases of society, has come to be the exception, because it no longer fits in with the aims, the maxims, the interests, and the ethics of modern men. . . . Modern culture has made all men brothers and partners to such a degree that no one nation can strike a blow at another without seriously injuring itself."

War is thus an anachronism, perpetuated only by passion and ignorance.

PEACE LEAGUES WITHOUT EFFECT ON WAR-WASTE.

Every people desires peace. Alliances are formed to maintain it, yet "although all continental Europe is now leagued together for the maintenance of peace, the work was conceived and executed in such a slovenly manner that none of the economic advantages of this vast peace insurance has been procured for the peoples, who still go on spending their earnings in troops and armaments, which are so immense that they could not possibly be utilized."

MODERN WAR COÖPERATIVE SUICIDE.

The murderous precision of modern weapons has made war a system of coöperative suicide. The wounds would be more cruel, the chance of aid more shadowy :

"Between two bodies of combatants armed with modern magazine rifles of small caliber, which can literally mow down whole armies, a deadly zone is formed which no living being can enter and leave unscathed, so that the wounded must lie bathed in blood and writhing in pain on the battlefield without help or alleviation, for nobody could reach them living. A single bullet can disable five men at a short distance, and two or three at a distance of from two to three thousand feet."

ARMIES TOO HUGE TO USE !

A most important point put by M. Bliokh, and one which has not properly entered the common mind, is that the modern armies have grown too big to use. The hilt of the sword has been made too thick and strong for any human hand to grasp it :

"The continental great powers have trained 10,500,000 soldiers to take part in the coming war. But these numbers are too vast to be useful. It is a recognized principle that the numerical strength of armies must be kept within the limits of the leader's capacities to command them efficiently, having their movements, their position, their task and its difficulties constantly before his mind's eye. Now, the generals who can direct the movements of a body of 500,000 men simultaneously are very few, and the commander who can manipulate a still more numerous army with reasonable hopes of success has still to be found. Competent military experts aver that whereas the total number of trained men, including reserves, whom the five great powers of the continent could dispose of in case of war amounts to over 17,000,000, the most that could be utilized is between 5,000,000 and 6,000,000. And the difficulties of keeping these supplied with everything they need are certain to prove overwhelming."

UTILIZATION IMPOSSIBLE, BUT COST INCALCULABLE.

The handling of these great masses for fighting purposes is one thing : to provide them with the immensely complicated requirements of a modern army, in the way of commissariat, transport, telegraphs, sanitation, etc., is another and possibly a much more difficult thing. A single break-down would mean immediate failure and perhaps irreparable ruin :

"And, be it remembered, the sacrifices which have been made in order thus to train bodies of men so numerous that their numbers alone render their utilization an impossibility are practically incalculable."

FINANCIAL SACRIFICE OF THE ARMED PEACE.

To increase the numbers of troops their military training is shortened : the three years' course is reduced to two ; yet the demands for a thoroughly disciplined and inured soldier are greater now, for modern weapons make the old shock formation impossible and compel advance in a more scattered array. Efficiency is sacrificed to numbers. The argument proceeds :

"The financial sacrifices necessary for the support and imperfect training of these countless troops are as ruinous as they are unprofitable. It has been estimated that Europe pays yearly for the maintenance of its fleets and armies the sum of £225,000,000, and nearly as much again in the guise of interest on debts contracted for the prosecution of foreign wars. More than one-third of all the national revenues are annually swallowed up by the budgets of the army and navy. And increase is still the order of the day. In the countries of the dual and triple alliances, and in Spain and England taken together, the amount absorbed in one year by military preparations is £175,000,000, as compared with £17,000,000 allotted to educational purposes."

THE REMEDY—PROPORTIONATE DISARMAMENT ?

The first hint of the disarmament remedy now appears in Dr. Dillon's *résumé* :

"This lamentable disproportion between the work of education and that of destruction could be easily righted and the military abuses alluded to efficaciously remedied by cutting down the number of troops in all countries so as to leave the respective relative strength of each exactly what it now is. Germany possesses a peace army of 585,440 and France 16,870 men less. If, now, it could be arranged that each country should content itself with an army in peace time equal to what it had in the year 1870, Germany would gradually disband considerably over one-half of her troops and keep 230,000 instead of

585,440, whereas France would have to support only 223,375 men. The tax-payers of the two countries would be relieved in consequence of £20,000,000 per annum."

Without this measure of relief all the people's savings will gradually be absorbed and industry correspondingly impoverished.

WHAT PROFOUNDLY IMPRESSED THE CZAR.

M. Bliokh goes on to consider the disastrous effects of a war between the dual and triple alliances :

"The statistics which he quotes to show the enormous economic progress made by Europe since 1870 and the vastness of the interests at present at stake are trustworthy, convincing, and startling, and produced, it is said, a profound impression upon the mind of the Czar. . . . The main thesis, which the writer founds on a careful comparison between the interests affected by former wars and those which would be jeopardized to-day, is briefly this—that if people could but realize their extent and value they would leave nothing undone to render war impossible."

WAR'S FIRST FRUITS—AND THE HARVEST OF RUIN.

The fall in all stocks, the panic on every bourse, the closing of most industrial establishments, the stagnation of foreign trade, the rise in prices of food, the scarcity of breadstuffs, would produce untold misery before a single blow had been struck. And these are but the beginning of woes:

"Taking the statistics of former great wars as the basis of calculation, we find that the daily expenditure needed for a conflict in which the five continental great powers were engaged would amount to £4,195,600. Over and above this sum it would be necessary to expend on the families of the soldiers about £198,000. In other words, the annual cost of this European war, exclusive of indirect losses, would, according to the calculations of M. Bliokh and others, reach the fantastic total of £1,747,120,000. But if, as experts believe, this Titanic combat would last for two years, the ruin of the belligerents would be complete and irreparable."

THE KAISER'S POINT—AMERICAN COMPETITION.

Meanwhile, while Europe was busy bleeding herself to death, America would secure forever the markets of the world. Even now handicapped by no more than the burden of an armed peace, Europe offers no parallel to the industrial and commercial advance of the United States:

"The United States are not merely by far the richest of the peoples we have been comparing, but the rate at which their national wealth increases is considerably greater than that of any

other nation. The main cause is the absence of militarism. And the more deeply indebted the European becomes, the more rapidly the Yankee is paying off his financial obligations and the easier it is for him to compete with his European rivals."

The great war, if it came, would leave him master of universal trade. This aspect of the question is said to have appealed with the greatest force to Kaiser Wilhelm, whom the Czar consulted about his forthcoming rescript, and to the Russian Finance Minister Witte.

WEAK PLACES IN OUR PENSION SYSTEM.

IN the *Forum* for November Maj. S. N. Clark exposes many inequalities and abuses in the administration of our pension laws. Taking, for example, the so-called dependent pension law enacted by the Fifty-first Congress, he shows that the number of beneficiaries under this act on June 30, 1898, was 539,638, and that the expenditures amounted in 1897 to more than \$66,000,000, while the total disbursements for pensions under this act have amounted to \$431,908,000, and "thousands of men who are beneficiaries of it earn incomes amounting to \$3,000, \$5,000, and even \$15,000 a year by other than manual labor," and hundreds, if not thousands, of other beneficiaries are men of independent means.

THE CASE OF SOLDIERS' WIDOWS.

In 1887 Congress authorized a woman who was the widow of a soldier during any period of time to apply for and obtain a pension from the death of her soldier husband. In many instances allowances of two dollars a month each have been applied for and obtained on account of children (minors) who at the time of such allowance had reached the age of manhood or womanhood, some of them being thirty or forty years of age and in good circumstances.

Major Clark asserts that the expectation of receiving life pensions after the lapse of a few years leads to the marriage of many young women every year to aged and decrepit veterans of the Civil War who have only a short time to live, and, in fact, a number of death-bed marriages have been recorded where the only possible motive of the brides must have been to qualify themselves to receive pensions as soldiers' widows. How far such a practice as this is a violation of the original intent of our pension legislation is clearly pointed out by Major Clark:

"The woman who was the wife of a soldier in the field during the Civil War suffered untold anxiety, and in many a case her life was one

of constant struggle for existence—especially if she had small children. If her husband lost his life in the service, or subsequently incurred disabilities therein, or died, her burden was made still heavier. The intent of the law-makers in granting pensions to soldiers' widows was to recompense them in some degree for the anxieties, suffering, and privations they had been called upon to endure. At the last session of Congress the proposition that pensions should not be granted to any soldier's widow unless she had been married to him prior to 1898 was defeated in the House Committee on Invalid Pensions by a vote of 8 to 7, solely by the efforts and influence of pension-claim agents."

THE PENSION-CLAIM AGENT.

Major Clark pays his respects to that active and indomitable patriot, the pension-claim agent:

"Many of them are honest, high-minded, patriotic men; many more belong to the 'shyster' breed, whose sole object in life is to line their own pockets at the expense of both the Government and their unfortunate clients. They are shrewd and untiring; they understand every twist and turn of pension administration; they are adepts in pension laws and decisions; and many of them are as unscrupulous as they are ingenious. Some of them are languishing behind prison bars to-day because their zeal in the pursuit of pension fees led them to break the law. Every man of them is a loud and lusty patriot, a devoted friend of the soldier and of the soldier's widow and fatherless children. In their view, a Commissioner of Pensions who rejects any pension claims is an 'enemy of the soldier;' and by vituperation and misrepresentation they succeed in impressing this view on the minds of many persons, including some Congressmen, whose demagogic instincts, or timidity, or desire to conciliate and capture the 'soldier vote,' make them easy prey. Because a candidate for the Presidency once righteously said that the claims of the veterans of the Union and their widows should not be weighed in the apothecary's scales, these zealous attorneys have since insisted that every pension claim, good and bad alike, should be allowed for the full amount.

"The business of the pension-claim agent has been a lucrative one, and he is naturally opposed to surrendering any part of it. Some of such agents have accumulated large fortunes within the space of a few years, and thousands have enjoyed handsome incomes, many of which have been largely derived from 'shady' or unlawful practices. They have led hundreds of claimants into paths which ended in prison. Every dollar that has been paid to pension attorneys has been

contributed by pension claimants, many thousands of whom have thus been unmercifully fleeced. In fourteen years, 1874-98, the total amount of legal fees paid by the Government to pension attorneys out of the pensions allowed to their respective clients has been \$14,945,317—an average of more than \$1,067,000 a year. Probably these sums, large as they are, do not represent more than 60 per cent. of the total amount actually received from pension claimants by attorneys and their 'drummers' and 'dummies' who are scattered throughout the country. In other words, the claimants were compelled to pay in fourteen years nearly \$10,000,000 in illegal fees.

"If the average yearly fees, legal and otherwise, collected by the attorneys and their agents during the six years for which no record of the legal fees was kept, equaled those during the other fourteen years of the period, the aggregate revenue of the pension-claim agents and their assistants and dummies for the twenty years 1879-98 amounted to more than \$35,000,000. It has paid them pretty well to pose as the friends of the soldier and his widow and fatherless children; to shout at Grand Army encampments and political conventions; to get up petitions in favor of the enactment of more 'liberal' pension legislation; to coax and persuade or 'bulldoze' Congressmen, as necessity might require; and to get on the 'blind' side of easy-going pension officials whenever it was practicable to do so."

HAVE WE NO MORE COLLEGE PRESIDENTS?

AN editorial article in the *Educational Review* for November directs attention to the fact that at the time of writing such well-known colleges and universities as Amherst, Brown, Cincinnati, Colgate, Oberlin, Rochester, and the State universities of Iowa and of California were without presidents, while in more than one case the governing boards of these institutions have admitted their perplexity in the search for suitable candidates. To the question, Where are the men for these great positions? the *Review* makes answer as follows:

"The simple truth is that for some reason or other the very few men—half a dozen, perhaps, in the whole country—who by common consent are best fitted by natural endowments, by training, and by experience for these high educational posts, are unwilling to accept them, even when extraordinarily large salaries are offered. They are already engaged in congenial and influential work, and have little to gain and much to lose by the transfer to the average college presidency. Some of the unpublished, and for the most part unknown, negotiations during the past decade

over these positions are full of instruction. Since the first-class men hold back, these influential educational offices too often fall to second-rate or third-rate men; or, worse, conflicting tendencies in the governing boards hit upon that most awful and depressing expedient, a 'compromise' candidate. As a result of these facts many of the colleges and universities in the United States are to-day simply drifting: they have no unrealized ideals except financial ones, and no educational policy except to stand still and to beg.

"The college faculty is by its very nature a debating society; and debating societies do not do things. Without an executive with leisure and capacity to study, to think, to plan, to initiate, there is no progress possible in an institution for higher education. Hence the need of a competent president, so busy in planning for his college and so skillful in doing it that he has no time left to quarrel with his faculty and none to allow his board of trustees to quarrel with him. He must be a broad man, sympathetic, cultivated, well poised, able to draw a distinction between his own pet crotchets and the underlying principles of the universe. He needs ample courage—courage to see and courage to do. He is commonly thought to need tact; so he does, if tact is used in its proper sense, and not as an equivalent either for that adroitness which is the vulgarian's essay to be at once clever and polite or for the strenuous efforts of a weak man to please everybody. But if the unusual combination of tact and courage is impossible, then he must have the courage and let tact take care of itself. A presidential jelly-fish is a terrible incumbrance."

The editor scouts the idea that the merely successful business man can develop into a satisfactory college president. No university, he declares, can be run on "business" principles, any more than a business can be run on university principles. "A university must be run on university principles or not at all."

THE BOOK CATALOGUE OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

THE first article in the *Quarterly Review* for October gives an account of the compilation and printing of the book catalogue of the British Museum. The printing was begun in 1881 and will be finished, it is expected, before the end of the year 1900. The work when completed will consist of about 600 quarto volumes, each containing on an average 250 columns. As soon as the printing is completed the question of reprinting the catalogue and incorporating the accessions of the nineteen or twenty years during

which the work has been in progress will arise, and the writer estimates that this task, if begun in 1901, ought to be finished by the end of 1904. The cost might be from \$250,000 to \$300,000, but the price is considerably below that paid for the *Ansidei Madonna* in 1885, and the national importance of the acquisition of this picture for \$360,000 can scarcely be deemed superior to that of a reprint of the Museum book catalogue with accessions, which would make the work a complete record of the library's possessions in every branch of literature at the end of the century.

With regard to the sale of the catalogue the writer says:

"The prospects of the reprinted catalogue would be widely different from those of the edition which went to press in 1881. The reprinted catalogue, a great work with a definite completeness of its own, would from the first excite a much keener interest and enjoy a far wider publicity. The unique character and value of the work would cause its acquisition to be felt as desirable, if not indispensable, by many great libraries, universities, colleges, and learned societies in every quarter of the globe. The proceeds of the sale would, at the best, be far from covering the cost; but they would appreciably reduce it, and the total cost would be moderate, relatively to the magnitude of the national object attained."

THE DECREASE OF AMERICAN BIRDS.

IN the *Granite Monthly* for October Mr. Clarence M. Weed reviews some of "The Causes of the Decrease of Birds." That such a decrease is now going on there seems little reason to doubt. Birds are believed to be now less numerous in the United States than they were a century or more ago. Some species, under the changed conditions of modern civilization, may have become more abundant, but others are very much rarer, and a few seem to be approaching extinction.

Besides the natural and inevitable results of the white man's occupation of this continent, Mr. Weed shows that certain destructive agencies are at work which are the direct result of human greed, cruelty, and ignorance.

"Perhaps one of the most constant and serious of these agencies is the egg-collecting or nest-destroying boy. In almost every town and village there may be found a dozen or more youths who have frequent attacks of the collecting fever. Unfortunately the fever is often of the intermittent type, and the season's collections are allowed to go to ruin before the advent of another spring.

Every nook and cranny for miles around the headquarters of such a coterie is examined by sharp eyes, and the great majority of birds' eggs are gathered in. Probably with ninety-nine boys out of a hundred these egg collections are soon forgotten, while the hundredth boy is too likely to become a mere collector who strives to see how many varieties of eggs he can get together without reference to the natural history of the subject. To this class of collectors we owe the existence of the egg dealers who collect eggs in large numbers to sell."

"Unfortunately the boy of the period does not limit his destructive powers to the gathering of eggs. The recent increase of cheap firearms has placed within his reach the means of killing feathered 'game' at all seasons of the year. To this fact is due much of the diminution in the numbers of small birds in the vicinity of towns and cities. Dr. R. W. Schufeldt thinks that the wholesale destruction carried on by the army of unscrupulous small boys is a reason for bird decrease, before which other reasons 'stand aghast.' He reports meeting near Washington, D. C., 'one such youngster, and upon examining his game-bag found it absolutely crammed full of dead bodies which he had killed since starting out in the morning. One item alone consisted of 72 ruby and golden-crowned kinglets. The fellow boasted of having slain over 100 cat-birds that season.'"

THE SACRIFICE TO DAME FASHION.

"Enormous numbers of birds are sacrificed annually for millinery purposes. There is an opinion prevalent that the birds worn on women's hats in America are largely derived from the faunas of tropical regions. Some justification of this is to be found in the impossible colors of all sorts assumed by the plainest songsters when they have passed through the dye-pot of the preparator. But there can be no question that an immense quantity of bird-life is annually destroyed in the United States to gratify the caprice of fashion, the birds thus killed being very largely used within our own borders, while many are exported to Paris and other European cities."

As evidence on this point Mr. Weed cites a statement in *Forest and Stream* to the effect that a dealer during a three months' trip to the coast of South Carolina, some years since, prepared no less than 11,018 bird skins. As a considerable number of the birds killed were too much mutilated for preparation, the total of the slain must have been much greater. The person referred to stated that he handled, on an average, 30,000 bird skins a year, of which the greater part were cut up for millinery purposes.

"Further south, in Florida and along the gulf coast, the herons and egrets have been ruthlessly persecuted for their plumage. The heronries, where enormous numbers of graceful birds formerly bred unmolested, have been largely broken up, and only the shyness of those remaining enables them to survive. It is said that a milliner's agent recently visited Texas in the hope of procuring the plumes of 10,000 white egrets. One trusts that it was 'a hope deferred.'

"This slaughter of the innocents is by no means confined to our Southern States. During four months 70,000 bird skins were supplied to the New York trade by one Long Island village. 'On the coast line of Long Island,' wrote Mr. William Dutcher a few years ago, 'the slaughter has been carried on to such a degree that where a few years since thousands and thousands of terns were gracefully sailing over the surf-beaten shore and the wind-rippled bays, now one is rarely to be seen.' Land birds of all sorts have also suffered in a similar way, both on Long Island and in adjacent localities in New Jersey. Nor have the interior regions of the United States escaped the visits of the milliner's agent. An Indianapolis taxidermist is on record with the statement that in 1885 there were shipped from that city 5,000 bird skins, collected in the Ohio Valley. He adds that 'no county in the State is free from the ornithological murderer,' and prophesies that the birds will soon become very scarce in the State."

SMALL BIRDS AS FOOD.

According to Mr. Weed, the destruction of the smaller birds for food is much greater than is commonly supposed. In the larger cities of the country hundreds of birds formerly considered as non-edible are displayed in the markets daily. Besides the reed-birds, robins, meadow-larks, and blackbirds that one would naturally expect to find, there occur woodpeckers, thrushes, sparrows, warblers, wax-wings, and vireos.

"THE FOOTBALL MADNESS" IN ENGLAND.

UNDER this unflattering title Mr. Ernest Ensor delivers himself in the *Contemporary* on the abuses connected with the game of the season.

WHY SO POPULAR.

He seeks to explain the popularity of the sport, which shows no diminution of gate-money even when a strike or lock-out has reduced a district to semi-starvation. He says:

"The astonishing increase in the numbers that play and watch others play the great English games is largely due to the dull monotony of

life in our large towns. It is the absolute necessity of some change, some interest outside the daily work which has long ceased to be interesting, that causes the huge crowds at the weekly football matches. This weariness is also the reason for the prevalence of starting price betting. Association football as it is now played commands more money and support than any game the world has ever seen."

PROFESSIONALS BOUGHT AND SOLD LIKE SLAVES.

The effect on the professionals is painted in very gloomy colors. The cricketer must work hard to win his pay, and after he has passed his prime can find plenty of openings as paid trainer. But compared with him "the football professional is an idler." His training is nothing like so continuous or exacting. He is continually tempted to drink. And when his career is over he has no occupation to take to, except perhaps that of the publican.

"The worst feature of professional football is its sordid nature." Players are hired, bribed, bought from all parts of the kingdom:

"Stringent legislation has been found necessary by the chief clubs to protect themselves from one another. A professional is registered for one league club and one only. If the club wishes to part with him he is sold to the highest bidder, the club receiving what is delicately called 'transfer money.' . . . Ridiculous as it seems, the advertisements in a leading athletic weekly remind one of those once published by Southern newspapers in the American slave States."

In these days, moreover, "a team must win its matches or it is ruined." Everybody must win, but that being impossible each team must win on its ground—which the league tables show to be the case.

A VIGOROUS INDICTMENT.

The writer goes on to declare:

"The effect of league matches and cup ties is thoroughly evil. Men go in thousands, not to study and admire skill or endurance, but to see their team gain two points or pass into the next round. The end, not the means, is everything. Rough play, so long as it escapes punishment from the referee, is one means to the end and delights the crowd. Nothing but the firmest action by the association prevents assaults on referees and players. The passions are excited to the highest pitch of human feeling. . . . The excitement during the match is epidemic, and twenty thousand people, torn by emotions of rage and pleasure, roaring condemnation and applause, make an alarming spectacle. Every Saturday in

winter more than a million people are cheering and hooting round the football grounds. The tendency of it all is toward brutality. Protests are laid on all kinds of grounds, and as very few clubs have clean records there is no lack of material. Charges are met by counter-charges, and all the details are swallowed with avidity by the public. The dirty linen is washed over and over again and never becomes cleaner. The newspapers fatten upon the garbage; in fact, the behavior of the press is one of the most lamentable features of the football mania. . . . One of the worst signs of the times is that the infection is spreading to other games.

BAD FOR PLAYERS, WORSE FOR SPECTATORS.

"Professional football is doing more harm every year. It has already spread from the north to the south. The southern clubs held out for a long time, but have succumbed generally during the last two years. The system is bad for the players, worse for the spectators. The former learn improvident habits, become vastly conceited, while failing to see that they are treated like chattels and cannot help but be brutalized. The latter are injured physically and morally. Instead of playing themselves or taking other exercise on their only half holiday, they stand still during cold, wet afternoons on cold, wet ground. The number of lives indirectly sacrificed to football must be enormous."

As regards morality, the old English feeling for "sport" or "fair play" has receded to thinly populated or remote districts where athletics cannot be exploited for money.

PUVIS DE CHAVANNES, THE PAINTER.

IN the *Magazine of Art* for November Prince Karageorgevitch contributes a review of the work just brought out in Paris by M. Marius Vachon, dealing with the work of the great French artist, Puvis de Chavannes, whose death is chronicled in our obituary column this month. We quote a portion of the article in which the reviewer gives his own impressions of the artist (written, of course, while the latter was still living):

"M. Vachon tells us that 'Puvis de Chavannes, as he is known to all, is a proud and noble artist, devoted to his art, and, above all sectarian views, to art for its own sake only. He leads a dignified and laborious life, and in Paris—where everything is a subject for "chaff" and nothing is treated with reverence—he has succeeded in winning a place for himself far above the crowd and a halo of respect and admiration.' It is well to repeat this once more.

"On a 'first night' at a theater, a short time since, I was a very early arrival and I watched the people coming in—famous literary men, musicians, financiers, critics—bowed to or named and then lost in the throng; and then, with his lordly and deliberate gait, Puvis de Chavannes appeared. There was no whispering, no staring through opera-glasses, but the crowd parted, leaving a path to the master's stall, and for some minutes a quiet group of friends and pupils stood round him.

"I called to mind this same Puvis de Chavannes sixteen years since, one day at the *Salon*, laughed to scorn by an idiotic mob that had gathered to stare at his '*Pauvre Pêcheur*,' giggling rudely in front of that pure picture, which impressed me so deeply that I can call it to mind now as clearly as if it were before my eyes.

"And this man has risen now to a height whence he towers over that very crowd, which, in spite of itself, has simply followed the stream leading to the type of beauty which Puvis de Chavannes has at last succeeded in forcing on modern painting, by his firm persistency, ever since he first took up his brush, in elaborating his own æsthetic ideal, not caring whether or not his critics approved of his work or a jury of enlightened artists would blunder into rejecting his pictures—a thing that has been known to happen year after year without affecting the master's conduct in the smallest degree.

"Between two acts, on that same evening, we were discussing Lamartine, and his high conception of beauty was in a moment made real to me simply by the way in which the great painter spoke the name of the great poet. It is the admiration for art, for beauty pure and supreme, which has been the rule of life to Puvis de Chavannes, and the inspiration of his work and the spring of his regard for every sincere effort in others—this has won him the respect of all."

ETHEREAL TELEGRAPHY.

MARCONI'S miracle of wireless telegraphy is the theme of much congratulatory writing in the reviews. The speculations to which these achievements have given rise are illustrated by the *Edinburgh* in this citation from Mr. Preece:

"'Strange mysterious sounds,' he tells us, 'are heard all along telephone lines when the earth is used as a return, especially in the calm stillness of night. Earth currents are found in telegraph circuits, and the aurora borealis lights up our northern sky when the sun's photosphere is disturbed by spots. The sun's surface must at such times be violently disturbed by electrical storms, and if oscillations are set up and radiated

through space, in sympathy with those required to affect telephones, it is not a wild dream to say that we may hear on this earth a thunder-storm in the sun. If any of the planets be populated with beings like ourselves, having the gift of language and the knowledge to adapt the great forces of nature to their wants, then if they could oscillate immense stores of electrical energy to and fro in telegraphic order, it would be possible for us to hold commune by telephone with the people of Mars.'"

THE INVISIBLE AID-DE-CAMP.

Yet the reviewer does not consider any revolution to be imminent:

"The addition to the resources of civilized mankind made by wireless telegraphy is of a subordinate, if of an extremely significant, kind. In the exigencies of war, above all, it might prove of vital consequence. The hostile raids of wire-cutters would, by its means, be rendered comparatively innocuous. . . . The mischiefs of cable-lifting would similarly be in part neutralized. Submarine connection will almost certainly very soon become superfluous between adjacent islands—between, for instance, Great Britain and Ireland, the Orkneys, Shetlands, Hebrides, and the Channel group. In military and naval operations this mode of signaling ought to prove invaluable. The galloping aid-de-camp may perchance be eliminated from the battlefield; the flutter of tell-tale bunting need no longer be anxiously watched for at the mast-head; and the flag code may rest undisturbed in the captain's cabin.

"Hertzian waves are as indifferent to weather as stormy petrels; they travel with the same ease in tempest, fog, or sunshine. This robustness of constitution adapts them peculiarly for one of their primary tasks—the office, that is, of keeping up communication with light-ships and island light-houses . . . the sunken defenses of a fort can be entirely isolated, and need no longer offer to an enemy vulnerable lines of connection with batteries on *terra firma*."

WHAT IS ETHER?

The *Edinburgh* concludes its article by recognizing in an ethereal telegraphy the finishing touch to the discovery of the luminiferous ether, and quotes Dr. Lodge's sketch of nature's penitentialia:

"One continuous substance filling all space, which can vibrate as light, which can be sheared into positive and negative electricity, which in whirls constitutes matter, and which transmits by continuity, and not by impact, every action and reaction of which matter is capable. This is the modern view of the ether and its functions."

THE PERIODICALS REVIEWED.

THE CHRISTMAS MAGAZINES.

IN the December numbers of the American illustrated magazines there is distinctly less than usual of the purely Christmas feature, and a decidedly laxer devotion to reproductions of famous Madonnas and conceptions of the Christ child. Perhaps this is partly due to the distracting influences of the war features, which are beginning to take a still more prominent part than they had during and immediately after the fighting in Cuba. Yet *Harper's* for December, which is a delightful number, full of readable literature and charming pictures, celebrates the season with the publication of an ambitious poem by Louise Imogen Guiney, entitled "The Martyr's Idyl," which recites in blank verse and with dramatic setting a story of the early Christian times. Mr. Alden is one of the very few editors of popular magazines in the world who has the courage of his convictions in matters of literature proper so firmly set as to print such poems as these, and it gives one a feeling of security in his editorial guidance to find how unerring is his judgment in these unconventional editorial excursions. Miss Guiney's poem is illustrated with half-decorative drawings by Grasset, the French artist who was responsible for the striking cover of the November *Century*. Miss Guiney's poem is illustrated with half-decorative drawings by Grasset, the French artist who was responsible for the striking cover of the November *Century*. Miss Guiney's poem is easily the most important appearance of literature, *pur et simple*, in the magazines of this month, and will add to the fame of a gifted woman and a sincere poetess. Virginia Woodward Cloud, a younger writer of verse from Baltimore, contributes another Christmas poem to this number; still a third poetess, Louise Morgan Sill, appears with illustrated verses, "Ere Christ, the Flower of Virtue, Bloomed;" while when one finds a fourth illustrated poem over the name of Mrs. Ruth McEnery Stuart, one is impressed with the activity and the good work of the feminine members of the craft. This, too, just after the *Century* has announced the award of all three of its prizes to college graduates to women, although there were a larger number of the male sex competing than of the female. Among the capital features of this Christmas number of *Harper's* which make it as fascinating an issue as we have ever seen, Bret Harte's story stands out, "An Esmeralda of Rocky Canyon." The opening story is "Old Captain," by Myles Hemenway, with a number of noble illustrations by Howard Pyle. Mrs. Ruth McEnery Stuart, with the aid of Mr. A. B. Frost's pictures, makes a deliciously humorous skit in "The Second Wooing of Salina Sue;" Frederic Remington writes and illustrates "The White Forest," being an account of an excursion in the Canadian north, with snow-shoes and caribou tracks abounding, and there are still more scarcely less attractive productions. We have reviewed the striking paper from Prof. Ernest F. Fenollosa, "The Coming Fusion of East and West," in another department.

The December *Century* also is strong in Christmas poems. The number begins with the pictures, printed in soft brown tints, which Maxfield Parrish has drawn to accompany Mrs. Ednah Proctor Clarke's hymn, "Christmas Eve." Dr. S. Weir Mitchell follows with

"Verses to a Magnolia Flower," with abundant and quaintly arranged illustrations; and Helen Gray Cone describes in a dashing ballad the fire-engine incident of "Calnan's Christmas." J. J. Tissot, the famous French artist, several of whose wonderful pictures of scenes from Christ's life are reproduced in this number of the *AMERICAN MONTHLY*, contributes to the *Century* an account of a modern "Christmas at Bethlehem." Mrs. Ruth McEnery Stuart, who seems to be much in evidence in the production of Christmas tales, tells about "Uncle 'Riah's Christmas Eve," and Jacob A. Riis satisfies that turning of the heart toward the poor which Christmas brings with his description of "The Passing of Cat Alley." The bright particular contributions of this number of the *Century* are the second chapter of Captain Sigsbee's "Personal Narrative of the 'Maine'" and the first chapter of Lieutenant Hobson's own story of "The Sinking of the 'Merrimac,'" in which he tells of the scheme and the preparations.

McClure's restricts its formal recognition of the Christmas season to a frontispiece, "Shepherds Abiding in the Field," a scene painted at Bethlehem in this year for this magazine by Corwin Knapp Linson, and "An Engineer's Christmas Story," by the railroad romancer, Mr. John A. Hill. The number begins with one of the much-heralded stories of boy life from Mr. Kipling's pen, one of the stories which a meditative Britisher has calculated brings Mr. Kipling about eight thousand dollars. As the text only fills twelve pages, with abundant illustrations to help, Mr. Kipling is certainly well paid if this statistician is accurate. Yet from another point of view it can certainly be said that he is not too well paid, for there is no one else in the world who could see boys just as Mr. Kipling has seen and painted them in these "Stalky" stories. In this number Miss Ida M. Tarbell begins "The Later Life of Abraham Lincoln," covering the period in which Mr. Lincoln was President-elect and seeking members of his Cabinet.

The *Chautauquan* recurs to the reproduction of pictures of the Madonna and of the Nativity in its double frontispiece, but in its text remains true to its informational ideals. Mr. John Gennings attempts to give an idea of "The Immensity of London," and Charles Barnard writes on "Telegraphs and Telephones." There are economic and scientific papers in several fields, and Mrs. E. R. Goodwin describes "Woman's Work in the War," chiefly the work of the Red Cross.

Lippincott's, which, being unillustrated, is as usual without reference to Christmas numbers, begins as always with a complete novel, this month by Annie E. Brand. There are articles on "Philadelphia a Century Ago," "Babylon the Great," "Signature in Newspapers," and several short stories.

The *Ladies' Home Journal*, being very much illustrated, and being designed especially to please the softer sex, appears in a resplendent cover, showing a populous drawing-room, with a crowd of little ones dancing around a big Christmas tree. The Rev. Amory H. Bradford begins the number with a pleasant exegetical account of "The First Christmas Present;" William Perrine describes "Washington's Christmas at Valley Forge;" and the negro poet, Paul Laurence Dunbar,

contributes "Dat Christmas on de Ol' Plantation," while there are other Christmas sketches and tales. The first page of the *Journal* for this month is occupied with one of W. L. Taylor's series of illustrations, "The People of Longfellow." This portrays Minnehaha and Hiawatha, walking hand in hand "through the woodland and the meadow"—a very beautiful conception of the characters and the verse and well executed.

The *New England Magazine* prints a Christmas sketch by Arthur W. Colton, and for the rest proceeds in its usual tenor. Edith P. Thompson tells of "A Remarkable Boys' Club," at Fall River, where the boys employed in the huge cloth mills come together to enjoy the advantages of a handsome building which Mr. Borden, the great cloth manufacturer, erected in the town at a cost of eighty-five thousand dollars. A pleasant nature study is from the pen of William E. Cram, on "The Red Squirrel at Home," with illustrations by the author. W. H. Winslow has a study of Menzel, "Prussia's Greatest Artist," and there are other essays, poems, and stories.

The *Atlantic Monthly* for December is without reference to Christmas. The magazine follows its usual custom of late of printing the more elaborate papers on political and economic subjects of present interest in the first pages and following them with the always excellent contributions from essayists, story-writers, poets, and biographers. The opening article this month is Benjamin Kidd's scholarly discussion of "The United States and the Control of the Tropics," who agrees with Professor Seeley's saying that "in a truly living institution the instinct of development is wiser than the utterances of the wisest individual man." W. A. Ireland follows with "European Experience With Tropical Countries," and Mr. Carl E. Boyle has a cognate subject, "Our Government of Newly Acquired Territory." Mr. W. D. Howells gives a pleasant batch of "Confessions of a Summer Colonist," and the naturalist, John Muir, writes from "Among the Birds of the Yosemite." The most notable contribution of the number is the fourth installment of the "Unpublished Letters of Carlyle," a deeply interesting literary "find" which is given a most advantageous setting in the very discriminate editing of Charles Townsend Copeland.

Neither does the *Cosmopolitan* show in its December number any festal or religious influences. To Mr. Julian Ralph's essay in answer to the title question, "What Is a Gentleman?" Mr. John Brisben Walker, the editor of the magazine, appends a page of his own opinions, in which he argues that the British have departed very much further from the original and right conception of what makes a gentleman than the Americans. "The American ideal gentleman does not lie. He does not ungenerously seek a mean advantage over his neighbors. He is not a coward. He is never brutal. The English gentleman, as accepted by a considerable class in Great Britain, sometimes does or is all of these things without sacrificing the title 'gentleman.'" A scientific article of considerable interest is from Sir Norman Lockyer, "The Eclipse Expedition to India." There is a short story by Henry Seton Merriman, laconically entitled "The Mule," and a symposium of answers from well-known people to the question, "What Do You Fear?"

The *Bookman* makes no special holiday pretensions. Prof. Harry Thurston Peck talks about "Names" in fiction in a little essay which seems to us as keen-witted

and true to the mark as anything he has ever done. Jean Jacques writes of Tissot and his remarkable paintings under the title "An Artist's Conception of the Life of Christ."

THE FORUM.

IN another department we have noticed Major Clark's article entitled "Some Weak Places in Our Pension System," appearing in the November *Forum*.

The opening article in this number is concerned with the Dreyfus case, and is contributed by M. Yves Guyot, the editor of *Le Siècle*. M. Guyot's article is rather difficult to summarize, but it can hardly fail to make a powerful impression on the unprejudiced reader, by the sheer cumulative force of its statements. M. Guyot reviews the whole affair from the beginning with great care and thoroughness, explaining the origin and development of his own belief in the innocence of Dreyfus, exposing the hollowness of the pretensions of justice in connection with the Zola trial, and presenting the real facts of the case so far as they have been developed. M. Guyot says in conclusion: "By laying the matter of revision before the Court of Cassation, M. Henri Brisson, despite the weakness and hesitancy of his ministry, appears as the great judiciary; and the Court of Cassation, in annulling the Zola verdict, has proved that there are still magistrates whose sole care is for justice and law."

Ex-Minister Charles Denby contributes a brief but vigorous plea for the retention of the Philippines. His argument is the practical one: "If it be ascertained or believed that the acquisition of the Philippines would be of advantage to this country, then mere sentiment must give way to actual benefit."

Prof. Goldwin Smith expresses characteristic views on "The Moral of the Cuban War." Precisely what this "moral" is that the war points, according to Professor Smith, we are not sure; but the principal portion of the article is devoted to a warning against the threatened imperialistic policy toward which the United States is tending. The writer admits that his warning is at present unpopular, but demands consideration for the points of weakness that he claims to have detected in the American system, disclaiming any motive based on jealousy of our national greatness.

Mr. Fred. T. Jane, author of "All the World's Fighting Ships," deduces certain "Naval Lessons of the War." Articles under this caption have been so common in the magazines during the last few months that there is really very little left for the naval expert to say that has the charm of novelty. Mr. Jane's principal conclusion is that "the ship of the future for battle purposes is the ship with plenty of armor, and since the bigger the ship the more armor and guns can she carry, virtue may well seem to lie also in size."

In this number the Hon. Warner Miller presents the familiar arguments in behalf of "The Nicaragua Canal," while Gen. H. L. Abbot writes on the less familiar subject of "The New Panama Canal." General Abbot asks if it may not be wiser for our Government to extend its powerful assistance to what nature has determined as the best route, rather than to expend more time and more money for what, in his opinion, must remain a distinctly inferior canal, unable to compete with its rival for the commerce of the world. It should be said, however, that General Abbot's com-

parisons between the two canal projects as regards cost and difficulty of construction will not be accepted as altogether conclusive.

Prof. John C. Jones undertakes to answer the question, "Does College Education Pay?" His article, however, is almost wholly devoted to a showing as to the comparative number of college-bred men occupying government positions. He summarizes the facts as follows:

"1. The 1 per cent. of college graduates in our male population of graduate age is furnishing 36 per cent. of the members of Congress, and has supplied 55 per cent. of the Presidents, 54.16 per cent. of the Vice-Presidents, nearly 55 per cent. of all the Cabinet officers, nearly 60 per cent. of the Justices of the Supreme Court, and 85.7 per cent. of the Chief Justices.

"2. The proportion of graduates increases in direct ratio to the importance of the office, if we consider elective and appointive offices separately. In the latter class the order of the officers, arranged according to percentage of graduates, is as follows: Chief Justices of the Supreme Court, Justices, Attorneys-General, Secretaries of State, and other Cabinet officers, where the margin of difference is quite small.

"3. More college graduates than formerly are being chosen to the Presidency, to the House of Representatives, to the most important positions in the Cabinet, and to the Supreme Bench."

In a paper on "The Change in English Sentiment Toward the United States" Mr. Sidney Low shows how great a change has taken place in British public opinion within the last few months. Not long ago it was a common idea in England that "John Bull's difficulty would be Uncle Sam's opportunity, and that if ever England found herself seriously involved with a combination of European powers, she would be more likely to find American sympathies with her enemies than with herself. A man who would say that in print to-day would be laughed at by the great majority of readers."

An appreciation of Hermann Sudermann is contributed by Prof. Benjamin W. Wells, of the University of the South. Albert von Schäffle, formerly Austrian minister of commerce, contributes the first of an important series of papers on the relations between Germany and Great Britain.

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

IN our department of "Leading Articles of the Month" we have quoted from A. R. Colquhoun's article on "The Far Eastern Crisis" and from the Hon. Hannis Taylor's discussion of "Pending Problems" in the November number of the *North American*.

The question of "National Public Health Legislation" is taken up again by Dr. U. O. B. Wingate, who advocates what is known as the "Spooner bill," which was under discussion in the United States Senate at the time when war with Spain was declared. The writer strenuously opposes any legislation increasing the powers of the Marine Hospital service, holding that quarantine is an antiquated method of dealing with infectious diseases, and that it is objectionable, expensive, and works great hardship, while the whole trend of modern sanitation is toward rendering quarantine less and less necessary and ultimately doing away with it altogether.

Some fresh and interesting information about the

Maroons of Jamaica is furnished in an article by Lady Blake. Though coming of the same race as the other negroes, the Maroons look down on the latter and hold them in contempt, on the theory that the Maroons were never slaves to the English. The Maroons are freed slaves of the Spaniards, left behind by the latter on quitting Jamaica, on the understanding that the blacks were to wage unceasing war on the English. These freed slaves retreated to the mountains, and for over a century made raids on the English settlers, which became known as the Maroon Wars. Lady Blake says of these Maroons that they have the failings of a wild, half-civilized people; they are idle, not ashamed to beg, can steal upon occasion, and do not feel much ashamed when detected. When aroused they are fierce and vindictive; on the other hand, they are courteous, loyal to their word, faithful to their friends, active and plucky.

In connection with the final installment of the Bismarck and Motley correspondence published in this number, Mr. James Pemberton Grund describes the last meeting of the two friends. It was at the twenty-fifth anniversary of Bismarck's marriage that Motley proposed the health of his old friend in a speech he describes as a "masterly effort in the German tongue, lasting twenty-five seconds."

Edmund Gosse writes on "Norway Revisited;" the Hon. Charles A. Prouty on "The Powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission;" W. H. Hotchkiss on "Bankruptcy Laws: Past and Present;" Andrew Lang on "Literary Shop;" Prof. M. F. Egan on "The Passion for Distinction;" and Professor Nitti on "Italian Anarchists."

In the department of "Notes and Comments" the Rev. Dr. H. Pereira Mendes describes the Zionist Conference; C. W. Post sets forth the advantages of "Postal Currency for Small Remittances;" Edward Porritt sums up the results of the recent Canadian plebiscite on prohibition; Mary Clark Barnes writes on "The Science of Home Management;" and Gilbert Tompkins contributes a brief study on "The Unlucky Right Wing."

THE ARENA.

THE *Arena's* suspension of publication was brief; the October number appeared early in November under new ownership and with a new editor at the helm, Mr. Paul Tyner. The character of the magazine is not materially changed. It still aspires to be "the foremost radical review in the world," and it helps make good this claim by its hearty commendation of Governor Tanner, of Illinois, as a follower in the footsteps of Governor Waite, of Colorado, in ordering out State troops to restrain the corporations.

Mr. Frank E. Anderson writes on "America and the European Concert," taking an aggressive, chip-on-shoulder attitude, while Dr. Solomon Solis-Cohen holds up "The Specter of Imperialism" as a menace to freedom, and Mr. Elbert D. Weed defines "Our Duty in the Philippines" as strictly in the line of the dreaded imperialistic tendencies. The editor's own views are not disclosed.

Mr. Charles Johnston has found in recent Russian literature several extremely interesting experiences of visitors at the home of Count Tolstol. From these he has evolved a paper that affords a unique view of certain of Tolstol's most puzzling mental traits.

To one of his visitors, a Russian prince, Tolstol said : "For me, with my convictions, this anti-Semitism in France is very odious ; and all this Chauvinism and outcry for the army, too. And I confess that I strongly sympathized with this movement of Zola's until I discovered that the students were against him. I believe in the students, and hold that truth dwells ever with the young."

Alice Rollins Crane writes in strong condemnation of our Indian policy. Her chief point of attack is the reservation system.

Mr. Ernest Howard Crosby writes about "The Religion of the Spirit," a movement initiated at Budapest in 1890 by Prof. Eugene Heinrich Schmitt, who has lately given up a position in the Hungarian civil service on the ground that he cannot conscientiously continue in the service of the state. Mr. Crosby is confident that the philosophy of Dr. Schmitt "shows the working in Hungary of that age spirit which is daily manifesting itself on every side."

A posthumous paper by the late William W. Allen, of Madison, Wis., discusses the growing power of the trusts and other forms of consolidated capital, and J. Enoch Thompson describes "Capitalistic Abuses in Canada."

THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW.

THE October number of the *Contemporary* opens with Dr. Dillon's paper on the Czar's Eirenikon, which along with several other articles has been freely quoted from elsewhere. Most of the contents are solid and weighty.

WITH THE "LOYAL MAROONS" IN REVOLT.

Phil Robinson writes from Annotto Bay, Jamaica, where he has just witnessed by moonlight the camp of the Maroons, who have taken possession of lands legally held by white owners, but claimed as rightly their own. The writer is very wroth with owners and authorities for allowing this defiance of the law to break out at all, and then to be kept up :

"Suffice it to say that several hundreds of Maroons and other negroes under a 'colonel,' 'major,' and 'lieutenant,' as they style their leaders, are in forcible possession of private lands, and that they have the avowed sympathy of all the blacks of the immediate district. What their actual numbers are no one can tell, for they come and go by night, as well as by day, and the gathering of one day is not the gathering of the next. They 'hold the fort' by relays, the whole of the tribe thus getting a taste of law-breaking with impunity. 'Have they arms?' I asked a negro of the town the question. 'Plenty of arms in the bush,' was the reply. I asked the same question of an English official. 'Depend upon it, they can put their hands on plenty if they need them.' . . . It was a queer, rather weird quarter of an hour out there under the Maroon flag, the bright full moon, the great camp-fire in the black tree-shade, the negroes all gesture, the women all excited, and the knowledge behind that this was a camp of law-breakers, and the scene, perhaps, the opening one of a tragedy."

He calls it "a dress rehearsal of rebellion."

FINDING OUT WHAT IS IN THE AIR.

"The Kinetic Theory of Gases" is the title of a learned paper by Prof. William Ramsay, who is good

enough to condense his contribution in the following summary :

"We have seen that the discovery by Lord Rayleigh of a discrepancy in the density of atmospheric nitrogen has resulted in the discovery of a new constituent of air, argon. Its discovery has led to that of a constituent of the solar atmosphere, helium ; speculation on the ultimate nature and motion of the particles of which it is believed that gases consist has provoked the consideration of the conditions necessary in order that planets and satellites may retain an atmosphere, and of the nature of that atmosphere ; the necessary existence of an undiscovered element was foreseen, owing to the usual regularity in the distribution of the atomic weights of elements not being attained in the case of helium and argon ; and the source of neon was therefore indicated. This source, atmospheric air, was investigated and the missing element was discovered."

THE LATE MR. BAYARD.

Mr. George F. Parker concludes a warm eulogy on Thomas Francis Bayard with the words :

"Mr. Bayard passed nearly half a century of active life before the public, more than thirty years of this time being spent in office of one grade or another. During all this time—and for a circle constantly widening from the very beginning—he stood as the representative of lofty ideals in character and principle. Recognition of this came without conscious seeking on his part, and as he was absolutely free from cant of any kind, he never posed because of it. He has gone out of the world leaving a character, public and private, free from insincerity, sordidness, or self-seeking. As became his origin and traditions, he was a man without fear and without reproach."

A NEW VOCATION FOR THE NOVELIST.

"The Drama of Ideas" is the subject of a paper by Mr. Norman Hapgood. Of Ibsen he says : "He is a great playwright because he is still in some degree a poet, and because he is always a distinguished workman ; but what success he has is in spite of his infatuation with sociology and heredity." He rejoices that "the gallery will protect us from mystery, surgery, and problems." It is an effective generalization to say : "Not everything which the public likes is good art, but nothing which the public dislikes is great art." The paper concludes with this hint :

"In our stronger novelists we see the greatest promise for a drama of larger ideas than any now animating English comedy. . . . When the world has decided that the novel is an inferior form, some of the ideas which have recently been absorbed by fiction will animate the drama, the Tolstols of the future will be our tragedians, and the Thackerays our comedians."

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

THERE is a fine range of variety in the sixteen articles of the November number of the *Nineteenth Century*.

A WIFE AND MOTHER ON CONFESSION.

The Hon. Mrs. Chapman, writing "as wife and mother," asks that Anglican clergymen on ordination give assurances not to turn the optional practice of confession into a duty. She points out the difference resulting from the fact that Anglican priests are not, like the Romans, necessarily celibates. She says :

"A shrewd observer of life is reported to have said that there would be very little habitual confession if men heard confessions from men only and women confessed only to women. Perhaps the remark was somewhat cynical and worldly, but there is truth in it—a stinging truth. The sting of course is in the tracing of a supposed spiritual necessity to another and, as is insinuated, a cause the reverse of spiritual. Yet the sneer need not distress us. It is natural, and right, and profitable that in many things the sexes should take counsel each of the other. But in matters of sexual morality it is, as a rule, neither wholesome nor expedient that women should make confidants of men or men of women; and this alone, it appears to me, suffices to bar the establishment of habitual auricular confession to the priest in a wise Christian community."

REVIVAL OF THE OLD IRISH LANGUAGE.

Lady Gregory contributes a sprightly narrative of two recent Irish movements—one, Lord Plunket's coöperative societies for farmers, which have increased with swift success, and the less known revival of Gaelic language and literature. Gaelic is still spoken, it appears, by half a million Irish. It is taught in seventy national schools as against seven in 1884. Mr. O'Brien and Mr. Healy took to learning it while in jail. She further reports:

"The Gaelic League, founded in 1893, aims not at getting rid of English, but at 'keeping Irish spoken where it is spoken still.' Forty-three branches have now been founded. A bi-lingual weekly paper, *Fatnne an Lae* (*The Dawn of Day*), is published and has a large circulation. Sets of 'Simple Lessons in Irish' are selling by the thousand. A yearly festival, the '*Otreacithas*,' has been founded and is held in Dublin. This year Highland delegates attended it, and the first telegram in Gaelic crossed the Atlantic, bringing a greeting from America. For Ireland in America has come into the movement."

MR. FREDERIC HARRISON ON FREEMAN.

The historical method of Professor Freeman is the subject of an examination by Mr. Frederic Harrison. Freeman may fairly, he holds, "be regarded as the foremost English exponent of the testing of historical evidence, whereon he labored so conscientiously both in theory and in practice." He amply recognized the unity of history and its value as the indispensable basis of social philosophy. But "though not a philosophical historian at all, he was a consummate master of historical research."

"The life work of Professor Freeman is as yet the most memorable type of that which is the peculiar note of our age, the minute subdivision of history into special periods and the multiplication of petty detail. The evil comes in when research into myriads of special periods, topics, institutions, is mistaken for history, supersedes history, chokes off serious history. That is our danger. . . . The system of 'periods' and of minute realism is the very life-blood of examining. . . . The examination virus is eating away the very brain fiber of our age—just as it has done in China."

OTHER ARTICLES.

Mr. A. S. Hurd presents an optimistic view of Great Britain's coal trade and empire. He observes that England has taken control of a coal-field in China which

could supply the whole world for thousands of years. The English need only two more naval bases, one at Durban in southeast Africa, and the other at Port Kennedy, Thursday Island, to protect the north Australian coast. Sir John Robinson, of Natal, pays a warm tribute to the memory of Sir George Grey. Mr. Harry L. Stephen gives a humorous account of his first experiences as judge in the Gambia, and his difficulties with the deep-seated faith of the natives in witchcraft. Cornelia Sorabji pleads for women agents and women lawyers to protect the legal rights and property of Indian women who cannot mix with men. Lawrie Magnus bears interesting witness to the effect which the industrial expansion of modern Germany has on the ideals of the universities, laying stress on the modern commercial and economic studies, rather than on the more classic and abstruse. Mr. W. B. Paley sketches with a map the Roman roads of Britain, and concludes with the remark that England never recovered the art of road-making until revived about a century ago by Telford.

THE FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW.

THE November number is chiefly notable for Lionel Dècle's paper on the Fashoda question, which has received separate notice, together with the Anglo-Parisian journalist's article on France of to-day.

CAPE POLITICS.

Mr. H. L. W. Lawson discusses very discursively "Cape Politics and Colonial Policy." He observes that, according "to our lines of cleavage, both bondsmen and progressives are of a decidedly conservative type." He remarks on the advance of Mr. Rhodes' policy from that of conciliation and compromise to an uncompromising assertion of British claims. He says that the true statesman's work is "to allay irritation, to convince the Africander that what is good for the British empire is also good for the Cape Colony," and to efface the present racial line of cleavage. Incidentally, he observes that the perfervid protestations of French-Canadian loyalty square badly with the fact that every French-Canadian village flaunts the tricolor, and that young French-Canadians who have worked in New England factories are notoriously anti-British.

SECONDARY EDUCATION IN ENGLAND.

Mr. Cloudesley Brereton writes on secondary education. He complains of the English teachers' lack of academic status:

"We are confronted with the following figures, which, in comparison with France, where over 90 per cent. of the teachers are *diplômés*, and Germany, where no one may teach at all without due qualifications, are absolutely appalling. Only 55 per cent. of the resident male staff in boys' schools are of graduate rank, 29 per cent. in the girls', and 28 per cent. in the mixed, and the female staff in these schools is still more inferior, while the visiting staff of both sexes is infinitely worse. But the true inwardness of these figures is shown when we find 92 per cent. of the boys' schools, 73.8 of the girls', and 81.3 of the mixed have no resident graduate on the staff."

MALLARMÉ'S PLACE IN LETTERS.

A very suggestive study of Stéphane Mallarmé is contributed by Mr. Arthur Symons. He says:

"It is the distinction of Mallarmé to have aspired after an impossible liberation of the soul of literature

from what is fretting and constraining in 'the body of that death,' which is the mere literature of words. Words, he has realized, are of value only as notation of the free breath of the spirit; words, therefore, must be employed with an extreme care, in their choice and adjustment, in setting them to reflect and chime upon one another; yet least of all for their own sake, for what they can never, except by suggestion, express. . . . And it is on the lines of that spiritualizing of the word, that perfecting of form in its capacity for allusion and suggestion, that confidence in the eternal correspondences between the visible and the invisible universe, which Mallarmé taught and too intermittently practiced, that literature must now move, if it is in any sense to move forward."

THE "SPACIOUS DAYS" IN VERSE.

Elizabethan adventure in Elizabethan literature is the subject of an interesting study by Mr. George Wyndham, M.P., under secretary of state for war. Caught by the phrase "Cherish merchandise, keep the admiral's" in an Elizabethan poet, he sets to work to compare "the portentous volume of the adventure and the portentous volume of the literature which may fairly be called Elizabethan." He is struck with the narrowness of the area with which the two overlap:

"Indeed, in dramatic and lyrical poetry, which form the chief features of Elizabethan literature, it is only here and there that you discover a transient allusion to the national ferment which carried all kinds and conditions of men to the uttermost parts of the earth."

ORIGINS AND ISSUES OF RELIGION.

Theology is prominent this month. Vamadeo Shastri reviews the theological situation in India. He says:

"In short, for us salvation comes not by righteousness, but by knowledge; not by the casting out of sin, though we long to be delivered from it, but by emerging out of ignorance. . . . In India, therefore, you may behold at this moment an immense and intelligent society much given to dreamy meditation over insoluble problems, and practically unanimous in rejecting any solution that stops short of pantheism."

Mr. John Robertson assails and Mr. Andrew Lang defends his "Making of Religion." Mr. Lang declares:

"I prove by recent evidence that 'the God-idea,' sanctioning an unselfish morality, is most powerful, while the 'spirit-idea,' or worship of ghosts, is least powerful among certain of the lowest-known savages, where the borrowing of the idea is nearly or wholly impossible. . . . Animism comes from one source, theism from quite another; and the history of religion has been the history of the relations between the ghost-idea and the God-idea. How the God-idea arose I do not pretend to know—I disclaim any theory."

OTHER ARTICLES.

Judge O'Connor Morris holds that the report of the Fry commission proves that recent legislation on the Irish land has been productive of grave wrong, to which the land commission has seriously contributed. Mr. Escott reviews the biography of the late Henry Reeve. Mr. T. C. Down tells the story of certain adventurers in the Klondike country, brought under his notice in their letters during the summer of 1897. The writers advised later comers to bring nets for salmon and also small stocks of books.

THE NATIONAL REVIEW.

THE articles in the November *National Review* on the Philippines and on the financial condition of France have been noticed elsewhere in this number.

THE DREYFUS CASE.

It is said that the October number of the *National Review* ran through several editions in consequence of its articles on the Dreyfus case. The November number has two papers on the same subject.

Mr. F. C. Conybeare writes on French military justice. He quotes a description of the scene of the prisoner's degradation from a French journal of 1895. He goes over the counts in the indictment of Dreyfus, and shows how every virtue he possessed and the difficulty found in finding colorable evidence against him were twisted into offenses. Mr. Conybeare insists on the French adopting a simple reform if they wish to be protected from sinister comedies like this miserable affair:

"They must adopt the law which exists in Germany and elsewhere, and enact that a court-martial shall never sit without a civil assessor, who shall be a trained lawyer and whose consent shall be necessary to their verdict. It would also be well to make the revision of a court-martial dependent not on the good pleasure of the keeper of the seals or minister of justice, but on the demand of private individuals. France has had to wait nearly four years before it could get a ministry possessed of the moral courage that was wanted to reopen this infamous case."

THE CZAR A DREYFUSARD.

The editor, Mr. J. L. Maxse, reviews the orthodox theory of the case, the unorthodox theory set forth by Cavaignac, and "the Russian legend." Russia, he says, has markedly altered her attitude from the time when her military *attaché* in Paris was loud in affirming the prisoner's guilt. The affair being now no longer a domestic question, the Russian Government has made independent investigations. As a consequence, "his imperial majesty is said to have become a convinced Dreyfusard and to take a sympathetic interest in the calamity that has overtaken an unhappy French officer."

OLD-AGE PENSIONS.

The chronicler of Greater Britain reports on the "comprehensive and heroic" bill which has just passed the upper house of our "most progressive colony":

"Henceforward in New Zealand every man or woman of the age of sixty-five and upward, of good moral character, whose yearly income does not exceed thirty-four pounds and who has resided for twenty-five years in the colony, will be entitled to a pension of eighteen pounds. New Zealand has counted the cost of this momentous departure and is acting with her eyes wide open."

THE ANGLICAN CONFSSIONAL.

Rev. H. H. Henson insists that "the toleration of the 'confessional' is the condition of preserving the unity of the national Church." It must be maintained as an optional and not as an obligatory practice. He grants that securities are needed against abuse:

"The public ought to receive assurance that confessions are only heard by those who are authoritatively certified to be qualified for the task; that they are heard under suitable and recognized conditions; that the moral principles which govern the confessors are sound."

The English clergy would welcome the action of authority in restricting the right to exercise this ministry to those of their number whose age, learning, character, and position marked them out as meriting the public confidence."

THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW.

THE November *Westminster* is one of the liveliest numbers of that review which we remember having seen. Archaeology is entirely absent.

Much the most striking paper is that on "Our Soldiers in the East," by Frederick W. Tugman. The writer has very decided views and says his say plainly and directly. He is strongly in favor of reverting to the long-service system. He points to the men of the mountain batteries who enlist for twelve years as specimens of the kind of soldier it produces. On the moral question he would forfeit to the state the pay of the man who contracted disease.

Disgusted by the majority with which Parliament voted confidence in Lord Salisbury's foreign policy while both party and country detested it, Mr. J. D. Holmes feels that the supremacy of Parliament is endangered by this "tyranny of the party whip." He contends that the party should not stand or fall with the government, but should dismiss its government when it wanted to. "The time has arrived when members of Parliament should begin to realize that in every party there exists the material for forming more cabinets than one."

Mr. A. Arnold is led by "Helbeck of Bannisdale" to propound to the Protestant the alternatives of Catholicism or rationalism; with a yet more excellent way—that of "Christian agnosticism." "W. G. S." pronounces a yet more certain funeral oration over Protestantism, whose dominions are now being occupied by a great and growing Catholic revival. Either the Catholic religion or pure reason—*aut Caesar aut nullus*—is the option offered. Whether progress can get on without religion the future alone will show.

Mr. W. Fleming Phillips hails in Edward Bellamy the advent of the new political economy, "so admirably reasoned that rational dissent is impossible." He mentions in a note that the actual property of the Glasgow corporation is valued at nearly twelve millions sterling (sixty million dollars).

Under the title "The Niobe of the Nations" Mr. E. S. Morgan traces the decline of Italian politics from Cavour to Rudini, who touched the lowest point of political profligacy. Mr. Walter Lloyd argues that as sanitation does not prevent small-pox spreading, the decrease in small-pox is due to vaccination. Mr. F. R.

Statham writes on "Magnetism and Morals" to suggest that "the indestructible energy" known as magnetism, "which has taken from us a personal impress, may still belong to us," and so impart after death "a sense of self on dawning shores."

BLACKWOOD.

THERE is good reading in *Blackwood* this month. Papers on the Chinese Empress and on the British West Indies have claimed separate notice.

Severe strictures are uttered on "the press and finance," apropos of the late city editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, with the practical conclusion that it is best "to keep the city editor strictly within his limits as a recorder of indisputable facts: all beyond that is a pestilential region of bribery, blackmail, and corruption."

A warm appreciation of Mallarmé, whose chief power is said to lie in speech and gesture—in the spoken, not the written word—ends by citing his copyright proposals, that "the ancient masterpieces should still pay a royalty to the state, and that the fund thus constituted should provide pensions or fellowships for poets and scholars."

The Salisbury maneuvers are highly commended as the first on a large scale which have been held in England. The militia battalions are spoken of as having "won golden opinions on all sides" and having raised men's hopes of "the old constitutional force."

The "Looker-on" thinks the "outr, challenging, peremptory" tone of England's Fashoda dispatches was a "considerate brutality," leaving France in no uncertainty as to her purpose.

CORNHILL.

THE November number of *Cornhill* is scarcely up to the high standard which we have learned to expect. Mr. Fitchett's "Fight for the Flag" is a characteristically vivid description of Inkermann, which he declares to be "one of the most distracted, planless, muddle-headed, yet magnificent battles in British history," illustrating as scarcely any other "the chivalry and daring of the British officer and the doggedly fighting quality of the British private." Reminiscences of bombardments in the Baltic during the Crimean War are supplied by the Marquis of Dufferin and Ava. Canon Wood recalls some of the horrors and iniquities of prosecutions for witchcraft. "An Old Whig" furnishes memories of Kensington Palace from the time it was purchased by William III. to the advent of the present Queen.



FICTION, POETRY, AND THE LIGHTER NOTE IN THE SEASON'S BOOKS.

BY HENRY WYSHAM LANIER.

IT looks a little as if the condition of the civilized world as regards current literature were rapidly approaching the state of those Lofoden Islanders who, according to Dr. Johnson, eke out a precarious existence by taking in each other's washing. "Is all the world to write books?" queries a literary paper plaintively, referring to the sudden extension of authorship caused by the unlimited "copy" which the Spanish-American War provided. It is to be feared that in such an event there would be trouble, for authors seem to care but little for other people's books. Reading would become strictly a matter of reciprocity.

In point of fact, at the present rate it will soon be a distinction not to have written either a published or unpublished book. The number of stories produced each year which do not get into print is only less appalling than the fewer thousands which do. Probably more than half of the latter number see the light between October 1 and December 15, and although the critics groan and protest at this autumn avalanche, no publisher has yet been hardy enough to attempt to change the custom of reserving all the best books on his list for this season. It may be—indeed must be—true that the public demand justifies these short publishing seasons; but obviously no magazine which does not give up its entire space to such subjects can hope to cover the ground at all adequately. I have attempted to notice most of the more prominent books of 1898 of which reviews have not already appeared in these columns, especially in the classes of fiction, poetry, and "juveniles," and notes on other recent publications follow this article. In spite of all, however, many of the holiday books have had to be reserved for a later issue.

FICTION, GOOD AND BAD.

RUDYARD KIPLING AND "ZACK."

A book of stories just published by a new writer is so often cited nowadays in discussions of "the short story" that it may be mentioned here, although there are others of more importance. Miss Gwendoline Keats, a lady of Devonshire, who, the literary papers say, has veiled herself under the pseudonym of "Zack" in order to have the estimate of her work unbiased by so illustrious a surname—this Miss Keats published just two years ago a short story in *Blackwood's* called "Life Is Life," which caused some talk among the literary folk of England. Other tales followed at intervals in the same magazine, and last spring these were collected into a volume under the title of her first venture. "Zack's" "day's work" is a far grimmer and more tragic affair than most of us have to face, fortunately for us. When a youth brought up as a gentleman has gone out to Australia in order to solve the mystery of his birth and has been brutally man-handled (to such an extent that he comes out of it stone blind) by a human savage who proves to be his own father: through violence:

when he has learned from this father's lips the terrible story of his own birth and of his mother's madness, has watched him die raving, in prison for murder, and has then been thrown out on the world to sink or swim—under such a crushing series of blows a mere boy might well be excused for giving up the game as not worth while. That Humphrey doesn't quite do so, then or after a final calamity is half the strength of the story, which is starting in its forceful realism. Two other tales in the book, "The Storm" and "Rab Vinch's Wife," are also quite extraordinary for their tragic

MISS GWENDOLINE KEATS ("ZACK").

force and intensity. The remaining numbers are decidedly inferior, yet of course this does not in the least lessen the power and promise of the three mentioned. "Zack" may safely be set down as one of the writers worth remembering and reading. (Charles Scribner's Sons.)

There are at least three excellent reasons against any attempt to find the "meaning" of one of Mr. Rudyard Kipling's books. In the first place, these incomparable stories are far too satisfying, as stories, for a reader overwhelmed each year by several thousand new manufacturings of mediocrity or worse, not to accept them at their face value—and be thankful. Moreover, the ge-

nus which can produce in prose those *Soldiers Three* (who conquered greater worlds than Alexander's), the *Jungle Books*, and the stories that may be said to belong to the *Song of Steam*, which in poetry already ranges from *The Oonits* and *Danny Deever* to that eerie and exquisite *Last Rhyme of True Thomas*, from the *Recessional* to the *Truce of the Bear*—such a genius would seem to be far too Protean in its manifestations to admit of tracing through them many distinguishing characteristics. And finally, the books themselves convey whatever significance lies in them with such infinitely greater vigor, subtlety, and effectiveness than any analysis could hope for that the effort becomes an impertinence.

Yet Mr. Kipling has, by the title of his newest volume, directly challenged the million or more people all over the world who will read it to some such investigation. *The Day's Work* (Doubleday & McClure Company) as a name for the twelve stories just collected stimulates one's mind into applications of its significance. The author's point is such a big, manful, healthy, out-door one that the enjoyment of his work can but be heightened by recognizing it. In the "Bridge Builders," "William the Conqueror," "Bread Upon the Waters," and "The Bushwood Boys" the story in each case centers about a man who accepts as "all in the day's work" whatever comes in the guise of "russet-coated" duty—not the duty whose performance brings glory and "long obituary notices in the newspapers," but the every-day stress of a man's daily life. In "The Tomb of His Ancestors" the interest of the tale results from just this attitude on the part of John Chinn's ancestor and its effect upon the wild Bhils over whom he had ruled. "The Maltese Cat," that unforgettable polo pony, appeals to one on precisely the same ground; while "The Walking Delegate" is a satire through the animals upon the rejection of this gospel. To rivet the idea immovably, all this is rounded out with a bewildering application of the doctrine to the component parts of an ocean steamer ("The Ship That Found Herself") and to "007," the locomotive, who is depicted in his first accession of Responsibility. It is interesting to see how invariably Mr. Kipling's men and animals and engines do things: he is the very apostle of Action.

The whole spirit of the book is calculated to make one take a deeper breath, to give a man firmer grasp of the existence which may be infinitely different from what he would select. And with what force does such trite moralizing come home to him who reads these astounding stories! There is certainly nothing in English literature in the way of short stories to compare with Mr. Kipling at his best, and much of *The Day's Work* is his strongest and most mature prose-writing thus far. I mean nothing which in the same compass displays such irresistible appeal to the human love for "a story;" such primeval world-truths in the simple appeal of contemporary daily life; such power to present in a phrase the deepest characteristics of an animal, of a man, of a nation, of an age; and, greatest of all, such an unparalleled intuitive sympathy with things animate and inanimate. For it is perhaps the nearest approach to explaining the effect of his work when we say that he always writes from the inside, that with his rare imagination he so penetrates the barriers between man and the surrounding world that even his readers can follow him into regions hitherto unknown.

Mr. Kipling has lately been off on a cruise with the channel fleet, so it is probable that we may hope for

some naval poetry or tales before long—indeed, a series of poems on *The Cruisers* is definitely promised, and the London dispatches say that a "series of vivid articles, picturing the British sea-fighter, from the admiral to the midshipman," has already been written for the *Morning Post* of that city. The story is told that at an entertainment on board the *Majestic* the author read some of his poems, winding up with "The Flag of England." Immediately he was seized and hoisted on the shoulders of a group of subalterns, who "cantered" around the quarter-deck to the strains of "For He's a Jolly Good Fellow" from all the bands of the fleets and the throats of two hundred officers. The announcement that he is to write a series of eight school-boy stories, to appear next year in magazines on either side of the ocean, has set his less-favored brethren of the pen to figuring in the public prints upon his remunerations. They work it out that between magazine payments in England, America, India, and the colonies, and the same round of book royalties, he is receiving about five thousand dollars a story—or, say, a dollar a word. And the only satisfaction they can get out of it is to declare gloomily that it cannot last.

ILLUSTRATION FROM "THE ADVENTURES OF FRANÇOIS"

DR. WEIR MITCHELL, GILBERT PARKER, AND THOMAS NELSON PAGE'S FIRST NOVEL.

Dr. Weir Mitchell follows up his *Hugh Wynne*—which enjoyed the distinction of standing at or near the head of the list of "best selling books" through a large portion of the past year—with *The Adventures of*

Photo by Davis & Sanford.

MR. THOMAS NELSON PAGE.

François. (The Century Company, New York.) The tale of this "foundling, thief, juggler, and fencing-master during the French Revolution" is so thoroughly entertaining that it seems ungracious to cavil at any of his chronicler's methods; yet it must be confessed that the author's apologies for his hero's lack of morality do not assist the reader to lose himself in enjoyment or to believe in what he is reading. It is the more pity, since François is a unique character quite capable of standing by himself and reflecting credit upon his creator. One does not get much of the feeling of the "Terror" in these pages. François is fleeing from the law so continually in normal times that his point of view is not greatly changed during the reign of Citizeness Guillotine. After further admitting that the epilogue is distinctly not an addition to the book's interest or effectiveness, it may be said without reserve that Dr. Mitchell has provided an altogether entertaining volume which rises to a high level of dramatic interest in that chapter where the thief and the Marquis St. Luce hold the staircase against the Revolutionist mob. M. Castaigne has given fresh proof in the illustrations of the admirable discernment and sympathetic insight which nearly always reinforce his technical abilities. His picture of François in the fortune-telling booth, only the grotesque face and head visible, is most unusually successful. Rarely does an author find an artist so capable of visualizing his conceptions, and Dr. Mitchell is certainly to be congratulated upon his good fortune in this respect, for François cannot fail to assume a definite and attractive personality in the mind of the dullest reader who has seen these spirited drawings.

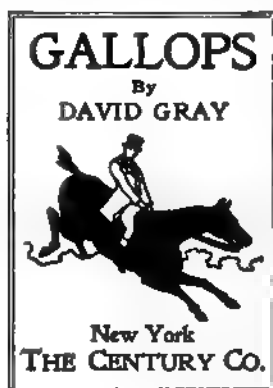
Mr. Thomas Nelson Page's first long novel, *Red Rock: A Chronicle of Reconstruction Days* (Scribner's), is founded in part on happenings which his boyish recollections of the troublous times of the carpet-baggers make especially real to him. It is a very long story, containing fully two hundred thousand words, hingeing almost entirely upon the sufferings of the whites in Virginia while the State was under military government, and chronicling two or three rather complicated and interwoven love-affairs. It is impossible to avoid judging the book in the light of Mr. Page's former work, and compared with *Marse Chan* it really does not seem worth while. In the first place there is a great deal too much of it, and the author has been so occupied with the shameful historical facts that the story suffers somewhat. It is told, moreover, in a strangely impersonal way: one does not really get into touch with Blair and Steve and Ruth and Jacquelin and Reely Thurston during a large portion of the time, but is told about them by a half-concealed narrator. The reality of the story, the flesh-and-blood quality, the illusion which attests the story-teller's art, is quite lacking—strangely enough when one remembers the sureness and the sharply defined personalities which marked some of Mr. Page's early short tales. *Red Rock* cannot possibly be considered as fine a performance, cannot begin to play the part in the contemporary development of American fiction, that even the dialect-haters would not hesitate to ascribe to *Meh Lady* or *Marse Chan* or *The Burtal of the Guns*.

Gilbert Parker's story is, like Dr. Mitchell's, in the time when "France danced and the world became giddy," but it does not lead one into that whirlpool itself, only

into some of its outer eddies. Mr. Parker is treading upon classic ground in *The Battle of the Strong*. Victor Hugo's *Toilers of the Sea* has already given the Channel Islands an undying place in literature, and one now realizes more than ever some of the peculiarities of the fierce and treacherous tides and gales that encircle the ever-faithful island of Jersey, for Mr. Parker's sea and rock sketches serve to reinforce those monstrous, almost antediluvian, impressions which Hugo's storm of a story created. *The Battle of the Strong* is a strong, sincere, and honest piece of work. No one can fail to be impressed with the lofty, heroic, and yet intensely human plane upon which Guida Landresse de Landresse is pictured. If the tale is not altogether convincing at times (particularly in the easy transition of Philip d'Avranche from the position of an unknown English captain to the supreme ruler of one of the greatest of French duchies), it is perhaps due to the staccato division into five or six "books," each opening from five months to twelve years after the close of its predecessor. But one can heartily forgive the author this and much more for the sake of a story that strikes such a high note while it keeps as a rule firm grasp of the reader's interest. (Houghton, Mifflin & Co.)

A NEW-COMER AND THE AUTHOR OF "THE PAGANS."

David Gray is a new name among fiction-writers, but his pleasing little stories, which appeared one or



COVER DESIGN (REDUCED).

two at a time in the *Century* under the title of *Gallops* and are now gathered into a volume with the same name, have no touch of amateurishness. Nothing more deft and light and amusing and novel has appeared in a long time. Mr. Gray's men and women talk horse and think horse whenever they are not riding or driving, and Bishop Cunningham, himself a clerical thoroughbred if ever there was one, calls his parish "St. Thomas Equinus." The author does not attempt anything but amusement and entertainment in these ten tales of fox-hunting, steeple-chasing, racing, and horse-swapping, and he succeeds admirably. There is real humor and a sort of idealized reality in the little book that makes it strangely attractive.

According to Mr. Arlo Bates' own statement as to why he wrote *The Puritans* (Houghton), this work belongs to a trilogy—of which the other two parts are *The Pagans* and *The Philistines*—designed to show how Puritanism affects the character even after one has apparently outgrown it. The present novel centers about a famous Episcopal election which once took place in the Diocese of Massachusetts, attended by ardent lobbying, wire-pulling, and intriguing which would have done credit to the most expert machine politician. Although the book chronicles the defection of two deacons from the Church, one being driven by self-deception into unbelief, the other becoming a Catholic, it is not at all a contribution to the school of religious controversial fiction of which Mrs. Humphry Ward's *Helbeck of*

Bannisdale and George Moore's *Evelyn Innes* have been recent notable examples. It will be a wonder, however, if the church members who happen to read

COVER DESIGN (REDUCED).

the book do not write letters of protest to their particular "organs," for Mr. Bates is extremely outspoken in some matters, and no matter how careful an author is to make his characters of such stuff that their sayings shall belong to themselves alone, he is sure to be held responsible for the opinion expressed. Really one rather envies the ex-Puritan who turns agnostic, for we leave him just engaged to the girl of his choice and without a qualm of any sort—"He tried to answer, but the words stuck in his throat. He sprang forward and gathered her into his arms. It is an act which even deacons may know by nature."

A GROUP OF ENGLISH AND SCOTCH WRITERS.

Mr. Guy Gissing, the author of *The Whirlpool* and several other novels, as well as of a recent critical study of Dickens, has written a volume which he calls *The Town Traveller*—i.e., Americanized, drummer. It is a tale of lower middle-class London life, fantastic, unreal, and without much logical sequence. There is a certain amount of individuality about Gammon, the good-humored traveler, and martial Polly Sparkes

comes near being interesting occasionally; but the whole plot of the missing husband is vague and meaningless: even when one reaches the *dénouement* one's dominant feeling is much in key with Dickens' charity boy, who upon finishing his alphabet bewails the necessity for "goin' through so much to get so little." (Stokes.)

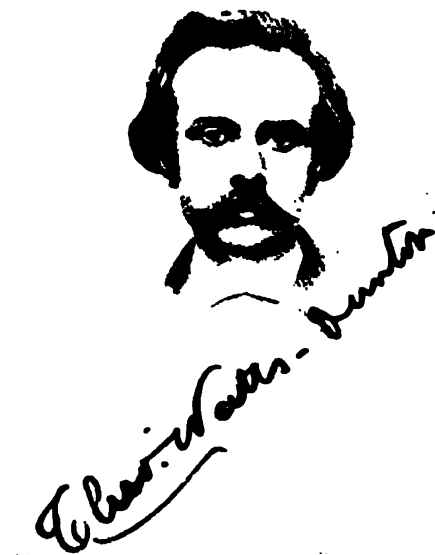
"Quoth Ja'afar, bowing low his head: 'Bold is the donkey-driver, O Ka'dee! and bold the ka'dee who dares say what he will believe, what disbelieve—not knowing in any wise the mind of Allah—not knowing in any wise his own heart, and what it shall some day suffer.'"

Upon this text is constructed the novel which Mr. Theodore Watts-Dunton has just given to the world after keeping it locked away for a term of years altogether fabulous in these days of high-pressure production and incessant publication. It would be strange indeed were a man who had been the intimate friend of Rossetti, Swinburne, Tennyson, Browning, Meredith, and William Morris, and whose book contains portraits of several members of this unique artistic group, to produce a really commonplace novel, and it may be stated at once (the *New York Tribune* and some other critics to the contrary notwithstanding) that *Aylwin* (Dodd, Mead & Co.) is very far from that. The author seems to have started out with the idea of arguing to a skeptical world that the mysticism, spiritualism, symbolism, gnosticism, and all the other obscure *isms* with which the atmosphere surrounding the pre-Raphaelite brotherhood was charged, were perhaps, after all, worthy of something more than ridicule.

In whatever respects of literary art *Aylwin* may fall short, it certainly does give one the peculiarly eerie, Cymric superstitions with delicate and poetic charm as well as force, and its nature appreciation is thoroughly sincere, if somewhat marred by over-protestation. Once, at least, it rises to a tragic height—where Winifred, ethereal, sensitive, and saturated with Romany beliefs in things supernatural, comes face to face at the foot of the great landslide with the body of her own drunken, grave-despoiling father, on whose breast shines that mysterious "Moonlight Cross of the Gnostics" which has been placed in the coffin of her lover's father with a parchment scroll, calling down a terrible curse, unto the second generation, upon him who shall lay sacrilegious hands upon this memory of an adored wife. Aylwin, overwhelmed in body and mind by his fears lest this very catastrophe should take place, is lying sick in bed while his unsuspecting physician tells him, with a horrible professional absorption, of the very scene with which his tortured imagination has been crazing itself:

"The men landed,' continued Mivart—too much interested in the case to observe my emotion—and then they found a dead body—the body of the missing organist here, who had apparently fallen with the landslide. The face was horribly distorted by terror, the skull shattered, and around the neck was clung a valuable cross made of precious stones. But the most interesting feature of the case is this, that in front of the body, in a fit of a remarkable kind, squatted his daughter . . . and on her face was reflected and mimicked, in the most astonishing way, the horrible expression on the face of the corpse, while the fingers of her right hand were so closely locked around the cross—"

Such a picture on top of the fragiley fascinating impression one has received of Winifred is enough to



THEODORE WATTS-DUNTON.

haunt the dreams. There is much interest, too, in the careful pen pictures of some of the author's famous friends, among which perhaps the most noticeable is that of Dante Gabriel Rossetti, who figures as D'Arcy the painter.

Mr. Le Gallienne undoubtedly succeeds in his struggle for originality. *The Romance of Zion Chapel* details how Theophilus Londonderry, genius, with the assistance, or rather at the instigation, of Mr. Moggridge, a "jovial and ruddy" merchant with a need for a Sunday business—how these two rejuvenated Zion Chapel in the little primitive town of Coalchester. In the process Theophilus and Jenny decide that they are meant for each other. But presently the rejuvenation extends to matters artistic, musical, and literary; and with the "wicked" Morris wall-paper, Dvorak music, and Whitman poetry comes Isabel—the incarnation of them all. She and Jenny and Theophilus all love one another very dearly. But, alas! presently Theophilus realized that "Isabel was the woman God had made for him, sweet, dear Jenny the woman he had made for himself, and he bowed before the work of the greater artist." He and Isabel agree, however, that Jenny must never know. But Jenny, with a fatality traceable through the fiction of all ages, finds them in each other's arms, so she gives him up. So far Mr. Le Gallienne's tale is by no means differentiated from the common herd, but there is still time, for this is but page 163. Theophilus at this display of magnanimity decides he loves her too much to give her up, and the wedding is arranged. Meanwhile Jenny's heart has broken, and without the "will to live" she dies of consumption. Theophilus cannot for a long time think of Isabel. Then he goes to her, but she is out, and presently he is overwhelmed by remorse and hastens back to Coalchester. He, too,

develops consumption from Jenny's kiss, and telegraphs Isabel that Jenny is dead and he is dying.

TWO NOVELS OF LONDON.

It is not too sudden a transition from Mr. Le Gallienne to the author of *The Green Carnation* and *Flames*. There is much the same dilettante, hyperæsthetic, infinitely finical attitude apparent in their writings. But in the extravaganza which he calls *The Londoners* Mr. Hichens forsakes his "purple sins" and mystic tongues of flame; in their place he has given us a screaming farce, evidently designed as an elaborate satire on London society, which is rather good of its

NEIL MUNRO.

kind. The blasé Mrs. Van Adam, wearied of society and enamored of the simplicity she finds in a country lout, and the types of the *beau monde* who make up her party at Ascot are amusing, even if so stagily overdrawn. There is a decided Archibald-Claverling-Gunter flavor to Mrs. Van Adam's adventures in man's clothes, but the Bun-Emperor and Empress, induced to rent their home for the week only through the prospect of securing Lady Sophia's testimonial to their buns, are depicted with a good deal of humor. The suggestion that *The Londoners* (H. S. Stone & Co.) is a play elaborated into a story seems quite probable. At any rate, with all its incredible buffoonery it is better worth while than the "purple sins," and it should meet with keen appreciation from the crowds who are nightly convulsed with delight over the fun provided by our modern theaters.

Mr. William Le Queux's London is a very different affair from that of Mr. Hichens. "To my brother 'vagabonds,'" says he on the dedicatory page of *Scribbles and Pharisæes* (Dodd), "those merry bohemians who write and paint, I inscribe this story of literary and journalistic London in the hope that they will forgive any criticism and not seek to discover the originals of

certain characters I have herein attempted to draw." With such an elaborate warning of caricature as this, the paragraphers have had little trouble in picking out many prominent figures, among them Mr. A. P. Watt, the famous literary agent, eulogized as the "King of Fiction," and Mr. S. R. Crockett, who is handled rather slightly.

ROMANTIC TALES OF ADVENTURE—ENGLISH, SCOTCH, WELSH, AND FRENCH.

The frontispiece to Mr. Stanley J. Weyman's new story, *The Castle Inn*, is more than usually successful in keeping the reader's mind up to what is in hand. (It is, by the way, from the brush of that exceedingly clever young illustrator, Walter Appleton Clark, who seems to be decidedly one of the coming men, and who already possesses a strength and dash and technique which few among our artists who devote themselves to books and magazines can surpass.) Pistols blazing into the darkness, lights flaring into scared, white faces, figures scrambling from over-toppling coaches, horses madly rearing—the whole is an epitome of the modern development of the eighteenth-century historical novel. *The Castle Inn*, however, is really by no means to be classed with the ordinary run of such fiction. Mr. Weyman has stood sponsor for a deal of second-rate writing during the last couple of years—writing which seemed to belie altogether the promise and performance of the work which first gave him an international reputation. But this latest tale is one that is very hard to put down when once begun; the plot develops with no lack of adventurous interest, yet with those rarest of qualities in the work of the new "romantic school," reality and convincingness. Julia and Thomasson and Bully Pomeroy and the foppish Lord Almeric—even Sir George and his moral evolution—are flesh-and-blood characters who belong to their age and to the setting given them; and, all in all, the reader who still possesses those primitive emotions to which the romance of action appeals need not ask for better entertainment than *The Castle Inn* (Longmans, Green & Co.) to while away an evening.

There is a word in a recent issue of a literary journal, intimately connected with the editor and publishers who were perhaps foremost in that eager quest after Scots genius which followed hard upon Mr. J. M. Barrie's great success with *The Little Minister*—a single word, well calculated to give one pause and to cause a moment's reflection upon the mutability of all things human. "Mr. Munro," runs the context, "is one of the few Scottish authors now writing who knows anything about the Highlander, and it is with the Highlander that *John Splendid* is concerned, so let nobody tremble with fear at being coerced into reading the work of another Kailyarder." Coerced—from the source which has given us, in the wave of a hand as it were, twelve volumes of "Ian MacIaren." Apparently a modern literary reputation is of much the same "easy come, easy go" nature as was California gold in 1849; and the conscientious reviewer may breathe more freely in realizing that perhaps the world is not quite so full of literary genius as appears—from the publishers' announcements. Mr. Munro's novel is not at all a pretentious one; if anything the author has been a little bit too carefully subdued, for the novel of adventure is apt to be "poor pickings" in between the framework of thrills that should support it. *John Splendid* carries one back to Highland feuds of two hundred and fifty

years ago, when Montrose and the Macdonalds, with their ferocious Irish allies, harried the Campbells of Argyll and finally smote them hip and thigh at Inverlochy. There is some excellent character-drawing in the book—indeed, the fighting and duels are invariably slurred over, the object evidently being to contrast the three main figures. (Dodd.)

Mr. Joseph Conrad seems to be beyond a doubt one of the "coming men." In fact, there have been some critics not wont to enthuse easily who say he is the coming man among the reputations which can still safely be called minor. His *Tales of Unrest* are admirably named indeed. Such stories as "An Outpost of Progress" or "The Idiots" are enough to create a nightmare in their sheer bald horror. Most of these restless narratives deal with the Malay, whom Mr. Conrad has made peculiarly his own, and who stalks through his pages with a certain natural dignity that is very striking. The two themes upon which Mr. Conrad produces most effective variations are the Sea and Fear, and in dealing with both he proves himself so masterful a writer that it is not easy to set any limit to what he may do. The most conservative critical journals of Great Britain have not hesitated to place his pictures of the ocean, his feeling for and expressions of its infinite mystery, above those of any other living author. Meanwhile the most jaded palate can hardly fail to find variety in the five stories which make up his *Tales of Unrest*. (Scribner's.)

The Adventures of Captain Kettle (Doubleday) ought to fill the most eager longing for excitement. He is a little red-bearded, poetry-making, dare-devil of a sea-rover, whom his creator, "C. J. Cutcliffe Wright Hyne," puts through a series of extraordinary paces, from pearl-poaching in Japanese waters to smuggling arms into Cuba, initiating a revolution in Chile, and a dozen similar desperate adventures, in all of which situations the captain proves himself a man of inexhaustible resource and a most sensitive trigger-finger. Without the least thought of raising the silly cry of plagiarism, it is impossible for any admirer of Mr. Kipling not to compare these yarns with *The Devil and the Deep Sea*, Engineer McTodd with Mr. Wardrop, and Captain Kettle himself with the unnamed "skipper" of the many-named *Aglain*. It is but natural that such points of similarity should make Mr. Hyne's stories seem a little unpruned and diffuse, but there is originality in his work.

It would be interesting, if somewhat Herculean, to collate all the novels which have dealt with the French Revolution. That Dickens in the *Tale of Two Cities* has made it so impossible for all his successors not to suffer by comparison, seems to have no deterring effect upon the romancers. Already in this article mention has been made of two new books, each dealing more or less directly with the Terror, and now comes Mr. Bernard Capes with his *Adventures of the Comte de la Muette During the Reign of Terror*. (Dodd.) It is another proof of the danger in choosing a topic over which so much ink has been spilled to compare this with Dr. Mitchell's *Adventures of François*, noticed above. In both there is much the same sketching of citizen deputies, of flight through the forests, of a life saved in La Force by precisely the same trick of tearing a name from the end of the death-list, of subterranean shelter, and so on. This is the more striking in two stories which are as widely separated as these. Mr. Capes does not omit the love interest which serves to bind together his rather episodic and fragmentary chapters,

and his hero and heroine finally attain safety and each other through the awakening of a better nature in a former brutal persecutor.

A prodigal young Trevanion, owner of ancestral estates which his folly has put into a money lender's power, is the hero of Joseph Hocking's *Mistress Nancy Molesworth*. Cornwall was a lawless region in the days when the Pretender's struggle against the house of Hanover had set all England by the ears, and Trevanion is nothing if not dare-devil; so when the Shylock who has despoiled him offers to release his heritage upon condition that he shall carry off, for the benefit of his amorous and cowardly son, a maiden held prisoner by the Killigrews at their neighboring castle, the young man speedily accepts. Upon reaching his destination and gaining access to the lady he finds her "very beautiful"—and the rest may be imagined by the reader of romances. After he has rescued her not more than three times he falls madly in love with her himself, and during the exploits that are left to him to round out the tale—captures, betrayals, duels, and the rest—it is Mistress Nancy's blue eyes for which life is worth living, and the Trevanion estate may go hang along with the usurers. (Doubleday.)

MR. MAURICE HEWLETT.

SOME OLD AND NEW NAMES AT HOME.

Every one who reads *The Forest Lovers* must feel for Mr. Maurice Hewlett the gratitude that springs toward the creator of some well-nigh perfect thing. Interwoven with its poetry, its intimate nature understanding and sympathy, its elevated humanity and mystic allegory—through and beyond all these and ever present in this woodsy idyl there is a fascination not easy to put into words. It is a fairyland similar to that of

Arthur and his knights into which the author leads: a land where knightly love and purity go hand in hand with knightly valor, where a humble serving of Christ is not in the least incompatible with hot blood and a mighty sword-arm. The story has much of the primitive poetry and strength that have made those old legends immortal, yet it is thoroughly individual and exactly like nothing else in the world of books. Its charm is too delicate not to vanish before the clumsy touch of description or explanation—the only proper comment in such a case is to advise a reading. Read of Prosper le Gal, a knight of ancient chivalry with a strangely modern definiteness of personality about him, a true believer and great-hearted fighter, a man adored of men and women, and yet an infinitely human hero; read of Isoult la Desirous, desirous of being desired; of the beautiful, terrible lost soul Maulfry and the equally lost burly monk Galors; read this allegory of love and its workings: in the heart of a strong man, in the heart of an ignorant maid, quickly surpassing her teacher, in the heart of a "light o' love," in the heart of a human beast. In fact, *The Forest Lovers* is pretty well filled with love: Isoult loves Prosper, who finally comes to love her; the Countess d'Hauterive loves Prosper; Galors loves Isoult; Mélot loves Isoult, fancying her a boy; Falve, the charcoal burner, loves Isoult; Vincent, the page, loves Isoult and dies for her; Maulfry has loved many times—and hated as often. Mr. Hewlett has to my mind produced the most strikingly poetic and original novel that has seen the light for a long time. (Macmillan.)

Mr. and Mrs. Castle have achieved swift popularity with their *Pride of Jennico* (Macmillan), and the story well merits its success, awkward as the telling of it is. Captain Basil Jennico, the upholder of an ancient name and an overweening pride, meets on his own vast estates two mysterious ladies, whom he discovers to be the princess of a neighboring state and her maid of honor. Love for a pretty face and leaping ambition carry him to the altar with a short shrift. Married secretly and at night and returning to his castle in his carriage, he finds to his disgust and rage that his bride is the lady he has known as servant. How by a rash insult to her pride he presently drives from him this wife—whom he then discovers he loves more than anything in the world—and how his subsequent search for her is at last ended, it would hardly be fair to state. The method of the narrative is so strikingly unfortunate, its frequent and sudden transition from diary to narrative so needlessly involved and confusing, that it is an added tribute to the story to find one's memories of it pleasant upon finishing.

Mr. Frank R. Stockton forsakes for a time his practice of leading the helpless reader, by steps so gradual as to be imperceptible, from things obvious to those ludicrously impossible, and gives us an entertaining volume on *Buccaneers and Pirates of Our Coasts* (Macmillan.) A long list of famous sea-robbers figure in these pages after Columbus and Sir Francis Drake have been disposed of: John Esquemeling, Dutch author and pirate, who took anticipatory revenge for a deal of "pirating" since his day in which foreign authors have been the victims, and whose well-known book is one of the few authentic contemporary histories of "Those Tragedies;" Captain Morgan, who, after a long career of inconceivable cruelty, trickery, and brutality, "reformed" and became Sir Henry Morgan; M. Ravenau de Lusson, like Esquemeling, author and robber; the

redoubtable Blackbeard; Mary Reed and Annie Bonny, two women who figure prominently among the short list of female buccaneers; Lafitte, whose name was long a terror to the dwellers on the gulf coast; and finally, after many minor figures, that most renowned of all American pirates, Captain Kidd, whose treasures are buried the whole length of the Atlantic coast.

The Uncalled is the title of a novel by Paul Lawrence Dunbar, the negro poet, whose *Lyrics of Lowly Life* were so much discussed a year or more ago. It describes

My truly yours,
R. M. Johnston

the development of a poor wail born amid poverty and sin who rises from his surroundings and becomes a minister in his native town, but whose "career" is ruined by the discovery of his parentage. With bitterness and fierce invective he takes leave of his congregation and goes to Cincinnati. Here, after varied experiences, he has a chance to forgive the drunken father, then dying, who has darkened his life, and finally wins to a broader Christianity than he had ever known before.

Five of his well-known short stories, garnered in from the various magazines in which they first appeared, make up Mr. T. R. Sullivan's latest volume, which takes its title from the opening tale, *Ars et Vita*. (Dodd.) Mr. Sullivan writes always with literary distinction, with dignity, and with finish.

"Uncle Remus" has but to open his mouth to secure an audience. *Tales of the Home Folks in Peace and War* is an informal volume containing a dozen stories, some of the best of which detail incidents of the war

from the experiences of the good people of middle Georgia. A whole group of these, "The Comedy of War," "A Bold Deserter," "A Baby in the Siege," "The Baby's Fortune," and "An Ambuscade," introduce the same characters again and again, and present a vivid picture of what the Southern soldiers and non-combatants went through between '61 and '65. "How Whalebone Caused a Wedding," "The Colonel's 'Nigger Dog,'" and "A Run of Luck" are ante-bellum tales of love and slavery. We are always grateful for anything "Uncle Remus" chooses to give us. (Houghton.)

There is an especial and mournful interest attached to *Pearce Amerson's Will*, which now appears for the first time in book form. The recent death of Richard Malcolm Johnston removed a writer whose quietly humorous Georgia tales had endeared him to an even wider circle than that of the many friends who appreciated his thoroughly lovable personality. A fine old-fashioned simplicity and gentle courtesy were apparent in everything he ever wrote, and his unpretentious stories are a permanent contribution to that "geographical" fiction which has received so many accessions of late years. This novelette, reprinted from *Lippincott's Magazine*, is a good example of the colonel's non-humorous work—a simple narrative of several life histories, with a forged will as the center around which the plot forms. (Lippincott.)

Col. Thomas Wentworth Higginson, whose *Cheerful Yesterdays* supplied such pleasant autobiographical history, has gone much further back—to the ages when "maps swarmed with fabulous islands"—for the inspiration of his *Tales of the Enchanted Isles of the Atlantic*. If one is tempted to smile indulgently at the aged astronomer Toscanelli advising Columbus to make the imaginary island of Antillia a half-way station on his voyage, it were wise to remember that it was proposed but a few decades ago to utilize the equally imaginary island of Jacquel as a station for the ocean telegraph. It is a strange, weird company of legends: "Atlantis," "Taliessin of the Radiant Brow," "Merlin and Lancelot and King Arthur at Avalon," "Antillia," "Norumbega," "The Island of Demons," and such dim old legends are here brought together between a single pair of covers. The younger readers for whom Colonel Higginson has chiefly performed this service will hardly find anything more attractive. (Macmillan.)

Harold Frederic's name, too, is one around which 1898 draws a black line. As this is being written the news comes from London that the fanatical "Christian Scientists" who seem to have been responsible for Mr. Frederic's death have been held for manslaughter; but while this may have some beneficial effect in the future, it cannot, unfortunately, take anything from the loss the world of letters has sustained in one whose literary career showed such steadily uninterrupted progress and such high performance as well as promise. A collection of his short stories has been made, intended largely for boys, under the title of *The Deserter, and Other Stories*. Two of these are tales of our own Civil War, the others dating back to that fierce and bloody strife known as the "Wars of the Roses." They are naturally all narratives of action and adventure, but, as the title of the volume indicates, not only the glorious and bloody side of war enlisted the author's pen.

Few statistics can give one such an idea of the extent in variety of these United States as may be obtained by reading the "local fiction," of which there are now so

many examples each year. New England has long been a somewhat overworked field, but there are to-day few representative localities from Maine to Texas, from Florida to Puget Sound, whose inhabitants have not been presented to some extent in fiction. At *You-All's House* is Mr. James Newton Baskett's contribution to this mass of geographical literature, taking the reader out upon the Missouri farms. (Macmillan.)

Robert Herrick calls his new book *The Gospel of Freedom*. It has much the same relentlessness, the

Faithfully yours
Harold Frederic

same realistic depiction of moral tragedy that appeared in *The Man Who Wins*, *Literary Love Letters*, and all of Mr. Herrick's former work. Unlike these, however, there seems to be a gleam of hope in a black world at the end of the tale, and its moral—for it obviously enforces one—is wholesomely old-fashioned. Chicago is the prison from which the chief figure in the book longs for release; and the crudity of the artistic and social life in that city is forcibly contrasted with Parisian existence. (Macmillan.)

Armageddon, to Mr. Stanley Waterloo's prophetic vision, is not so very far in the future. In this last great war resulting in the millennium and universal peace it is the Anglo-Saxon and Japanese fleets against the rest of the world. Before this culmination the hemisphere has been split by a tide-water ship canal along the Nicaragua route, constructed at an expense

ton Ross with the materials for several books, and in *Chalmette* he does not forsake the period with which his name has become associated. The present tale is "The History of the Adventures and Love Affairs of Captain Robe Before and During the Battle of New Orleans: Written by Himself," and its crisis is in the portion of that stubborn conflict which centered around Chalmette's and Villere's, down by the bayous and canals. Lafitte, the famous pirate, plays a prominent part in the tale, and his buccaneering operations have a potent influence upon the result of the struggle. (Lippincott.)

A Man-at-Arms, by Clinton Scollard, is builded after well-known architectural styles. It is "A Romance of the Days of Gian Galeazzo Visconti, the Great Viper," and is filled to the brim with Italian intrigue, love, and adventure. The motive of the story is supplied by the forlorn state of Italy at the end of the fourteenth century, when the Visconti were terrorizing prince and peasant and laying a curse "worse than the plague" upon all the land. Appropriately enough, the hero rescues his lady and himself "from the viper's coils" in an exciting duel, which contains the usual complement of unique strokes known only to some one living *maître d'armes*. (Lamson, Wolfe & Co.)

TWO VOLUMES FROM HENRY JAMES.

Mr. Henry James is represented this year by two volumes, exhibiting the extremes of his art. In *The Cage* (Stone), if any name less well known appeared on the title-page, might be pronounced stupid, strained, and overdrawn without much compunction. In the light of Mr. James' former work one can recognize some of its subtlety, some of its laboriously intricate analysis and complex psychology.

What a relief is it to turn from this dreary monotone to *The Two Magics*! This astonishing book contains two stories, "The Turn of the Screw" and "Covering End," and the present reviewer must confess to no little racking of brains in the search for the author's meaning in classing them together. Apparently the first shows the mysterious legacy of evil that may continue in force after death: the second that peculiar, manifold, and irresistible influence which breathes from a dwelling for many generations the habitation of a line of sturdy ancestors—or is it the "magic" of a charming woman's personality? Although, if either happen to be the right guess, the general title is not at all felicitous, and the two tales might far better go merely as a couple of stories; although the introduction to "The Turn of the Screw" seems a needlessly awkward method of starting the story. In spite of any criticisms that may be made, it is impossible to read this horribly absorbing narrative without recognizing that it is a notable achievement. It is in an entirely new vein for Mr. James and one in which his delicate, subtle psychology shows to best advantage, for the foul breath of the bottomless pit itself, which strikes the reader full in the face as he follows the plot, puts to shame by its penetrating force and quiet ghastliness the commonplace, unreal "horrors" of the ordinary ghost-story; it does indeed give an extra "turn of the screw" beyond anything of the sort that fiction has yet provided. There is something peculiarly against nature, something indescribably hellish in the thought of the beautiful little children holding unholy communion with the wraiths of two vile servants who had, when alive, corrupted them; and it would be difficult to find anything so unpretentious

MR. CY WARMAN.

of four hundred million dollars in eighteen months, and "The Wild Goose," a flying machine that flies, has been brought to something like perfection. When the monstrous navies join in battle "The Wild Goose" soars up above the enemy and drops packages of dynamite upon the helpless foe, each annihilating at least one warship per drop. No wonder that there was soon "a flutter of white flags to the east," signifying surrender. (Rand & McNally.)

Cy Warman, ex-railroad engineer and author of a couple of volumes of fiction and poetry dealing with railroad subjects, has a new book this season of *Frontier Stories*. Nobody knows his frontier life better than Mr. Warman, and his yarns of Indians, striking miners, cowboys, half-breeds, and railroad men are full of vivid reality. There is plenty of romance and excitement in this score of stories, and in many of them the author appears to better advantage than in almost anything else he has produced. (Scribner's.)

The American railroad is rapidly coming into its own as far as exploitation in fiction is concerned. Besides Mr. Warman's books just mentioned we have this year *The General Manager's Story* (Macmillan), by Herbert E. Hamblen, and *A Romance in Transit*, by Francis Lynde, both of them old railroad men, though in different capacities. Mr. Hamblen's book is the record of forty years' experience, from brakeman to general manager, and it gives probably a better idea of every side of railroad life in this country than anything which has yet appeared. Needless to say, it makes most interesting reading, for Mr. Hamblen's writing is always strong and forceful, and his subject in this case is one which needs no touching-up to make it effective. Mr. Lynde's *Romance in Transit* (Scribner's) is in very different vein, although marked by the same thorough grasp of all the intricacies of the life depicted. It is an exceedingly bright and vivacious little love-story.

Revolutionary annals have already supplied Mr. Clin-

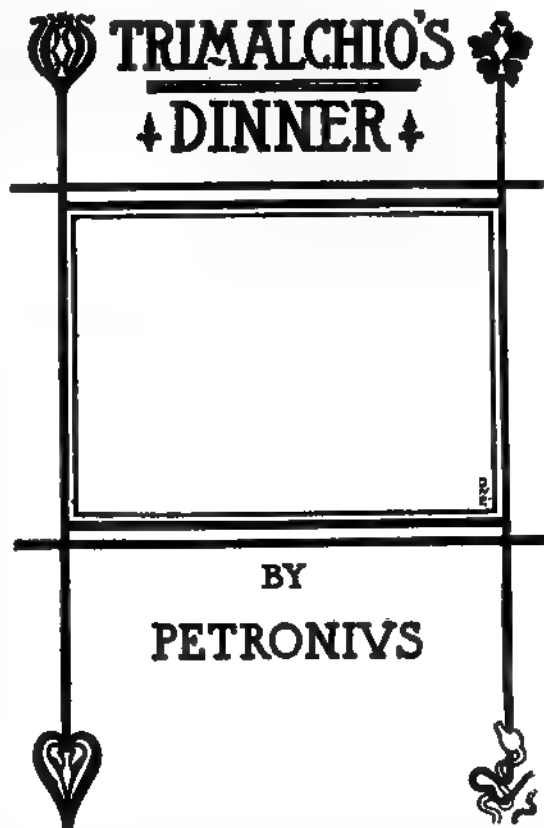
capable of producing such a living, vivid, indelible impression upon the mind. Let us hope that Mr. James will soon again give his unique gifts another chance in a field so congenial. To my mind it is the finest work he has ever done: there is a completeness, a finish, a sense of easy mastery and boundless reserve force about this story which are entirely fascinating. Looking back upon the tale when one has finished it, one instinctively compares it to a beautiful pearl: something perfect, rounded, calm, unforgettable. It would not require a rash prophet to predict that *The Two Magics* (Macmillan) will outweigh a score of such books as *In the Cage* in the future estimate of later nineteenth-century literature.

A FEW TRANSLATIONS OF CONTINENTAL NOVELS.

The extraordinary success of *Quo Vadis* has greatly stimulated the publishers of foreign fiction in English guise. Hardly a firm this year but announces at least one novel from the Polish, or French, or Hungarian, or Norwegian, or some other tongue. New editions of the former stories by Sienkiewicz are especially plentiful. There, for instance, is an "authorized and unabridged translation by Jeremiah Curtin" of *With Fire and Sword*, that tremendous romance covering those fateful years to Poland, 1648-51. This has for many years been a prime favorite with the great army of readers who like their romances "hot and hot," à la Dumas. Indeed, it is perhaps more justly to be compared with *The Three Musketeers* than any of the scores of other tales whose friends have claimed for them the honor of such a similarity. (Little, Brown & Co.)

Quo Vadis, too, is largely responsible for *Trimalchio's Dinner*, the unique fragment by Petronius Arbiter (mentioned in the aforesaid popular romance) which has been "translated from the original Latin, with an introduction and bibliographical appendix," by that indefatigable gentleman of numberless diverse activities, "Henricus Thurston Peck"—as he appears on the duplicate Latin title-page with which the volume is furnished. It must be confessed, not critically, but merely by way of comment, that there is as much Peck as Petronius in the book: the preface, introduction, appendix, index, and so on, take up almost exactly half the space, and the translation itself must be exceedingly free. Here's a graphic description of a meal as a sample of the professor's rendering:

"Let's see. We had for the first course pork washed down with wine, and cheese-cakes and chicken livers, mighty well cooked, and also beets and graham bread, which for my part I prefer to white, for it makes you strong and helps along your digestion. The next course contained little tarts, with a hot sauce of honey and first-rate Spanish wine. As for the tarts, I didn't eat a mouthful of them, but I just smeared myself up with the honey, I can tell you! At the same time, there were pease and nuts and apples for each of us. I carried off two of these last, and I have them here in my napkin. Just look, for if I shouldn't carry away home something for my pet slave I should get a blowing up, and my wife reminded me of it just in time. We had set before us also a piece of bear's meat. When Scintilla had unwisely eaten some of this she nearly threw up her insides. For my part, however, I ate more than a pound, for it tasted like wild boar; and if, says I, a bear eats a man, all the more ought a man to eat a bear when he gets the chance. Finally, we had pot-cheese and jelly



COVER DESIGN (REDUCED).

and snails, and a dish of heart and liver, and eggs and turnips, and some kind of a dish fixed up with mustard: but so much for that. There were also proffered to us [this is the same gentleman speaking who was to be "blown up" and whose wife "threw up her insides"!] in a dish pickled olives, of which some one who had no manners took three flatfuls, for we gave the go-by to the ham." (Dodd.)

A new edition of Zola's *La Débâcle*, translated by E. P. Robins and entitled *The Downfall*, is also among the holiday books.

Much further back in French history, but to a time no less shameful than 1871, does Félix Gras, the Provençal author, go in his new novel. *The Terror* is, of course, a romance of the French Revolution, and is a sequel to *The Reds of the Midi*, also translated by Mrs. Catharine A. Janvier. As has been already suggested in this article, the Revolution has been too much bewritten to afford anything strikingly new, but M. Gras certainly manages to infuse rather more of detailed and sickening brutality into his descriptions of those horrors than any of his predecessors. (Lippincott.)

"Hungary," says Neltje Blanchan in her introduction to *The Nameless Castle*, "boasts four great men, Liaz, Munkacsy, Kossuth, and Jokai, who was the intimate friend of the other three." Indeed, Maurus Jokai is the patron saint of Hungarian literature, for although "the very virtues of his work, its intensity, and the boundless scope of its imagination sometimes

produce a lack of unity and an improbability to which the hypercritical in the West draw attention with a sense of superior wisdom," yet "the Hungarians themselves, who know whereof he writes, can see no faults whatever in his work." *The Nameless Castle* is an impassioned story of conspiracy, espionage, and mystery, taking the reader finally into the Hungarian army which fought against Napoleon in 1809. The lack of unity and probability is often apparent in the narrative, yet the author's resources are certainly boundless. (Doubleday.)

SOME AMERICAN AND ENGLISH WOMEN NOVELISTS.

Mrs. Burton Harrison is nothing if not contemporary and topical in her *Good Americans*. Duveen's Fifth Avenue "emporium" "for the sale of effects from foreign palaces," Paul Bourget's *not* upon Sybil, "this Revolutionary-Sons of the Cincinnati-Colonial Dames business," society reading from Miss Wilkins, and such cullings from newspaper "social world" columns are plentifully besprinkled through these pages. Every scene is marvelously correct in its details, and, viewed as a manual on polite etiquette, the book must be pronounced an even greater success than the author's recent telling work on *The Well-Bred Girl in Society*. (Century.)

There are very few American women who are doing as good, conscientious, and strong work as Miss French (Octave Thanet). She has made the laboring man, the toiler in the mills, of the middle West peculiarly her property, and it would be hard to pick out any other writer, man or woman, who writes at once so interestingly and with such entire understanding of both capitalist and laborer. Her new volume, *The Heart of Toil* (Scribner's), contains half a dozen stories, each of which deals more or less directly with labor troubles, and it is safe to say that the average man will get far more insight from this "fiction" into the real conditions from which arise those most terribly wasteful and futile strikes and lock-outs than could be obtained from many clever reporters' stories and Congressional reports. It need hardly be said that anything Octave Thanet writes is amply worth reading for the sheer pleasure of its human life and interest, but the group of stories in *A Slave to Duty*, also just published, are certainly not as distinguished as the sketches of labor referred to.

In *The Shape of Fear* Mrs. Elia W. Penttie has gathered together a baker's dozen of very short tales, all dealing with ghostly happenings in every-day surroundings. This is rather a dangerous style of writing, requiring unusual ability to avoid the ridiculous, and it must be confessed that the author does not always evince such capacity. (Macmillan.)

Mrs. Alice Morse Earle makes good use of her special researches into the home life and domestic peculiarities of colonial New England in the little book of stories and legends which she calls *In Old Narragansett*. She says in a "foreword": "Old Narragansett was, properly, all the lands occupied by the Indians at the coming of the English. Narragansett is now, popularly, the coast sweep of the western shore of Narragansett Bay from Wickford to Point Judith." It was held by a few great land-owners, one family having an estate nine miles long and three wide, and the adherence to the Church of England as well as "the uni-

versal prevalence of African slavery" made the life far more like that of the Virginia plantations than like the surrounding Puritan colonies. The traditions of which the book is composed have consequently an original and unique flavor. (Scribner's.)

Kate Douglas Wiggin has been indulging in a progress through Scotland, and has given us her experiences in the form of fiction: *Penelope's Progress: Being Such Extracts from the Commonplace Book of Penelope*

ILLUSTRATION (REDUCED) FROM "THE HEART OF TOIL."

Hamilton as Related to Her Experiences in Scotland. (Houghton.) I see that the *New York Times* declares that "some of the minor personages in this work of fiction, well disguised as truth, are actually worthy of Galt and Sir Walter or Stevenson."

Ellen Olney Kirk has two short love-stories in her little book, which takes its name from the first, *A Revolutionary Love Story*. This is a romantic and pathetic tale of Connecticut in the days of the Revolution, wherein Cicely is separated from Sidney by a jealous lover, Sidney marries the deceitful Ruth, and Cicely dies after making a marvelous robe for Ruth's child. In "The High Steeple of St. Chrysostom's," too, the motive is love and jealousy, but in this case the revengeful one, who attempts to kill the "steeple-jack," Will Ware, by cutting the ropes of his bosun's chair, does not succeed in his villainy, Annie deciding to marry what is left of her lover. (Houghton.)

Miss Molly Elliott Seawell calls her new story *The Loves of the Lady Arabella*. Lady Arabella's hate really figures rather more prominently than her affections. She brings one man to the verge of the gallows for abducting her, has the Methodist Philip Overton, who had scorned her wild love for him, sentenced to be whipped at the cart's tail, and drives up in triumph

while he sits in the pillory to exhibit the child who is now to have the inheritance that would have been his. The scene is laid about the beginning of the century, when the French and English were hammering each other's frigates whenever they met, the fight between the *Xantippe* and *Indomptable* being one of the dramatic incidents of the story. (Macmillan.)

Mrs. Maria Louise Pool's *Friendship and Folly* contains a very American bad boy and a crow named Devil, who vie with each other in mischief. Rodney Laurence, whose engagement to Prudence Ffolliott has been broken off, decides to marry her cousin, Carolyn, who happens to be in love with him. Prudence, who has been in Paris, comes back. She wires her cousin to have a bicycle to meet her at the station, and Leander, the bad boy aforesaid, undertakes this duty. Miss Ffolliott stood in a full bicycle suit of white flannel. It was then that Leander noticed that her shoes and hat were white, as he said, "to begin with."

Inside the station the ticket agent was shocked "but extremely interested."

This unconventional maiden rescues Rodney on the way home, he having been thrown from his horse, and ere long they are blown out to sea in a sail-boat. They find they still love each other, head for Boston, get married, and sail for Europe on the steamer in which Rodney had engaged passage for Prudence and himself. This venture not bringing happiness, Prudence elopes with the Lord Maxwell for whom she had at first thrown Rodney over. Departing on bicycles, they are run into and Prudence is killed. Whereupon Rodney becomes ill again, and when he recovers goes off "to make something of his life," assuring Carolyn that he will come back for her. (L. C. Page & Co., Boston.)

The author of *Jerry*, Sarah Barnwell Elliott, can be depended on for good, honest work, and *The Durket Sperret* is no exception to this rule. It is a straightforward story of life in the Cumberland Mountains, the town bearing the classic name of Sewanee; and although it certainly cannot be compared in strength or interest to *Jerry*, it has many touches of distinction. When a strong man, still young, handsome, rich, and accustomed to demanding of the world and getting what he wants, has remained unmarried for years solely because of a very definite ideal woman he has never met; and when he finally discovers this ideal beneath the bride's veil at the marriage of his dearest friend, it is but natural that he should go to Africa. And that is what Philip Drury does in *A Realized Ideal*, by Julia Magruder. But he builded better than he knew, for his friend dies while he is away and he returns famous, and it is not so very many months later that his lady-love becomes convinced that her first union was not a perfect one and makes him happy. (H. S. Stone & Co.)

RECENT VERSE AND DRAMA.

Dr. Conan Doyle's *Songs of Action* (The Doubleday & McClure Co.) are aptly named, for they are, without exception, devoted to sport or fighting or seafaring. Many of these verses are somewhat labored, but there is at least one tale which runs along with much smoothness, spontaneity, and humor. This volume is especially notable in being Dr. Doyle's first excursion in poetry. In "The Groom's Story" the groom is telling how the big bay, who had always refused to stretch himself, had once beaten the record on a ten-mile trip.

It was all along o' master, which master 'as the name
Of a reg'lar true blue sportsman, an' always acts the same;
But we all 'as weaker moments, which master 'e 'ad one,
An' 'e went an' bought a motor car when motor cars begun.

I see it in the stable yard—it fairly turned me sick—
A greasy, wheezy engine as can neither buck nor kick.
You've a screw to drive it forrard, an' a screw to make it
stop,
For it was foaled in a smithy store an' bred in a blacksmith
shop.

But one day the motor car refuses to mota, and despite the shock to master's pride the bay is brought to haul it home.

CONAN DOYLE.

That was the 'orse we fetched 'im; an' when we reached the
car
We braced 'im tight an' proper to the middle of the bar,
An' buckled up 'is traces an' lashed them to each side,
While 'e 'eld 'is 'ear so 'aughtily, an' looked most dignified.

Well, master 'e was in the car a-fiddlin' with the gear,
An' the 'orse was meditat'in', an' I was standin' near,
When master 'e touched somethin'—what it was we'll never
know—
But it sort o' spurred the boiler up an' made the engine go.

At first 'e went quite slowly an' the 'orse went also slow,
But 'e 'ad to buck up faster when the wheels began to go;
For the car kept crowdin' on 'im an' buttin' 'im along,
An' in less than 'alf a minute, sir, that 'orse was goin' strong.

At first 'e walked quite dignified, an' then 'e 'ad to trot,
An' then 'e tried a canter when the pace became too 'ot.
'E looked 'is very 'aughtiest, as if 'e didn't mind,
An' all the time the motor car was pushin' 'im be'ind.

Now, master lost 'is 'ead when 'e found 'e couldn't stop.
An' 'e pulled a valve or somethin' an' somethin' else went pop.
An' somethin' else went fizzywiz, an' in a flash or less
That blessed car was goin' like a limited express.

'E was stretchin' like a grey'ound, 'e was goin' all 'e knew;
But it bumped an' shoved be'ind 'im, for all that 'e could do;
It butted 'im an' boosted 'im an' spanked 'im on a'ead,
Till 'e broke the ten-mile record, same as I already said.

You see that 'orse's tail, sir? You don't! No more do we,
Which really ain't surprisin', for 'e 'as no tail to see.
That engine wore it off 'im before master made it stop,
An' all the road was littered like a bloomin' barber shop.

Mrs. Julia Ward Howe has gathered between the covers of *From Sunset Ridge* (Houghton) a large proportion of her poetical expressions during thirty or forty years. There are in the volume a number of interesting personal tributes to Abraham Lincoln, Victor Emanuel, Henry Ward Beecher, Lowell, Bryant, and so on; but there is nothing to compare at all with that superb "Battle Hymn of the Republic," which made Mrs. Howe famous:

Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord:
He is trampling out the vintage where the grapes of wrath
are stored;
He hath loosed the fateful lightnings of his terrible swift
sword:
His truth is marching on.

I have seen him in the watch-fires of a hundred circling
camps;
They have builded him an altar in the evening dews and
damps;
I can read his righteous sentence by the dim and flaring
lamps.
His day is marching on.

I have read a fiery gospel, writ in burnished rows of steel:
"As ye deal with my contempters, so with you my grace shall
deal;
Let the Hero, born of woman, crush the serpent with his
heel,
Since God is marching on!"

He has sounded forth his trumpet that shall never call
retreat;
He is sifting out the hearts of men before his judgment-seat.
Oh! be swift, my soul, to answer him! be jubilant, my feet!
Our God is marching on.

In the beauty of the lilies Christ was born across the sea,
With a glory in his bosom that transfigures you and me:
As he died to make men holy, let us die to make men free,
While God is marching on.

Surely that is one of the great hymns of our language. Whether one be still abolitionist or unreconstructed Southerner or too modern to care about the question of slavery at all, there is no possibility of resisting its passionate thrill, its magnificent appeal to Jehovah, God of Battles.

Mrs. Ella Higginson, whose volume of verse, *When the Birds Go North Again* (The Macmillan Company), has just been published, hails from the far north-western corner of that part of the United States which lies in the temperate zone. Mrs. Higginson is sincere in her verse; even where she is least successful in conveying her impressions the reader is left with a certain respect and sympathy, aroused by her modesty and conscientiousness. This volume covers a wide gamut of subjects. The verses deal with love, with classical themes, with "Awakening," "Sleep," "Humility," "The Czar of All the Russias," and many another topic. But we applaud Mrs. Higginson most when she is describing to us "The Low Brown Hills," a "June

Night," and when she is writing "In a Valley of Peace." Perhaps these stanzas form one of the most successful bits in the pretty volume:

BESIDE THE SEA.

Daily the fishers' sails drift out
Upon the ocean's breast,
But nightly, like white carrier doves,
They all come home to rest.

Would my lost faith and trust in thee
Were sails far out the main—
That in these lonely, sleepless nights
They might come home again.

MRS. ELLA HIGGINSON.

It is a sudden transition from this big cry of an overburdened heart to Mr. Oliver Herford's *The Rashful Earthquake, and Other Fables and Verses*. Perhaps as neat and characteristic a touch as the amusing little books contains is to be found on the dedicatory page. It must be explained that Mr. Herford is responsible for both verses and pictures, the latter being, as a rule, decidedly better than the poetry.

TO THE ILLUSTRATOR,

IN GRATEFUL ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF HIS AMIABLE
CONDESCENSION IN LENDING HIS EXQUISITELY
DELICATE ART TO THE EMBELLISHMENT
OF THESE POOR VERSES, FROM
HIS SINCEREST ADMIRER,
THE AUTHOR.

Mr. Herford makes one think of Max Beerbohm occasionally, but he is little more original and less literary. His sense of humor is certainly exquisitely fine, and the laugh within a laugh of which he is so fond

offers a pleasing contrast to the German broad-buttocked humor with which some of our so-called comic papers have made us only too familiar. (Scribner's.)

The sensation of the year in the dramatic world has been Mr. Edmond Rostand's extraordinarily poetic masterpiece, *Cyrano de Bergerac*. Not only has the play, as acted by Mr. Mansfield, been a popular success such as is rarely seen, but there are already at least half a dozen editions of the drama in book form. Of these, one, translated, largely in verse, by Gladys F. Thomas, the author's sister-in-law, and Miss Guillemand, is published by Heinemann, in London, and imported by R. H. Russell. Two or three piratical publishers have not been slow to take advantage of its uncopyrighted state, and have put it on the market at as low a price as the "dime novels." A prose translation by Gertrude Hall, upon which a copyright is paid to M. Rostand, is brought out by the Doubleday & McClure Company; Messrs. Lamson, Wolfe & Co. have the rhymed translation by Howard Thayer Kingsbury, which Mansfield has been using; the J. S. Ogilvie Company gets out *The Story of Cyrano de Bergerac*, a paraphrase whose quality may be judged from a single sentence: "Now a swagger [*sic*] seizes a kiss from a pretty shop-girl;" and finally, I believe the somewhat mutilated version in which Miss Ada Rehan has appeared is to be found between covers. One of these editions is already in its eighteenth thousand—a striking evidence of the widespread interest in the play which has come from France with such extravagance of laudation. M. Rostand may or may not be a great genius, time alone can decide that. Certainly he has produced such a drama as has not seen the light in the last fifty years.

Mr. Bliss Carman's collection *By the Aurelian Wall* does not lend itself readily to quotation. Indeed, it hardly shows the author at his best. His muse seems to be strikingly responsive to the appeal of personality, for nearly half of these eighteen poems are to or on some special person. Keats, Shelley, Lovelace, Phillips Brooks, John Eliot Bowen, Henry George, Raphael, Andrew Straton—'tis surely as miscellaneous an assemblage as one could easily get together. (Lamson, Wolfe & Co.)

Uniform in binding and general make-up with the above is *New York Nocturnes* (Lamson), by Charles G. D. Roberts. This little bit seems more felicitous than its fellows:

LIFE AND ART.

Said Life to Art, "I love thee best
Not when I find in thee
My very face and form expressed
With dull fidelity,

"But when in thee my craving eyes
Behold continually
The mystery of my memories
And all I long to be."

Sam Walter Foss, author already of several volumes of verse—*Back Country Poems*, *Whiffs from Wild Meadows*, *Dreams in Homespun*, and so on—is represented this year by a long list of *Songs of War and Peace* (Lee & Shepard). Here is a fragment from his "Song of the Cannon":

When the diplomats cease from their capers,
Their red-tape requests and replies,
Their shuttlecock battle of papers,
Their saccharine parley of lies;

EDMOND ROSTAND.

When the plenipotentiary wrangle
Is tied in a chaos of knots,
And becomes an unwindable tangle
Of verbals unmarried to thoughts;
When they've anguished and argued profoundly,
Asserted, assumed, and averted,
Then I end up the dialogue roundly
With my monosyllabic word.

BOOKS OF VARIED INTEREST AND NEW EDITIONS.

"Sapient Guesses and Foolish Conceits About the Tender Passion" is the sub-title of Mr. Frederick W. Morton's *Love in Epigram*. We notice that the author has also compiled *Women in Epigram* and *Man in Epigram*, and "this little volume completes the trilogy." "Given men and women conditions being favorable—and love is seen to follow. Why not the same of books? . . ." (McClure.)

A handsome imperial octavo volume, with a couple of dozen photogravures and facsimiles of drawings and manuscripts, is devoted by Elizabeth L. Cary to *Tennyson: His Home, His Friends, and His Work*. The author adds to her brief outline of the main incidents in the poet's life a number of critical estimates of his poetry. (Putnam's.)

I fear that Southey's *The Doctor* is but little known to the modern generation. Indeed, even the erstwhile laureate's poetry is not in high favor at the present day—though where a boy fond of adventure stories could find anything more absorbing than "The Curse of Kehama," with judicious skipping, I don't know. Mr. R. Brimley Johnson has made some selections from the seven hundred double-columned pages over which Southey rambled in this quaint production and has

Theodore O'Hara and his one famous poem are the subjects of George W. Ranc's *The Bivouac of the Dead and Its Author* (The Robert Clarke Company). Every one knows the lines:

On fame's eternal camping ground
Their silent tents are spread,
And glory guards with solemn round
The bivouac of the dead.

A new and revised edition of the *Complete Works of Artemus Ward* (Charles Farrar Browne) has a biographical sketch of the author by Melville E. Landon and a number of humorous illustrations. This biographer declares that Artemus with all his life's joking never made an enemy. (G. W. Dillingham & Co.)

Tony Drum, by Edwin Pugh, is the story of a cockney boy which is chiefly notable for the remarkable illustrations by William Nicholson. The frontispiece and some others of the drawings are entirely in line with the splendidly forceful and individual work which has made Mr. Nicholson a marked man among modern portrait artists; in some cases a fondness for bizarre effects seems to have led him temporarily astray. The novel itself is the life history of a poor hunchback. (Macmillan.)

A slim little volume contains Mrs. Browning's forty-four *Sonnets from the Portuguese* (Macmillan), with decorated borders and initials by Messrs. Duncan and Dean. Patten Wilson has illustrated in pen-and-ink the Coleridge (Macmillan) volume in the "Selections from the Poets" series, edited by Andrew Lang, who calls attention in his introduction to the difficulty of finally "placing" poets—especially Coleridge—"like undergraduates in an examination." Mr. Oscar Lovell Triggs has performed a similar service in his *Selections from the Prose and Poetry of Walt Whitman*. He declares that as Whitman himself was "a new type of man—a man who was wholly love, who could not harbor hate or jealousy—so his book is a new type of book—a book that not only has love as its ground, but that also requires the comprehension of love from the reader." (Small, Maynard & Co.)

Immortal Songs of Camp and Field is a collection made by the Rev. Louis Albert Banks, D.D., and includes a long list of such songs, from "Yankee Doodle" to "The Recessional." The compiler gives the verses themselves, the "story of their inspiration," and any striking anecdotes possible connected with their history. (The Burrows Brothers Company.)

Undine, De La Motte Fouqué's classic romance, appears in a new edition with sixty rather clever pen-and-ink illustrations by Rosie M. M. Pitman. We have also the Cambridge edition of *Tennyson* in one handsome volume, with portrait, and a biographical sketch and notes by W. J. Rolfe; and Cooper's *Last of the Mohicans*, in two volumes, with a couple of dozen illustrations in color by H. M. Brock. (Macmillan.)

BOOKS FOR BOYS AND GIRLS.

Undoubtedly the most unusual and attractive volume for younger readers which has come to us this year is Mr. Ernest Seton Thompson's *Wild Animals I Have Known*. This is "the personal histories of Lobo, the wolf, King of Currumpaw; Silverspot, the crow; Raggybug, the cottontail rabbit; Bingo, the dog; the Springfield Fox; the Pacing Mustang; Wully, the yaller dog; and Redruff, the Don Valley partridge." Mr. Thompson assures us in his preface that the stories are

ILLUSTRATION FROM "FLYING LEAVES."

Mrs. PORKOPOLIS (from Chicago, at the Metropolitan Museum of Art): "Ah, William, one can see that she never had trouble with her servants!"

MR. PORKOPOLIS (well posted and of a practical turn of mind also). "You can't tell. Cheznoln may have repaired her."

prefixed a brief biographical and critical sketch of the author. Southey himself said of *The Doctor*: "Such a variety of ingredients, I think, never before entered into any book which had a thread of continuity running through it. I promise you there is as much sense as nonsense there. It is very much like a trifle, where you have whipped cream at the top, sweetmeats below, and a good solid foundation of cake well steeped in rabiffa." (Putnam's.)

Under the title of *Flying Leaves* comes a selection of pictures and jokes from that inimitable "comic" periodical *Fliegende Blätter*, in the oblong picture-book form so much affected nowadays. It is impossible to compare different sorts of humor, but these jokes have an odd fun that is very refreshing after the excessive doses of alleged humorous columns in our newspapers and magazines.

all true. They certainly read as if they were, and they unquestionably succeed in presenting the personalities of the various animals in a way to which it would be hard to find any parallel. So real are these life histories that their tragic ending, which is the inevitable lot of the wild animal, causes one lively pang; one wishes that Vix and her frolicsome cubs might just for once be translated into a fairy tale and "live happily ever afterward." But this is in itself an admirable proof of the fascination which the book exercises. If one cannot place it beside Mr. Kipling's *Jungle Stories*, it is certainly in advance of anything else dealing with our four-footed brethren that has yet appeared in America. The author has the great advantage of having himself made the two hundred drawings contained in the volume, and the consequence is a rare unity of text and

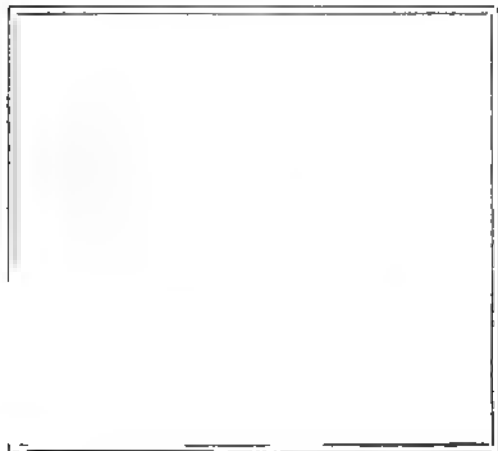


ILLUSTRATION FROM "WILD ANIMALS I HAVE KNOWN."

pictures. The book will be as interesting to the elder generation as to boys and girls. (Scribner's.)

One of the most praiseworthy war books that has appeared is *A Gunner Aboard the Yankee*. From the *Diary of Number Five on the After Port Gun*. In this unpretentious little book are described the exciting adventures of the naval reserves during the Spanish war, and Rear Admiral Sampson has contributed an introduction in which he speaks very appreciatively of the way in which the reserves suddenly transformed themselves into efficient members of Uncle Sam's fighting force afloat. The bombardment of Santiago, brushes with Spanish gunboats, the drills—all the life is here described exactly as it was and from the peculiarly interesting standpoint of the "men behind the guns." Four colored plates picturing the wig-wag and signal systems, the flags, pennants, etc., together with a lot of illustrations from photographs and drawings, add to the volume's attractiveness. (Doubleday.)

There are already over seventy volumes for boys to Mr. G. A. Henty's credit on the list of a single publishing firm, yet he goes calmly ahead producing each year at least three new books of the sort all boys know. For this season his regular trio is: *Under Wellington's Command: A Tale of the Peninsular War*; *At Aboukir and Acre: A Story of Napoleon's Invasion of Egypt*; and *Both Sides the Border: A Tale of Hotspur and Glendower*, of which no description is at

all necessary. (Scribner's.) Besides these Mr. Henty's name appears as editor of the dozen exciting stories, elaborately illustrated, which make up the portly volume called *Yule Logs—Longmans' Christmas Annual for 1906*. (Longmans.)

The author of *On Many Seas* seems in a way to rival Mr. Henty some day. His *General Manager's Story* has already been noticed, and besides this come two volumes bearing his name, and both of this fall's vintage. *The Story of a Yankee Boy* (Doubleday) details the adventures ashore and afloat of Willie Kimball, ranging from his skunk-catching and the tricks he and his chum played on the neighbors to his compulsory voyage aboard a whaler. *Tom Benton's Luck* is a sea-story straight through, filled with mutiny, storm, and wreck, the whole told in Mr. Hamblen's usual forceful style. (Macmillan.)

Mr. Edward Vernon Lucas has compiled a *Book of Verses for Children*, making his selection out of everything available, from James Hogg and Robert Herrick down to Stevenson and Lewis Carroll. Mr. Francis D. Bedford has supplied illustrations in color which are used as lining pages and title-page. The poetry of Charles and Mary Lamb has also been called upon for the same purpose, and Israel Gollancz has selected from the exceedingly rare edition in two volumes of their *Poetry for Children*, published about 1808, thirty-eight poems, for which Winifred Green has made a series of colored pictures. (Macmillan.)

Capt. Charles King, whose stories for the older folks are so popular, has a new tale for boys this year, called *From School to Battlefield*. It deals at first with school life in New York City forty years ago, and has some interesting scenes of fires in the days of the old volunteer fire department, when hose and engine and

ILLUSTRATION FROM "A GUNNER ABOARD THE YANKEE."

hook and ladder companies raced to the fires on foot, dragging their engines, trucks, and carriages with them and going out of their path to upset a rival en route. Then, when the attack on Sumter raised such a blaze in the hearts of the people as had never before been known, it was a slight change for these firemen to

turn soldiers, and they fought the enemy as valiantly as they had formerly combated fire and rivals. (Lippincott.)

Since the using up of all the colors has put a stop to Mr. Andrew Lang's rainbow-hued fairy books, that indefatigable purveyor of good literature to old and young is represented this season by an edition of *The*

story, *Three Freshmen: Ruth, Fran, and Nathalie*, which ends up, as is the lot of so many college careers, with a wedding; and *Sir Jefferson Nobody*, by Effie W. Merriman, the story of two homeless boys, has a hint of the same fate in its finale, although the ages of the participants do not admit of its consummation. (McClurg.)

No matter what new favorites in the way of romancers may arise, Jules Verne can never be displaced from his preëminent position as an entertainer of the younger generation. His latest translated volume is called *An Antarctic Mystery* and exhibits the same quality of breathless interest which has made his name a synonym to boys for the highest enjoyment books can supply. (Lippincott.)

Dick in the Desert, by James O'Flis, is the story of a Western lad who is caught with his father and mother on the edge of the Smoke Creek Desert in western Nevada, but, though suffering from a wound, makes a desperate dash across the sandy waste and succeeds in bringing aid to his parents. (Crowell.)

Elizabeth Glover is the author of an unusual little volume called *The Gentle Art of Pleasing*. She says: "During much association with young people my thought has been often drawn toward the unpopular among their mates. Keenly conscious of social exclusion, they have seldom any inkling of its reasons. Not all these sufferers are of age or capacity to be helped by such writers on social topics as Emerson or De Quincey. Hence came this little book; and it is lovingly inscribed to all who would unveil and adorn that individual



COVER DESIGN (REDUCED) OF LONGMANS' "ARABIAN NIGHTS."

Arabian Nights. In this the tales have been selected and edited by Mr. Lang, leaving out the parts fit only for "Arabs and old men" to read, and he has also supplied a short introduction which contains a few facts about these ever-fascinating stories. Mr. H. J. Ford has supplied seventy or eighty excellent illustrations, which add to the effectiveness of the work, and that is very high praise in the case of such a unique classic work. (Longmans.)

W. Gordon Parker is the author of *Six Young Hunters*; or, *The Adventures of the Greyhound Club*, he having also supplied the illustrations. The six boys are spending their vacation at a lodge in the Indian Territory owned by one of the party, and their adventures while hunting, fishing, and coursing with hounds have an added excitement from the element of danger introduced by the presence of a band of desperate outlaws. (Lee & Shepard.)

Jessie Anderson Chase has written for girls a college

COVER DESIGN (REDUCED).

hunting lynx and buffaloes and wolves, Indian raids and massacres, shooting wild turkeys and capturing mustangs—these and a hundred other real happenings of that life Colonel Inman relates with unflinching interest and charm. It is a book which gives the youngsters a hoard of information about the life of the Western pioneer thirty years ago, while for entertainment it can hold its own with nearly anything in its class. (Macmillan.)

FOR YOUNGER CHILDREN.

From Lewis Carroll's inimitable *Alice in Wonderland* and *Through the Looking Glass and What Alice Found There*, Emily Prince Delafield has prepared a play, which was presented at the Waldorf Hotel last year for the benefit of the Society of Decorative Art, and is now printed for the first time. The author declares she got the idea from attending a performance in Japan where children gave scenes from the *Alice in Wonderland* with such success as to open her eyes anew to the book's cleverness. (Dodd.)

Mr. Hezekiah Butterworth, who has produced several books himself this year, has translated from the Italian a very novel little tale called *Pinocchio's Adventures in Wonderland*. While the translator's comparison of this to the immortal Alice is perhaps hardly justified, the story is certainly very original, its idea consisting in chronicling the adventures of a wooden puppet who comes to life as he is being carved into shape by Gelpetto. (Jordan, Marsh & Co., Boston.)

Jack the Giant-Killer appears in slim paper guise with drawings by Hugh Thomson, whose conception of the ogre will satisfy the most imaginative child. (Macmillan.) *A Mince Pie Dream* (Herrick) consists of rather silly verses by Emily D. Elton, with pictures to match by Blanche McManus. *The Second Froggy Fairy Book* is the continuation of the *Froggy Fairy Book* whose popularity has carried it into several editions. The books are by Anthony J. Drexel Biddle, the illustrations by Anne Pennock. Mr. Biddle seems to occupy the enviable position of his own publisher.

COVER DESIGN (REDUCED) OF "ALICE IN WONDERLAND."

beauty of soul sure to have been impressed by the hand of the Maker."

Warren Lee Goss has gone to the Civil War for the scene of his new story, *In the Navy*, as would be apparent from the sub-title, or, *Father Against Son*. The tale carries the reader chiefly over the inland waters of Virginia and North Carolina, the blockade-running and the various minor fights all leading up to the great climax of the *Merrimac-Monitor* fight and Cushing's destruction of the *Albatross*. The fact that the two heroes, on different sides, were of the same blood and household helps to emphasize the horror of that fratricidal conflict. (Crowell.)

William O. Stoddard is a writer to whom boys need no introduction. Unlike most of his books, his latest volume, *The First Cruiser Out*, contains three stories: "The First Cruiser Out: A Cuban War Story," "Visitors at Grampus Island," and "The Tale of an Oar," and all are written with accurate knowledge of the best ways to tickle a boy's mental palate.

Lucas Malet appears in rather a new rôle in her *Little Peter*, which is described as "A Christmas Morality for Children of Any Age." (Crowell.)

The Ranch on the Oxhide, by Col. Henry Inman, is "A Story of Boys' and Girls' Life on the Frontier." Taking up a Kansas claim, house-building, fishing,

ILLUSTRATION (REDUCED) FROM "THE GOLLIWOGG."

Bertha and Florence K. Upton furnish this year another of their remarkable Golliwogg books, this one being devoted to *The Golliwogg at the Seaside*. (Longmans.)

NOTES ON VARIOUS NEW BOOKS.

NEW VOLUMES OF HISTORY AND HISTORICAL ROMANCE.

The most richly illustrated of the season's historical books is Senator Lodge's *Story of the American Revolution* (Scribner's). This work has received frequent mention in these columns in the course of its publication in *Scribner's Magazine*. Its two hundred pictures—the work of such masters as Pyle, Yohn, Chapman, and de Thulstrup—are veritable helps in this reinterpretation of the beginnings of our national life.

Prof. Francis Newton Thorpe has made a solid contribution to political science in the form of two substantial volumes entitled *A Constitutional History of the American People* (Harper & Brothers). This work deals with social as well as political conditions. Professor Thorpe holds that constitutional history has to do primarily with persons and not with documents. Although most writers of constitutional histories would admit the truth of this proposition readily enough, their books very generally ignore it. Professor Thorpe, on the other hand, has studied the people themselves, in their local civil organizations and also in their racial and social relations. This adds to his work a vital element which in most treatises of the kind is likely to be absent. Professor Thorpe's treatment of the State governments is especially satisfactory. This, indeed, is the strong point of the book. It is significant of the changed view-point adopted by the newer school of interpretation of our national history that the author does not deem it necessary to devote a separate chapter to the proceedings of the federal convention of 1787.

Another sketch of our constitutional development has been written by Mr. Henry Jones Ford, of Pittsburgh, and published by the Macmillan Company (*The Rise and Growth of American Politics*). Mr. Ford's book well supplements the more exhaustive work of Professor Thorpe; its function is to explain the nature and interpret the characteristics of our politics, to give an exposition of causes rather than a narrative of events, "so that the reader may understand the actual system of government under which we live." In other words, Mr. Ford's treatise is largely a study of party organization.

Historic Towns of New England (Putnam's) contains sketches of Portland, by Samuel T. Pickard; old Rutland, in Massachusetts, by Edwin D. Mead; Salem, by George D. Latimer; Boston, by Thomas Wentworth Higginson and Edward Everett Hale; Cambridge, by Samuel A. Eliot; Concord, by Frank B. Sanborn; Plymouth, by Ellen Watson; Cape Cod towns, by Katharine Lee Bates; Deerfield, by George Sheldon; Newport, by Susan Coolidge; Providence, by William B. Weedon; Hartford, by Mary K. Talcott; and New Haven, by Frederick H. Cogswell. The volume is edited by the Rev. Lyman P. Powell, the successful promoter of the "historical pilgrimage" idea as adapted to educational and patriotic uses. An introduction is furnished by Mr. George P. Morris, of the *Congregationalist*, and the names of the contributors given above are in themselves a guarantee of the value and interest of their papers.

When we have said this, however, we realize that a very imperfect idea is conveyed of the importance of Mr. Powell's services to the cause of American history.

The conception of a series of volumes on "American Historic Towns" is his, and we trust that this excellent project may have a speedy fruition. *Historic Towns of New England*, both in plan and in execution, is a unique and valuable contribution to the literature of our national origins.

REVOLUTIONARY INN.

Illustration from "Historic Towns of New England."

Agnes Repplier, whose published work has heretofore been confined to a series of delightful volumes of essays, now appears in the rôle of historian. Her home city, Philadelphia, is the subject of her first venture in this field (*Philadelphia: The Place and the People*). The publishers (Macmillan) have given the book an attractive garb, and the author's descriptions of the social life of old Philadelphia at the successive stages of her existence as a city have a unique interest and value, to which the numerous pictures contribute not a little.

Cy Warman's *Story of the Railroad* (Appleton) is really the story of the opening to civilization of the great West; for the engineers who located the first transcontinental lines were truly the pioneers of civilization between the Missouri River and the Pacific coast. Mr. Warman has here a theme in which he is quite at home and at his best. He has been a railroad man himself and he always writes of the life with a genuine enthusiasm and with a brilliancy, moreover, that fascinates.

But even earlier plains pioneering than that of which Mr. Warman writes is described in *The Great Salt Lake Trail* (Macmillan), the joint work of Col. Henry Inman and Col. William F. Cody, illustrated with seven full-page plates by F. Colburn Clarke, who is proving a worthy competitor with Remington in depicting Western life. Much of the most thrilling history of the West is connected with the old Salt Lake trail, and who can better tell it than these two veteran plainsmen?

Mr. Hezekiah Butterworth's *South America* (Doubleday & McClure Company) is a popular illustrated history of the revolutions that resulted in the foundation of the various Latin-American republics, together with an account of the unsuccessful attempts in the same direction in Cuba and Porto Rico. Simon Bolivar is the hero of this volume, which is said to be the first

general history of South America in the English language.

History is often presented in the guise of fiction, and this year we find that the publishers are bringing out a large number of tales based on historical incidents. Some of these stories are little more than narratives of certified facts, with but the slightest sugar-coating in the form of plot and character-sketching. Others are more pretentious as literary creations, but a great many authors seem to find the strangeness of historic truth more attractive than present-day invention.

Mr. Elbridge S. Brooks' *The Master of the Strong Hearts* (Dutton) is an attempt "to tell, in story fashion, but as correctly as the sifted reports and records of both sides render possible, the real tale of Custer's last rally and heroic death." While Mr. Brooks intended the book primarily for young Americans—such as delight in adventure—it is really a serious and studied account of one of the most intensely tragic episodes in American history; it appeals to old and young alike.

More imaginative, if not more thrilling, is *Prisoners of Hope*, by Mary Johnston (Houghton). This is a story of the colony of Virginia in 1663, under the governorship of Berkeley, who piously gave thanks to God that neither free schools nor printing presses existed in the "Old Dominion" during his rule. The hero of the tale was transported from England and sold into service in the colony, where the settlements were exposed to the attacks of hostile Indians.

"James Otis" (Mr. James Otis Kaler) has written the story of the *Charming Sally*, a New York privateering schooner, which had many adventures in the year 1785, in connection with American resistance to the British "Stamp Act" (Houghton).

Mr. Kaler has also exploited a manuscript supposed to have been written by a boy of seventeen who served under Maj. Israel Putnam in the French and Indian War of 1758, and this has given him the material for a new volume in the "Stories of American History," published by David Estes & Co.

Miss Grace King has written a most entertaining account of the wanderings of De Soto and his men in our South and Southwest. The book is illustrated by Gibbs (Macmillan).

The Boys of Old Monmouth, by Mr. Everett T. Tomlinson (Houghton), is a story of Washington's campaign in New Jersey in 1778, in which many of the Revolutionary leaders figure prominently.

The War of 1812 is commemorated by Mr. Joseph A. Altscheler in *A Herald of the West: An American Story of 1811-1815* (Appleton). The hero of this tale represents the western Americans of his time.

In English history we have the admirable "Library of Historical Novels and Romances" (Longmans), edited by George Laurence Gomme. Lord Lytton's *Harold* and Charles Macfarlane's *Camp of Refuge* head this series, and each volume is provided with an introduction and glossary and numerous historical and critical notes by Mr. Gomme. The same editor has made a collection of historical stories out of English romantic literature in illustration of the reigns of English monarchs from the Conqueror to William IV.

Emperor William's rather theatrical visit to Palestine serves to give a quality of timeliness to *Jerusalem the Holy*, by Edwin S. Wallace (Revell). Mr. Wallace was formerly the United States consul for Palestine and had ample opportunities for acquiring data con-

COLONEL CODY AND COLONEL INMAN.

Frontispiece (reduced) of "The Great Salt Lake Trail."

cerning the buildings and monuments of the Holy City. His book gives a picture of Jerusalem and the surrounding country as it appears to-day. It is full of such information as the traveler needs in order to prepare him for a profitable visit to the scenes described. The illustrations are from new photographs.

BIOGRAPHY.

Mr. Paul Leicester Ford's story of *The True George Washington*, which appeared two years ago, was so well received that the publishers (Lippincott) have just brought out a uniform volume entitled *The True Benjamin Franklin*, by Sydney George Fisher. Mr. Fisher's task in attempting to humanize his hero, as it were, is far less arduous than was Mr. Ford's; for Franklin, in that inimitable "Autobiography" of his, has unconsciously humanized his own character. Notwithstanding that, however, a Franklin tradition still persists in this country, and the real Franklin has remained partially disguised, as the real Washington was disguised before Mr. Ford and others lifted the mask and revealed the human foibles of our national hero. Mr. Fisher's Franklin, on the other hand, is one of the most attractive personalities in American history—as frank and straightforward as he was masterful and shrewd in his dealings with men. As printer, writer, business man, scientist, politician, diplomat, and statesman, Franklin had a career abounding in varied incident, from which it is not difficult to construct an entertaining biography. The only wonder is that the truth about this truth-loving man has not been more fully told by his numerous biographers.

One of the most important biographies of the year is the life of "Stonewall" Jackson, by the English military expert, Lieut.-Col. G. F. R. Henderson. This elaborate work is published by Longmans, Green & Co. in two volumes of six hundred pages each, illustrated with portraits and numerous campaign and battle maps. This is by no means the first adequate biography of General Jackson, but the author has had the advantage of access to much material not at the disposal of any previous biographer, such as the complete series of reports published in the Official Records of the War of the Rebellion and many letters and other papers preserved by the friends and comrades of the great strategist. Although fully developed on the technical side of the subject, this work is much more than a sketch of Jackson's military career. It is a well-rounded treatment of one of the strongest characters in American history.

"Monograph" is rather too formidable a term to use in describing Sir Edward W. Hamilton's little book about Gladstone (Scribner's). It is merely an easy and somewhat chatty character sketch, well done and sympathetic in tone.

For such as have neither the time nor the inclination to read the larger biographies of Bismarck already or soon to be in print we can imagine nothing better, and have heretofore seen nothing so good as Prof. Munroe Smith's sketch of *Bismarck and German Unity* (Macmillan). In the small compass of one hundred pages Professor Smith covers the essential points in Bismarck's career as a state-builder and conveys a distinct impression of the significance of that career in European politics and diplomacy.

We have a characteristically French view of Bismarck in M. Jules Hoche's volume, *The Real Bismarck* (R. F. Fenno & Co.). This writer persists in representing the Iron Chancellor as a humorist, though it must be confessed that his humor had at times a distinctively grim quality—especially as it concerned France.

BOOKS OF TRAVEL AND DESCRIPTION.

The most successful travel book of the year has been Lieutenant Peary's *Northward, Over the Great Ice* (Stokes). This important work, in two handsome volumes, illustrated with about eight hundred photographs, and beautifully printed, is a complete record of what this energetic explorer has done in the past twelve years to advance the cause of Arctic research. It is a record in which every American may take pride. Besides telling the interesting story of his sojourns in northern Greenland Lieutenant Peary describes the little tribe of Smith Sound Eskimos, "the most northerly human beings in the world," and gives a full account of the discovery and bringing home of the famous Cape York meteorites. During much of the time Mrs. Peary accompanied her husband, and the fact that their first child was born at Falcon Bay at the close of the arctic summer day in September, 1898, adds a peculiar interest to the narrative of that expedition.

In *Turrets, Towers, and Temples* (Dodd, Mead & Co.) the editor, Esther Singleton, has brought together descriptions of a number of the great buildings of the world written by appreciative and sympathetic authors. For example, John Ruskin's description of St. Mark's, Venice, is included, together with Thackeray's "Cathedral of Antwerp," Victor Hugo's "Cathedral of Notre

Dame," Charles Dickens' "St. Peter's, Rome," Augustus J. C. Hare's "Vatican," etc., etc. The volume is suitably illustrated.

Mr. James F. Muirhead's *Land of Contrasts* (Lamson, Wolfe & Co.) is the most readable book of American "impressions" that any Briton has given to the world in some years. Unlike most of his compatriots who have essayed to write about the United States, Mr. Muirhead thought it worth his while to spend as long a time as three years among us, visiting nearly

Courtesy of Longmans, Green & Co.

"STONEWALL" JACKSON.

every State and Territory in the Union. While not hesitating to point out defects in our civilization, as he sees them, Mr. Muirhead has sought rather for those features in which it has seemed to him that John Bull might possibly learn from Brother Jonathan. Such writings are helpful in the highest degree to both countries.

The times have demanded a new book on the problems of the far East and the demand has been met in the form of Mr. Archibald R. Colquhoun's *China in Transformation* (Harper & Brothers). Mr. Colquhoun has peculiar qualifications for describing the real China of to-day. He has made prolonged visits to that country as an explorer, a special correspondent of the *London Times*, and recently in connection with negotiations on questions of railroad-building. He writes especially for men of affairs and intending travelers who may wish to get a certain kind of practical information about the country which cannot be had from the encyclopedias and histories. His book is full of interesting and suggestive statements, grounded in an intimate personal knowledge of the subjects treated. The political and diplomatic questions involved in China's fate are discussed, as well as the economic problems connected with the country's development.

Another important contribution to our knowledge of the modern East is *Egypt in 1898*, by G. W. Stevens (Dodd, Mead & Co.). Mr. Stevens is the one Englishman who is generally accepted by his countrymen as an authoritative writer on the most recent developments of Britain's rule in the land of the pyramids. His latest book, *With Kitchener at Khartoum*, is described as the book of the hour in London.

SOCIOLOGY.

M. Henry Gaullier deals with certain interesting phases of European populism in a little work entitled *The Paternal State in France and Germany* (Harper & Brothers). Admitting that "the people" is the source of all political power, M. Gaullier inquires whether the popular welfare will be promoted by abdicating rights which are the foundation of this power "to an abstract, ideal entity, whose practical activity cannot be exercised otherwise than through the channel of a bureaucratic oligarchy." The most perfect examples of such a bureaucracy are undoubtedly to be found in France and Germany, and M. Gaullier makes effective use of evidence gathered in those countries in support of his attack on modern paternalistic theories of government.

Dr. Fred. S. Hall has made an exceptionally thorough study of the subject of "sympathetic" strikes and lock-outs. The results of his investigation have been published in the Columbia University series of monographs. Dr. Hall discusses the alleged necessity and inter-relation of such strikes and lock-outs, the economic weakness of the strikers, and the policy of the labor unions, his conclusion being that large sympathetic strikes are not to be expected in the future.

It can hardly be said that Prof. Franklin H. Giddings' *Elements of Sociology* (Macmillan) is a "popular" work, although it deals with matters of common knowledge and every-day experience. Professor Giddings undertakes to systematize this knowledge and to describe the modern social organism in coldly scientific phrase. He has made an excellent text-book, which schools and colleges should be able to put to good use.

In the second volume of *The Workers* (Scribner's) Mr. Walter A. Wyckoff brings to an end his story of a college man's experiences as an unskilled laborer. Mr. Wyckoff's narrative began in New York State and it ends on the Pacific coast. In traversing the continent all kinds of ups and downs were encountered and a considerable store of information about the conditions under which American workingmen live and toil was acquired. The writer's style is vivid and nervous; his work impresses us as that of an exceptionally intelligent and earnest observer and student.

THREE VIEWS OF SOCIAL LIFE.

Social Ideals in English Letters is an attempt by Vida O. Scudder to "consider English literature in its social aspect" and study "the imaginative expression of some of the most interesting moments in the long struggle by which democracy and freedom are slowly realizing themselves, and the earth is becoming in substantial sense the heritage of all the children of men." The author hopes thus to "discover the trend of thought tentatively followed by that instinct of the seeking soul which will, after all, do more than any theories of the political economists to determine the social forms of the future." (Houghton.)

Courtesy of F. A. Stokes Co.

LIEUTENANT PEARY.

A symposium on *The Modern Marriage Market* comes to hand, by Marie Corelli, Lady Jeune, Flora Annie Steel, and "Susan, Countess of Malmesbury." The Corelli declares there has never been an age "which has so richly merited the preëminent and prominent label of 'sham' writ across it as this, our own blessed and enlightened time," and she goes on to substantiate the charge and give some good advice to her heedless sisters. The other contributors all discourse along much the same lines as might be expected from their several well-known tendencies and sympathies.

Prof. Kuno Francke, of Harvard University, discusses in his *Modern German Culture* a variety of social and literary topics, from "The Socialist Situation" and "Bismarck as a National Type" to Johanna Ambrosius, Hauptmann, Grimm, Sudermann, Halbe, Böcklin, Rossegger, and Heinrich Seidel. He says: "Novalis has defined individual genius as a plurality of personalities combined in one. Similarly, one might say that the German people is at present giving signs of genius because of the variety of opposing ideals which are struggling for supremacy in the national heart. He would be of little faith, indeed, who would deplore this struggle as a sign of national disintegration." (Dodd.)

STUDIES IN NATURE.

Dr. C. C. Abbott has added another volume to his list of half a dozen collection of nature essays already published, *Clear Skies and Cloudy*. This description of an early April morning in "Heard on the Hill-Side" is very attractive. "But while the day was yet very young the sun peeped over the roof of my neighbor's barn, and in response to the assuring warmth here and there chirped the cheerful chickadee. This is one of

the day's minor incidents we should all see and hear it conveys a useful hint to those pessimistically disposed. It brings out the full meaning of the day. It means wholesome appreciation. He who faces the coming day whistling is not likely to look upon sunset weeping. Later, my little bird uttered the *phæbe* note, as Thoreau calls it, but I hold it says *Hear me!* Whether or not, I listened. Wind cold as charity roared in the tree-tops; but why mind it? *Hear me!* was the sweet sunrise salutation of the chickadee, and I half believed that some herald of approaching spring had charmed the tangled sweet-briers and added brightness to the mosses. *Hear me!* and heeding the command, I strolled along the hill-side." (Lippincott.)

Perhaps the most notable essay of Mr. Charles M. Skinner's *Do-Nothing Days* is the one called "Wild Life in Town," which details the surprising variety of birds, beasts, reptiles, and insects that may be found within the confines of a great city if the observer but knows where to look for them. "The hobby of this enthusiast proves that if you feel a lack of wild life in your town, you can bring in enough of it to be a constant and solacing reminder of the great free world beyond the city." (Lippincott.)

The author of *Birds That Hunt and Are Hunted* (Doubleday & McClure Company), containing "Life Histories of One Hundred and Seventy Birds of Prey, Game Birds and Water Fowl," has made judicious classifications of the species described, and has given the important facts of each bird's life in well-coordinated form and a pleasant, lucid diction. The task of description has been aided brilliantly by the most remarkable series of colored plates we have ever seen employed in the portraiture of such subjects. The frontispiece, a colored picture of the passenger pigeon, one-half life size, will mark an entirely new era in the portraiture of such subjects for those who have not before seen specimens of this color printing that the Doubleday & McClure Company have employed in illustrating this work. Even the iridescent sheen of the neck, the delicate suggestion of plum, shifting into the emerald glint, is there before our eyes. Practical illustrative art has not failed in any field more utterly than in the portraiture of birds, and the plates of this volume come almost as a revelation to the naturalist and the sportsman, who have become used to dismiss such attempts at once with an absolute disappointment in the untruth and amateurishness of the effort. In an introduction contributed by Mr. G. O. Shields, the editor of *Recreation*, it is shown that the decrease of birds within the past fifteen years has averaged over 40 per cent., and Mr. Shields reminds us that at this rate another twenty years would witness the total extermination of many species. Such a loss would be a great misfortune to us, and Mr. Shields argues that the only way we can prevent it is to further the crusade against bird slaughter which is sweeping over the country, and that this can be best accomplished by inducing the people at large to study birds. If this is true we believe that it is certain the volume before us is a useful as well as an ornamental book, for there can be no more alluring inducement to learn the colors, the forms, and the habits of the species treated in this work. The author seems to have an excellent sense of proportions, and is able to tell in a few sentences where necessary the salient things which are vastly better in a work of this kind without the padding of evidence and circumstance which disfigures the work of many writers on natural history.

ILLUSTRATION (REDUCED) FROM "BIRDS THAT HUNT AND ARE HUNTED."

The book is adequately indexed for purposes of reference, the type and the paper are highly attractive, and all in all we hope there will be more books as well worth printing as this.

One of the most attractive "animal" books of the present year is *Four-Footed Americans and Their Kin*, by Mabel Osgood Wright (Macmillan Company). The book tells how some city children passed a delightful year in the country, and how they learned about all manner of outdoor things, and especially the "four-footed Americans" who inhabited that part of the world. The book has been illustrated by Mr. Ernest Seton Thompson, and great care has been taken to produce life-like pictures of the various animals described in the text.

The Play of Animals, by Karl Groos (Appleton), is adapted for older readers. The subject is of serious psychological interest and has never before been thoroughly studied. Prof. J. Mark Baldwin, of Princeton, writes a preface and an appendix. The work has been translated from the German by Elizabeth L. Baldwin.

"The Library of Useful Stories" (Appleton) is a series of little books dealing with various branches of knowledge and written with a view to interesting young readers. Among the recent issues in this series we note Prof. J. Mark Baldwin's *Story of the Mine*, Edwin A. Martin's *Story of a Piece of Coal*, Sidney J. Hickson's *Story of Life in the Seas*, and John Munro's *Story of Electricity*. There are also in preparation *The Story of the Planets*, by Grant Allen; *The Story of the Earth*, by H. G. Seely; and *The Story of the Solar System*, by J. F. Chambers.

More juvenile and less formally scientific are Mary

Proctor's *Stories of Starland* (Potter & Putnam Company), a book suitable for the youngest readers, but containing considerable descriptive astronomy, together with many legends from the Grecian, Japanese, and Hindoo mythology.

Dr. Robert Means Lawrence has written a curious and interesting work on *The Magic of the Horseshoe* (Houghton, Mifflin & Co.). Other matters of folk-lore, such as the "Omens of Sneezing," "Days of Good and Evil Omen," "Superstitions of the Names of Animals," and "The Luck of Odd Numbers," are treated in this volume.

Mr. Ernest Ingersoll's *Book of the Ocean* (Century Company) describes not only the natural phenomena of the subject, but invades such topics as ship-building, piracy, yachting, warships and naval battles, and arctic exploration. The illustrations are numerous and excellent.

BOOKS ON LITERARY AND ARTISTIC SUBJECTS.

Marion Harland's *Where Ghosts Walk* is not at all "spooky." It is an account of "The Haunts of Familiar Characters in History and Literature." The "familiar characters" selected are Mary Queen of Scots, Robert Burns, "Bloody Mary," Carlyle, Dante Savonarola, Keats, Byron, Lorenzo il Magnifico, Charlotte Brontë, and so on. There are, of course, many illustrations of the places and scenes described.

Dr. Theodore F. Wolfe has a pleasant little volume on *Literary Haunts and Stories of American Authors*, which presents much gossip about the places where Poe, Bryant, Irving, Cooper, and Whitman lived and died, and about the other spots of literary interest in New York and Connecticut. Somewhat analogous in its general idea is Hattie Tyng Griswold's *Personal Sketches of Recent Authors* (McClurg) (Tennyson, Renan, Darwin, Du Maurier, Ruskin, Huxley, Mrs. Brownning, Stevenson, Howells, Miss Alcott, Mrs. Stowe, Tolstol, Thoreau, Barrie, Kipling, etc.—a strange enough jumble), while *Little Journeys to the Homes of American Statesmen* (Putnam's) is a companion volume to the similarly named work on American authors, edited by the author, Elbert F. Hubbard.

The New England Poets (Macmillan) is a critical study by William Cranston Lawton of Emerson, Hawthorne, Longfellow, Whittier, Holmes, and Lowell. "These are our poets," says he in a preface; "the interpreters of our own life. We have loved them as long as we have shivered in the northeast wind or welcomed the pale blossoms of March. The attempt to indicate the modest amount which they have contributed to the world's abiding wealth may be defended as natural, loyal, and filial." This same Concord group figures prominently in the *Early Letters of George William Curtis to John S. Dwight's Brook Farm and Concord* (Harper & Brothers). These have been edited by

George Willis Cooke, who contributes an interesting account of "Early Life at Brook Farm and Concord."

The Study of English Literature is an appeal to young men and women by Prof. William Henry Shedden, of Stanford University, for a recognition of the facts that good literature is a necessity for the practical man of affairs as well as a mental luxury for the leisurely and cultivated classes. A love of literature, he claims, is "one of the best methods that we can adopt if we would save ourselves from falling into the slavery to the daily task."

To give an insight into the essential characteristics of Raphael, Michaelangelo, Leonardo da Vinci, Titian, Correggio, and Botticelli is the aim of George B. Rose in *Renaissance Masters*. The theory is that with such hints as to these masters "the traveler may be able to enjoy them for what they are, without looking for merits in one which can be found only in another. Even the greatest have their limitations, and these as well as their qualities must be understood to derive the fullest pleasure and profit from the contemplation of their achievements." (Putnam's.)

In place of the usual novel or novels by Mr. Marion Crawford we have this year his *Ave Roma Immortalis*, in two large octavo volumes of over three hundred pages each and embellished with some thirty photographs, besides a hundred or more text illustrations. If any one not born and reared under its fascination is qualified to sum up the Eternal City for modern readers, surely Mr. Crawford is the man; and these "Studies from the Chronicles of Rome" may be the more confidently recommended from the author's opening sentence. "The story of Rome," he says, "is the most splendid romance in all history." That is the true attitude for Mr. Crawford to take, and there is no doubt but that he has succeeded in translating for us much of the elusive charm of the most famous of cities. (Macmillan.)

POE'S COTTAGE AT FORDHAM.

From "Literary Haunts and Stories of American Authors" (J. B. Lippincott & Co.).

Tolstoy's *What Is Art?* appears in an English version translated by Aylmer Maude from the Russian original and "embodying the author's last alterations and revisions." Mr. Maude says: "No doubt most of those to whom art is an end in itself, who live by it or make it their chief occupation, will read this book (or leave it unread) and go on in their former way, much as Pharaoh of old neglected what Moses had to say on the labor question. But for those of us who have felt that art is too valuable a matter to be lost out of our lives, and who in their quest for social justice have met the reproach that they were sacrificing the pleasures and advantages of art, this book is of inestimable value in that, in this question of far-reaching importance to practical life, it enables us to see clearly through what has hitherto been a perplexed problem." Tolstoy's answer to his own question is, briefly, as follows:

"In order correctly to define art it is necessary, first of all, to cease to consider it as a means to pleasure and to consider it as one of the conditions of human life. Viewing it in this way, we cannot fail to observe that art is one of the means of intercourse between man and man.

"Every work of art causes the receiver to enter into a certain kind of relationship both with him who produced or is producing the art and with all those who, simultaneously, previously, or subsequently, receive the same artistic impression."

And again: "Art is a human activity, consisting in this, that a man consciously, by means of certain external signs, hands on to others feelings he has lived through, and that other people are infected by these feelings and also experience them" (T. Y. Crowell & Co.).

Mr. Bradford Torrey writes with his usual intimate and genial charm in *A World of Green Hills*. Personalities of men and birds and trees are more easily seen through these "Observations of Nature and Human Nature in the Blue Ridge." The author is evidently a man with eyes to see, ears to hear, and a fluent pen to transcribe; a Rambler, moreover, who knows at once the value of exact ornithological knowledge and of the apparently trivial details which go to make up an "atmosphere," and these mountain rambles of his make very engaging reading. (Houghton.)

Essays on Work and Culture is the title of Mr. Hamilton Wright Mabie's latest volume, which includes some twenty-five papers. Mr. Mabie is always the very same, and an extract from his special training gives a good idea of his attitude toward life: "The external prosperity which is called success is of value because it evidences, as a rule, thoroughness and ability in the man who secures it, and because it supplies the ease of body and mind which is essential to the fullest and most effective putting forth of one's power; and the sane man, even while he subordinates it to higher things, never entirely ignores or neglects success. . . . Skill in one's art, profession, or trade is conscience applied; it is honesty, veracity, and fidelity using the eye, the voice, and the hand to reveal what lies in the worker's purpose and spirit. To become an artist in

dealing with tools and materials is not a matter of choice or privilege; it is a moral necessity; for a man's heart must be in his skill and a man's soul in his craftsmanship." (Dodd.)

"The bibliotaph buries books—not literally, but sometimes with as much effect as if he had put his books under ground. There are several varieties of him. The dog-in-the-manger bibliotaph is the worst; he uses his books but little himself and allows others to use them not at all. On the other hand, a man may be a bibliotaph simply from inability to get at his books. He may be homeless, a bachelor, a denizen of boarding-houses, a wanderer upon the face of the earth. He may keep his books in storage or accumulate them in the country against the day when he shall have a town house with proper library." This bit of the volume which Mr. Leon H. Vincent calls *The Bibliotaph and Other People* occurs in the first essay, "The Bibliotaph: A Portrait Not Wholly Imaginary." There are also papers on Thomas Hardy, Keats, Lyly, Robert Louis Stevenson, and other such bookish subjects. (Houghton.)

Mr. Charles R. Skinner continues in his *Myths and Legends Beyond Our Borders* the collection begun in the similar volume devoted to "our own land." The many weird tales and the inexhaustible folk-lore which clusters around the most intimate and personal histories of Canada have supplied him with ample material on one border, while the exotic and bloody legends of Mexico afford a striking contrast to these Northern tales. (Lippincott.)

TWO VOLUMES ON THE PICTURES OF CHRIST.

Sir Wyke Bayliss, F.S.A., in his *Rex Regum* seeks to prove that there is one likeness of Christ, traceable throughout the many representations of him, which existed before the time of the great painters and was therefore not invented by them. Continuing, he aims to establish the fact that it existed in the Roman period, and was not therefore a creation of the mediæval Church; and finally he reaches his fundamental idea, namely, that this likeness existed in the time of the apostles and is the true portrait of the Saviour, which has never changed since that time. The author is the president of the Royal Society of British Artists, and this "painter's study of the likeness of Christ from the time of the apostles to the present day" is certainly plausible. His careful and detailed chain of reasoning is reinforced by fifty reproductions of ancient and modern portraits of Christ. (Macmillan.)

There is no such controversial idea in the other volume classed with this, *The Life of Our Lord in Art*, by Estelle M. Huell. The author, who is the editor of Mrs. Jameson's *Sacred and Legendary Art*, has sought to give "a brief descriptive history of the art illustrating the incidents in the historic life of Christ. A few connected incidents from the life of St. John the Baptist are also included in due course. All symbolical and allegorical Christ art and the history of portraiture are entirely omitted as lying outside a theme quite sufficient in itself for a volume." (Houghton.)

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Abbreviations of Magazine Titles used in the Index.

[All the articles in the leading reviews are indexed, but only the more important articles in the other magazines.]

AMRR. American Monthly Review of Reviews, N. Y.	F. FrL.	Forum, N. Y.	NIM. New Illustrated Magazine, London.
AAPS. Annals of the American Academy of Pol. and Soc. Science, Phila.	GM.	Frank Leslie's Monthly, N. Y.	NC. Nineteenth Century, London.
APS. Appleton's Popular Science Monthly, N. Y.	GBag.	Gentleman's Magazine, London.	NAR. North American Review, N. Y.
ARec. Architectural Record, N. Y.	GMag.	Green Bag, Boston.	NR. Nouvelle Revue, Paris.
AI. Art Interchange, N. Y.	Harp.	Guntton's Magazine, N. Y.	NA. Nuova Antologia, Rome.
AJ. Art Journal, London.	HM.	Harper's Magazine, N. Y.	OC. Open Court, Chicago.
AM. Atlantic Monthly, Boston.	HomR.	Home Magazine, N. Y.	O. Outing, N. Y.
BankL Bankers' Magazine, London.	IntS.	Homiletic Review, N. Y.	Out. Outlook, N. Y.
BankNY Bankers' Magazine, N. Y.	IA.	International Studio, London.	OM. Overland Monthly, San Francisco.
BU. Bibliothèque Universelle, Lausanne.	JAES.	Irrigation Age, Chicago.	PMM. Pall Mall Magazine, London.
Black. Blackwood's Magazine, Edinburgh.	JF.	Journal of the Ass'n of Engineering Societies, Phila.	PRev. Philosophical Review, N. Y.
BTJ. Board of Trade Journal, London.	JMSI.	Journal of Finance, London.	PT. Photographic Times, N. Y.
Bkmap Bookman, N. Y.	Kind.	Journal of the Military Service Institution, Governor's Island, N. Y. H.	PQ. Presbyterian Quarterly, Columbia, S. C.
Cass. Cassell's Magazine, London.	K.	Kindergarten Magazine, Chicago.	QR. Quarterly Review, London.
CasM. Cassier's Magazine, N. Y.	LHJ.	Knowledge, London.	RN. Rassegna Nazionale, Florence.
CW. Catholic World, N. Y.	LH.	Ladies' Home Journal, Phila.	Refs. Réforme Sociale, Paris.
CM. Century Magazine, N. Y.	Lipp.	Leisure Hour, London.	RRL. Review of Reviews, London.
CJ. Chambers' Journal, Edinburgh.	LQ.	Lippincott's Magazine, Phila.	RRM. Review of Reviews, Melbourne.
CRev. Charities Review, N. Y.	Long.	London Quarterly Review, London.	RP. Revue de Paris, Paris.
Chaut. Chautauquan, Meadville, Pa.	LongQ.	Longman's Magazine, London.	RDM. Revue des Deux Mondes, Paris.
CR. Contemporary Review, London.	McCl.	Lutheran Quarterly, Gettysburg, Pa.	RG. Revue Générale, Brussels.
C. Cornhill, London.	Mac.	McClure's Magazine, N. Y.	RPP. Revue Politique et Parliaméntaire, Paris.
CosmoJ. Cosmopolis, London.	MA.	Macmillan's Magazine, London.	RSoc. Revue Socialiste, Paris.
Cos. Cosmopolitan, N. Y.	MRN.	Magazine of Art, London.	R. Rosary, Somerset, Ohio.
Crit. Critic, N. Y.	MRNY.	Methodist Review, Nashville.	San. Sanitarian, N. Y.
Dem. Demorest's Family Magazine, N. Y.	MidM.	Methodist Review, N. Y.	SRev. School Review, Chicago.
DeutR Deutsche Revue, Stuttgart.	MisH.	Midland Monthly, Des Moines, Iowa.	Scrib. Scribner's Magazine, N. Y.
D. Dial, Chicago.	MisR.	Missionary Herald, Boston.	SR. Sewanee Review, Sewanee, Tenn.
DR. Dublin Review, Dublin.	M.	Missionary Review, N. Y.	Str. Strand Magazine, London.
ER. Edinburgh Review, London.	MM.	Month, London.	SunM. Sunday Magazine, London.
Ed. Education, Boston.	Mus.	Munsey's Magazine, N. Y.	USM. United Service Magazine, London.
EdRNY. Educational Review, N. Y.	NatM.	Music, Chicago.	WR. Westminster Review, London.
EngM. Engineering Magazine, N. Y.	NatR.	National Magazine, Boston.	WM. Werner's Magazine, N. Y.
EM. España Moderna, Madrid.	NEM.	National Review, London.	WWM. Wide World Magazine, London.
FR. Fortnightly Review, London.		New England Magazine, Boston.	WPM. Wilson's Photographic Magazine, N. Y.
			YR. Yale Review, New Haven.

